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ANCIENT EGYPTIAN HAIR: A STUDY IN STYLE, FORM AND FUNCTION

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Volume I of II

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Abstract

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER

ABSTRACT OF THESIS submitted by Amy Joann Fletcher for the Degree of Ph.D. and entitled 'Ancient Egyptian Hair: A Study in Style, Form and Function'. Month and Year of submission: October 1995.

This thesis examines hair in an ancient Egyptian context. Following an initial discussion regarding its practical, social and religious aspects, artistic representations are studied in detail in an attempt to establish a reliable chronology supported by a workable terminology. Actual hair specimens are also chronologically surveyed, resulting in the creation of an international catalogue of hair samples with complementary interdisciplinary studies. The study is concluded with an examination into the work of hairdressers and barbers, and the equipment and materials used.

Primary source material is used throughout the text, which is also supported by a wide range of illustrations and an extensive bibliography.

Declaration

No portion of the work referred to in the thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification of this or any other university or other institute of learning.

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Abbreviations

BM: British Museum, London

Cam.Fitz: Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge

MM: Manchester Museum

MCAG: Manchester City Art Gallery

Ox.Ash: Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

RMS: Royal Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh

UC: University College Petrie Museum, London

UCL: University College London

UMIST: University of Manchester Institute of Science and Technology

Uni.Mus: Liverpool University School of Archaeology & Oriental Studies Museum

APM: Allard Pierson Museum, Amsterdam

KMV: Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

Leiden: Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden

MFA: Museum of Fine Art, Boston

MMA: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

MRAH: Musée Royaux d' Art et Histoire, Brussels

NCG: Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen

Nat.Mus: National Museum, Copenhagen

NMNZ: National Museum of New Zealand

Or.Inst: Oriental Institute, Chicago

ROM: Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto

RPM: Roemer- und Pelizaeus-Museum, Hildesheim

(nb. former East/West Berlin collections now referred to as 'Berlin' on account of current re-organisation of objects.)

OK, MK, NK- Old Kingdom, Middle Kingdom and New Kingdom.

IP- Intermediate Period

LP- Late Period

dyn.- dynasty

fac.- facsimile

Squared brackets ([]) are used throughout for comments added by author.

Preface

The author has a B.A.(Hons.) Degree in Ancient History and Egyptology from University College, London University. During the course of the present study she has undertaken research in museums both in the UK and abroad and on site in Egypt, in addition to working with staff at Manchester University Medical School (Biological Sciences) and Institute of Science and Technology (UMIST), Cambridge University Medical Entomology Centre, York Archaeological Trust (Textile Research Associates) and the Stichting Textile Research Centre, Leiden.

Her published work includes chapters on Hairstyles and Cosmetic Arts for a European Exhibition Catalogue 'Clothing of the Pharaohs' (1994), and articles for the EES Bulletin 'Egyptian Archaeology' (1994), 'Hairdressers' Journal International' (1992) and 'New Scientist' (1990). Forthcoming items include chapters in 'Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology' (Cambridge University Press) and 'Clothing and Textiles from the Tomb of Tutankhamun' (Tutankhamun's Tomb Series, Griffith Institute, Oxford), the latter subject also forming the basis of a paper presented to the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists in Cambridge (September 1995). She has acted as an advisor on a number of Egyptological publications both in the UK and USA and is currently preparing her research work for publication.

Introduction

This is a study of hair in an ancient Egyptian context. Its aims are to examine the attitudes of the Egyptians toward specifically human head hair, and their motivation as regards its styling and treatment, how styles were achieved, their particular significance and reason for adoption.

A chronological study of hairstyles has also been undertaken in an attempt to trace their evolution and development from predynastic to Coptic times, initially employing artistic representations, followed by a similar survey using actual specimens in the form of mummy hair, false hair and loose hair samples, the artistic and archaeological evidence supported by primary sources throughout.

The role of hairdressers, wigmakers and barbers is also studied, with an examination into their methods of work, specialised materials and tools, the use of medical and cosmetic treatments, dyes and unguents, and the ways in which false hair could be stored.

Both the artistic examples and actual specimens have been taken from museum collections both in Britain and abroad, in addition to information gathered on site in Egypt.

Part One

DIFFERENTIATION BETWEEN REAL AND FALSE HAIR

Ancient Egyptian society placed great emphasis upon hair, displaying a variety of attitudes towards its treatment which seemed to have stemmed from a love of personal adornment, tempered by religious beliefs and a strong sense of the practical.

Initially it is most important to clarify the terminology employed in this study, the term wig being reserved for what can demonstrably be defined as "an artificial head of hair"¹ whereas the blanket term style is generally preferred, since it is not always apparent if the hair represented is real or false. The frequent inability to differentiate between the two has often resulted in rather sweeping statements being made as to the frequency of false hair having been employed, with the hair of the Egyptians generally referred to as 'a wig' and an assumption that "the ancient Egyptians wore wigs for festive occasions as well as for ordinary everyday activities"². The extent to which false hair was used has been questioned however³, Davies stating that the use of the word 'wig' is "much too common in descriptions of Egyptian scenes. The 'curled, close fitting wig' is only a head of well kept hair...I fancy most men and women wore their own natural hair generally"⁴.

In order to counteract such over-generalisations it is necessary to look at a wide variety of evidence to resolve the question. A considerable number of wigs and false braids exist alongside mummies with abundant natural hair, and whilst medical texts give formulae to make hair grow, demonstrating a real concern with the condition of the natural hair, a close inspection of artistic representations will reveal not a few balding heads. Furthermore, the ancient texts would also appear to differentiate between hair both real and false⁵. These points are examined in detail throughout this study, concluding that it is most accurate to state that wigs and natural hair were both worn, neither to the exclusion of the other, and dependent upon personal preference, social status and so forth. As Riefstahl notes, "sculptures and reliefs and paintings show both men and women with elaborate coiffures. We know that these were frequently wigs, but we also know Egyptians sometimes wore their own hair, dressed with elaborate care"⁶.

Representations of figures wearing actual wigs occur from the early dynastic period onwards, and from the IVth dynasty the artistic evidence can be supplemented by textual evidence in the form of funerary inscriptions referring to the office of 'Hairdresser and/or Wigmaker' (fig.852-853).

It would appear that wigs were initially worn by the upper levels of society, Murray suggesting that it was primarily a royal prerogative to wear a wig or head-cover. She states (not entirely accurately, eg. fig.102, fig.137) that the king is always represented with his head covered, which "suggests that there was so strong a taboo or superstition concerning the head or hair of the king that he had to wear some covering to conceal it from his subjects"⁷.

As people of rank adopted the custom, styles of false hair gradually developed, mirroring contemporary styles of natural

hair although with more scope for elaboration, since unlike an individual's own hair it can be added to and built up to create 'unnatural' styles. The resulting fashions in hairstyle have been interpreted as "serving to state allegiance to a religious, tribal, political, and social group"⁸, the status of a particularly splendid group of New Kingdom royal officials "indicated by their coiffures"⁹ (fig.315). However, it must be remembered that "throughout civilisation, fashion has been the concern and interest of a minute proportion of the world's population...Fashion flourished in court circles because there were found the people with money to spend at whim, and the time to indulge that whim: the freedom from physical toil which creates leisure having been 'bought', but rarely fully paid for, from the peasants who toiled for them"¹⁰.

This general comment does, to a great extent, reflect the situation in ancient Egypt, although hair fashions were gradually adopted by the general populace as is made clear from numerous artistic representations in which a considerable number of individuals have utilised false hair to achieve a desired style. However, it is equally clear that for certain elements in society false hair would have been totally impractical: in addition to the sheer expense involved, manual workers are unlikely to be wearing wigs on account of the physical nature of their work, acrobatic dancers simply because it would be impossible to keep an ancient wig firmly fixed in place with the head up-side down¹¹, and the same can be said of the priestess/prostitute figures depicted in the so-called Erotic Papyrus (fig.406), such violent attentions surely resulting in the destruction of any form of hairpiece¹².

In differentiating more accurately between examples of natural and false hair it is necessary to examine more closely the artistic record¹³, concentrating particularly upon:

1. the same individual represented both with and without hair
2. an individual represented with variety of styles/lengths/colours
3. the depiction of the natural hair beneath a wig

1. Individuals Represented Both With and Without Hair

One of the earliest examples of an individual portrayed both with and without hair is to be found in the IVth dynasty Giza tomb reliefs of Khufukhaf, the prince alternately shown with a shaven head and with the short round style typical of the period, his wife Nofretkaw similarly depicted as shaven and also with a long straight coiffure¹⁴ (fig.95-96). In Sakkara funerary scenes of Vth dynasty date, the nobleman Sekhemka is shown with his head shaven and elsewhere covered by the short round style¹⁵ whilst the official Nefer is depicted as shaven and wearing both the short round form and a longer, shoulder-length style¹⁶; the reliefs of Raemkuy likewise portray him "with each...wig, and once without any wig"¹⁷. The phenomena may also be observed in the case of royal figures, with reliefs from King Sahure's funerary temple at Abusir depicting the king with various forms of headcoverings in addition to a clearly cropped scalp¹⁸.

Sculpted figures of Ranefer, High Priest of Memphis, have both a long shoulder-length style and a cropped head¹⁹ (fig.133, fig.110), as do two wooden figures of the Province Administrator Mitry²⁰ (fig.132, fig.107), and several

contemporary wooden figures of Methethy, Unas' 'Overseer of Tenants', his short curled style ²¹ (fig.117) contrasting with cropped hair suggested by an application of black paint ²² (fig.111).

Both media may be employed to study figures of the VIth dynasty vizier Mereruka, confidently striding forward from his false door within his Sakkara mastaba in a short round style (fig.139) whereas in nearby tomb reliefs he, his wife Seshseshat and their sons all have shaven heads ²³. Mereruka's contemporary Khentika is also depicted as both a slim figure with shoulder-length hair and then in rather more rotund form complete with shaven head ²⁴.

Two statues of the XIIth dynasty steward Meri echo those of the aforementioned Ranefer, except here the style chosen is of the short round variety ²⁵ (fig.199, fig.202). The contemporary tomb scenes of the Meir nomarch Ukhhotep portray him as both shaven and coifed in a variety of styles ²⁶, the stela of the royal official Wepwawetaa likewise depicting him in both a long shoulder-length style and with a cropped head ²⁷.

Also of Middle Kingdom date are various figures with detachable wigs (as distinct from composite figures where the hair may be of a different material but is designed to be fixed permanently, eg. fig.410), the finest example being wooden figurine of the priestess Imeretnebes with a long style beneath which she is completely hairless ²⁸ (fig.264).

New Kingdom representations continue to portray individuals both with and without hair, most often in private tomb scenes. In the tomb of Menkheperasonb (TT.86), First Prophet of Amun under Tuthmosis III, the tomb owner is variously shaven, and then "with a full head of hair...strangely enough, it seems to have been considered a matter of complete indifference" ²⁹. Puimre, Second Prophet of Amun under the same king, is similarly depicted in his tomb scenes (TT.39) with various short and shoulder length styles and a shaven head ³⁰, and during the reign of Amenhotep III the waab priest Merymaat is similarly represented both as shaven and with a shoulder length style (TT.C4) ³¹. This is repeated in the tomb of Vizier Ramose (TT.55), the intricately carved styles of the tomb owner contrasting with his smooth pate as he stands before Amenhotep IV ³². Other royal officials are often shown without hair in their tomb scenes at Amarna ³³ and Sakkara, those of the vizier Aper-el depicting him in a long style and "dans la tenue traditionnelle des vizirs...crâne rasé" ³⁴.

Later XIXth dynasty funerary stela scenes in similar vein include those of Chief Goldsmith Ipuya, who prays to Osiris in an elaborate coiffure before receiving his family bareheaded ³⁵, as does the figure of the official Re'y ³⁶, the figures of ka priest Userhat (TT.51) ³⁷, mortuary priest Khons (TT.31) ³⁸ and foreman Inherkha (TT.359) ³⁹ all depicted in similarly contrasting fashion. In commenting upon this phenomenon in the tomb scenes of Nakhtamun (TT.341), Davies states that "it will be noticed that a quite different profile is associated with the full wig and the bald [sic] head. In the latter...the forehead recedes, the brow disappears. The new type of face used after the eighteenth dynasty seems largely due to the shaven head" ⁴⁰.

During the Saïte period at least twelve representations of the high official Montuemhat portray him with a number of

styles ⁴¹ (fig.623, fig.630, fig.632) in addition to a shaven head in his capacity as Fourth Prophet of Amun ⁴².

2. Individuals Represented with a Variety of Styles/Lengths/Colours

This second point concentrates upon figures who are represented with a number of different hairstyles, be they of differing shape, length or colour. Erman notes that "the same person had his portrait taken sometimes with short, at other times with long hair" ⁴³, concluding that "most of these coiffures must have been artificial" ⁴⁴, and although such an arrangement might be meant to show the natural hair of the individual at various stages in their life, it could indicate that different wigs had been adopted. Conversely, if grey hair is shown in contrast to an individual's previous dark hair, this would suggest that the hair is natural.

In his IIIrd dynasty calcite relief scene the Palace Controller Abneb is portrayed with two forms of the short curled style featuring both horizontal rows of curls and circular curls set flat against the head ⁴⁵ (fig.85). This is repeated in the five wooden tomb panels of Hesire which again depict him with both forms of short curled style ⁴⁶ (fig.83-84), the latter with flat curls coloured black ⁴⁷, in addition to a longer shoulder length style ⁴⁸ (fig.88) similar to the varied depictions of Nefer in his aforementioned tomb reliefs ⁴⁹. In their highly detailed funerary statues Nofret is represented with a style bobbed above the shoulder (fig.157) whilst the hair of her husband Prince Rahotep is cropped ⁵⁰ (fig.92), in contrast to their Medium tomb scenes in which Nofret wears a long straight style and Rahotep has a short round form ⁵¹.

To further contrast relief and sculpture the Vth dynasty official Rower wears a short curled style in his statuary (fig.120) and a long shoulder-length style in relief ⁵² (fig.136), the contemporary Province Administrator Mitry ⁵³ (fig.118, fig.132) and the Inspector of Scribes Sekhemka (fig.126) wearing both forms of coiffure in their funerary statuary ⁵⁴. The aforementioned Mereruka sports the long style in his tomb relief scenes ⁵⁵ and the shorter form on his sculpted tomb figure ⁵⁶ (fig.139), as does the nomarch Niankhpepi 'the Black', again portrayed with a short curled style in his funerary statuary ⁵⁷ (fig.144) in contrast to both the long shoulder length style ⁵⁸ (fig.148) and cropped head ⁵⁹ depicted in his Meir tomb and false door scenes. Such false doors commonly depict the tomb owner and family in a variety of styles, with interesting examples as late as the VIIIth dynasty ⁶⁰.

The XIth dynasty royal women associated with Montuhotep Nebhepetre II are most often depicted in the short fashionable styles of the day, a number of which display considerable variety in surface detail ⁶¹ (fig.212-214).

In the XVIIIth dynasty the high official Senmut is frequently depicted in his own right, with eighteen of his statues having survived ⁶² in addition to sketches from his tomb (TT.353) ⁶³ and on a number of ostraca ⁶⁴. In the latter he wears the short round style (fig.323-324) in contrast to the sculpted forms in which the style is invariably longer and set in the traditional forms of the Middle Kingdom ⁶⁵ (fig.344-346). A century later Amenhotep son of Hapu also achieves great status, his early statues as a young scribe sporting a suitably fashionable style ⁶⁶ (fig.372) which later changes as he is shown as an older man into a less flamboyant style (fig.348) perhaps deemed more fitting for advanced age and/or status

During the Amarna period the variety of styles available to the royal family greatly increases, and whilst the king continues to be depicted in the traditional pharaonic regalia, the royal women are adopting the hair fashions of the time in a move away from their previous, more conservative image ⁶⁸. The queens Tiy (fig.476-478, fig.524) and Nefertiti (fig.463, fig.509-511), the princesses (fig.479) and later queen Ankhesenamun (fig.340) are all portrayed in a wide variety of styles both long and short, with the hair itself dressed in many different ways. The significance of hairstyles at this time is especially important ⁶⁹, and it has been stated that the use of different styles "by Nefertiti and other royal females...reflects both political and cultic prominence, the magnitude of which is still being fully assessed" ⁷⁰.

The depiction of individuals in a variety of hairstyles continues through the late New Kingdom into the Third Intermediate and Late Periods, with figures of the aforementioned Saïte luminary Montuemhat providing the greatest range ⁷¹ (fig.623, fig.630, fig.632) and the late XXXth dynasty tomb scenes of High Priest Petosiris also portraying the tomb owner in a variety of styles ⁷² (fig.651).

The trend continues into the Ptolemaic period, where its occurrence not only stresses the ethnic and cultural divide between the Hellenistic rulers and their Egyptian subjects, but also acts as a useful means of propaganda. Depictions of royalty show both naturalistic Greek styles and more stylised Egyptian forms, this being most clearly seen on figures of royal women. It is interesting to compare the soft waves which make up the hairstyle of Arsinoe II on a portrait bust ⁷³ with the geometric, tile-like curls of the same queen's longer style in a Memphite relief ⁷⁴, the latter's conservative nature no doubt designed to appeal to the native populace. A third example portrays Arsinoe with hair carved in stiff corkscrew ringlets in an unusual amalgamation of Greek and Egyptian artistic styles ⁷⁵ (fig.669).

Whilst an individual can be portrayed with the same style in alternating colours, as noted in the Ptolemaic funerary papyri scenes of Hor in which he wears both yellow and blue cropped styles ⁷⁶, a number of figures of the New Kingdom are occasionally portrayed with varying amounts of white hair, often in contrast to other scenes in which their hair is dark ⁷⁷.

White/grey hair is noted in representations of male figures, including Sennefer (TT.96) ⁷⁸, Kenamun (TT.162) ⁷⁹ (fig.353), Nebamon (TT.181) ⁸⁰, Neferhotep (TT.49) ⁸¹, Apy (TT.217) ⁸², Sennedjem (TT.1) ⁸³ (fig.441) and Ani ⁸⁴ (fig.448), with other individuals so portrayed including Yuya ⁸⁵, Hatiay ⁸⁶ (fig.357), a male mourner in the funeral procession of Ani ⁸⁷, a couple in the tomb of Irinufer (TT.290) ⁸⁸, Wanho, the mother of Huy (TT.40) ⁸⁹ and four other figures in the tomb, including an old woman who leans on a stick ⁹⁰, in addition to various scribes ⁹¹, vintners ⁹² and fishermen ⁹³. In the tomb of Pashedu (TT.3) the tomb owner's family are arranged in order of age as indicated by the amount of white hair incorporated into their styles, the eldest being shown first with white hair followed by those with varying amounts of white, and the youngest of all shown with entirely black styles ⁹⁴ (fig.403).

Given the attitudes to greying hair as reflected in medical texts⁹⁵ it would seem rather unlikely that an individual would choose to wear a wig constructed from grey hair⁹⁶. Indeed, none of the wigs studied reveal any such traces⁹⁷, and it may be assumed that such representations are meant to portray the natural hair of an ageing individual⁹⁸.

3. The Depiction of Natural Hair Beneath a Wig

The final means by which it may be possible to differentiate between natural and false hair in artistic representations is to examine the figure for the presence of a line, either across the forehead or in front of the ears, or occasionally both. Although this has been interpreted as the base of the wig showing beneath the hair⁹⁹, an examination of actual wigs has revealed no such protrusion; it seems rather unlikely that such a feature would be left visible, with the line almost certainly representing the natural hair beneath the wig, either flattened down or cropped close to the head¹⁰⁰. This feature is found as early as the IIIrd dynasty on relief figures of Hathorneferhotep, Murray noting that "across the forehead and under the wig is seen her own hair, brushed smoothly down"¹⁰¹ (fig.151).

Beneath the abundant bobbed style of the aforementioned figure of Nofret "one catches a glimpse of her natural hair"¹⁰², complete with fine striations which rise in the centre to define Nofret's central parting, this parting of the natural hair indicating that it has not been severely cropped but cut to mid-length (fig.157). Such a detailed hair-line with a parting is also found beneath the similarly bobbed coiffure of an unnamed female contemporary¹⁰³ and another figure of a noblewoman with a long straight style¹⁰⁴. In the case of Ninofretmin it is her wig which is detailed with incised lines whilst the natural parted hair beneath is plain black¹⁰⁵ (fig.156), a trend also noted on a calcite figure of another IVth dynasty noblewoman described as "wearing a heavy wig over her hair, the natural parting of which appears over her forehead"¹⁰⁶.

In a number of representations of Queen Hetepheres II the plain hair-line is again present, beneath both the bobbed style of a dyad figure¹⁰⁷ (fig.159) and in a painted relief scene in the tomb of her daughter Meresankh III in which her unusual short round style is set back on the head to reveal the simple hair-line of her own yellow hair beneath¹⁰⁸ (fig.160). A dyad figure of Queen Khamerernebty II shows a pronounced plain hair-line carved in a single line over the forehead which is also extended down in front of the ears in 'tab' form¹⁰⁹ (fig.155). Such an indicator of false hair is not to be found on contemporary sculpted figures of goddesses however¹¹⁰ (fig.19), and it therefore seems rather curious that a female figure with such tabs visible beneath a long style as she suckles Unas is generally referred to as a goddess¹¹¹ (fig.174); if the feature is not to be regarded as an oversight on the part of an over-zealous artist, it must suggest that the figure is to be identified as Unas' mother, with a favourable comparison provided by a VIth dynasty calcite figurine of Queen Ankhnesmeryre, complete with hair tabs, nursing her son Pepi II¹¹².

The unusual family group of the dwarf Seneb, Chief Valet and Royal Tutor, incorporates his wife Senetites wearing a short style with plain hair-line beneath, and due to such stylistic features its former VIth dynasty date has been revised in

favour of the early Vth dynasty ¹¹³. The stylistic treatment of Senetites' hair-line is indeed quite different from that applied to the detailed hair-lines of female figures of the late Vth and early VIth dynasty, when straight horizontal lines generally obscure any centre parting, as in the case of Nikauhathor ¹¹⁴ and similar unnamed examples in calcite ¹¹⁵ (fig.161). This horizontally striated hair-line can also be further embellished with small circular curls across its base, as noted in the case of sisters Iymeret and Hathorwer ¹¹⁶, Nykainebty, wife of Nykure ¹¹⁷ (fig.125, fig.166) and Sitmerit ¹¹⁸ (fig.167) and Iti ¹¹⁹ (fig.168), both wives of officials named Sekhemka, in addition to the wife of Ptahkemni ¹²⁰ (fig.130) and an unnamed Royal Acquaintance ¹²¹, the striated lines of their bobbed wigs standing out against the small curls set across their foreheads.

A number of the wooden statues from the tomb of Mitry again feature the hair-line on figures of both Mitry and his wife, and although such a feature is only occasionally to be found on male figures at this time ¹²² (fig.123, fig.142), a plain line is clearly visible beneath Mitry's shoulder-length style (fig.132). A wider cross-hatched version is seen beneath the similar bobbed style of his wife ¹²³ (fig.165), whilst beneath a long straight style her hair-line is as plain as that of her husband ¹²⁴ (fig.172).

During the First Intermediate Period the tab line in front of the ears continues to appear independently of the line over the forehead (as first noticed on the aforementioned figure with Unas at the end of the Vth dynasty), the VIIIth dynasty stela of Indy and Mutmuti featuring the long highly detailed styles typical of the period, with tabs of plain hair visible in front of Mutmuti's ears ¹²⁵ (fig.195).

The hair-line resumes its traditional form above the brow on an early Middle Kingdom wooden figurine of Idykeky ¹²⁶ and on the stone head of an unknown woman ¹²⁷, whilst on two granite figures of Queen Nofret, "just in front of each ear a crescent-shaped curl of her own hair is visible" ¹²⁸ (fig.272). Squared tabs are noted in the case of an unnamed royal woman ¹²⁹, and a combination of squared tabs and the 'over the forehead' line are featured on the head of an unnamed XIIth dynasty princess ¹³⁰ (fig.266).

The line over the forehead is also occasionally found in contemporary relief depictions of women ¹³¹ (fig.250), whilst a most interesting departure from this theme is provided by the fascinating tomb scenes of the nomarch and priest of Hathor, Ukhhotep of Meir. Amongst a number of innovative portrayals of women and their widely differing coiffures, an unusual riverine scene includes "Five women, obviously not peasant women, squatting hidden behind a clump of papyrus...The five...ladies are in festive attire..." ¹³², each with a different style and two with additional protrusions of natural hair; the third has a fringe of hair hanging down beneath her style whilst the fifth has a piece of her own black hair emerging above the shoulder from what is presumably a long wig, the scene providing further evidence of false hair being employed and the desire of the artist to show it (fig.287).

During the New Kingdom men are increasingly portrayed with hair-lines, tabs of Senmut's own hair projecting from

below his wig in front of his ears ¹³³ (fig.345) in similar fashion to that of Amenhotep, son of Hapu ¹³⁴. Various figures in the tomb of Ramose (TT.55) are similarly depicted, including his parents Neby and Apuya ¹³⁵ and on occasion the vizier himself ¹³⁶, as is Khaemhat, Overseer of Granaries (TT.57) ¹³⁷ (fig.387). The hair-line above the brow is also employed at this time, as noted in the case of a young male offering bearer in the Sakkara tomb scenes of Maya ¹³⁸.

With the increasing number of depictions of royal women in the second half of the XVIIIth dynasty so the number of hair-lines increases, most notably in the case of Queen Tiy. In the tomb reliefs of Userhat (TT.47) ¹³⁹ and Kheruef (TT.192) ¹⁴⁰ she is shown with tabs beneath a long style, whilst her sculpted figures revive older forms, the hair-line above the brow in one example giving "just the slightest indication of her own hair beneath the heavy wig. This archaism recalls the way that Old Kingdom women normally showed a bit of their hair. Perhaps this...allusion to the Old Kingdom is quite intentional...the king and queen associated with the procreative power of the sun" ¹⁴¹, the prominent religious motif of the earlier period. The feature is also noted in the case of a smaller figure (fig.478) where it has again been interpreted as 'an archaism' which "intentionally evokes Old Kingdom statuary. Although not common in the New Kingdom, a dyad of Khaemwas and Manana shows the same wig detail" ¹⁴² (fig.371), the treatment of Manana's hair-line being exactly the same as that of the queen and suggesting that they could have originated from the same workshop ¹⁴³.

The same form of hair-line painted black occurs on a later dyad figure of TjenetImentet ¹⁴⁴ (fig.541), although the four canopic heads of Kiya(?) show a band-like line across the forehead ¹⁴⁵ (fig.520) which may in fact indicate that an actual band has been used to hold the natural hair in place, as noted from a figure of Ramses II ¹⁴⁶ (fig.411) and found elsewhere during this period ¹⁴⁷ (fig.423-424, fig.537).

The tendency to depict the line of natural hair gradually waned during the Late Period, a rare example noted in the case of a XXVIIIth dynasty official whose own hair emerges in vertically striated tab form beneath a contrasting plain style ¹⁴⁸ (fig.650). The natural hair is once again shown in the Ptolemaic period, a female model head revealing a single row of small curls beneath a short rounded style ¹⁴⁹ (fig.674) whilst a young girl has a striated fringe hanging down from an echeloned coiffure ¹⁵⁰. The practice is also found in the Roman world, which includes Egypt after 30 BC ¹⁵¹.

To see the hair-line most clearly however, it is necessary to examine the so-called 'reserve heads' of the Old Kingdom (fig.94). These idealised representations made of limestone or plaster are left unpainted, the minimum of detail including the hair "depicted like a close fitting cap" ¹⁵² with only a line to mark the limit of growth. This same feature is also visible on a rather more functional wig-maker's mount of New Kingdom date where it acts as a guide-line in the construction of false hair ¹⁵³, and on the cropped heads of two similar storage-mounts with human features ¹⁵⁴ (fig.534).

4. Baldness

The reserve heads depict a head which has been purposefully shaved of hair, or where the hair has been cropped very close to the skull, and as such the term 'bald' is therefore not used since it conveys an idea of hair failing to grow, either due to old age (alopecia senilis), illness (alopecia diffusa, alopecia areata), emotional problems (alopecia neurotica) or maltreatment (traction alopecia or alopecia compressio)¹⁵⁵. None of these conditions would normally be shown by the Egyptian artist who worked within a strict framework of rules and formulaic scenes, the human figure depicted in idealised form as "youthful, firm and well formed...the idealising representation...based on a desire to lift above what is human, imperfect and subject to chance"¹⁵⁶.

This was of course mainly the prerogative of royalty and the upper sections of society with more 'realistic' portrayals reserved for manual workers, for whom a random pattern of dots on the scalp could be employed to convey an idea of roughness and neglect. This is clearly noted in the case of shaduf operators in the tomb scenes of Apy (TT.217), Davies commenting that "the stubble on neglected heads and chins is pitted against the long and tended locks of their betters..."¹⁵⁷.

Depictions of natural baldness, involving either a receding forehead or a bare crown with hair growing around, are again particularly common in representations of manual workers. In the Coffin Texts reference is made to I3s, "Baldpate, a ferryman"¹⁵⁸, and Old Kingdom mastaba scenes frequently show boatmen, fishermen, carpenters and farmers with receding hair-lines¹⁵⁹ (fig.116). It has been suggested that this may denote status, since "some are shown with a wig, or at least with a thicker crop of hair"¹⁶⁰, although it is unclear which is supposed to have higher status, and it would seem most likely that the balding figures simply portray the elders in a working group. The balding state of a number of fishermen in the Vth dynasty scenes of Nefer "may indicate advanced age and/or a higher position"¹⁶¹, as in the case of the Overseer of Sculptors, Niankhptah, depicted amongst similarly balding boatmen of Ptahhotep¹⁶². Further balding heads are noted amongst the boatmen and cattle-herders of Ti¹⁶³ and the agricultural workers and boatmen of Mereruka¹⁶⁴, a contemporary boating scene from a lost tomb portraying "figures in short wigs with the exception of two bald men"¹⁶⁵.

A possibly receding hair-line is noted in the case of the Meir nomarch Pepi in his tomb scenes of late Old Kingdom date¹⁶⁶, although the few examples of baldness in Middle Kingdom scenes are once again restricted to manual workers¹⁶⁷. The trend re-emerges in the early XVIIIth dynasty, with a number of men catching and preparing fish and birds for Paheri shown in similar manner to their Old Kingdom counterparts, a few of them having additional stray curls about the forehead¹⁶⁸. The cattle-keeper from the tomb of Tati (TT.154)¹⁶⁹ has lost most of his hair, whilst a number of herdsmen and workmen are depicted in various states of baldness in the tombs of Rekhmire (TT.100)¹⁷⁰ and Puyemre (TT.39), Davies listing these latter figures as examples of "representations of old age amongst the peasantry" and noting that "old age in gentlemen is marked only by grey locks, but baldness was no doubt concealed by a wig or not admitted in

portraiture"¹⁷¹.

A hard working carpenter from the tomb of Nebamun and Ipuki (TT.181) has thin shoulder-length hair with bare crown in contrast to his work-mate's thick black style¹⁷², a device repeated in the Ramesside tomb of Apy (TT.217) where "the monotony of design is broken by the juxtaposition of the solemn old man [with balding head] and the vivacious young fellow with a shock head of hair"¹⁷³. The balding crown is further found on the figures of a crop assessor and a labourer in the tomb scenes of Nebamun¹⁷⁴ (fig.312-313), a man bearing a yoke sketched on an ostracon¹⁷⁵ (fig.405) and a "rather seedy man with bald pate"¹⁷⁶ on the Turin Erotic Papyrus (fig.406), whilst an Egyptian soldier in the Karnak battle reliefs of Tutankhamen is portrayed with a clearly receding hair-line¹⁷⁷ (fig.314).

During the XVIIIth dynasty there begins a move toward more realistic portrayals of officials and noblemen with balding heads, the Memphite tomb of Horemheb containing at least four such examples. Although repeatedly referred to as wearing wigs, one of six finely dressed courtiers has a clearly receding hair-line on a style which is otherwise dressed as carefully as that of his colleagues¹⁷⁸ (fig.315), the feature being even more pronounced in the case of two officers who lead a procession of prisoners before the king¹⁷⁹ (fig.316-317).

The trend can also be found in statuary, with one of the earliest examples being the detailed bust of the IVth dynasty vizier Ankhaf whose cropped hair is already receding with advancing age¹⁸⁰, as is that of Kaaper of the following dynasty¹⁸¹ (fig.115).

The majority of such sculpted examples however, date from the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period, and portray men referred to as "the fs of the goddess", the term fs related to the word for baldness¹⁸². A small fragmentary figure of a man of XVIIIth dynasty date from Deir el-Bahari clearly shows a bare crown with wavy hair around the sides¹⁸³ (fig.311), a feature also found on the head of an official of Amenhotep III¹⁸⁴. In another example, "flaring tufts of hair depicting baldness" are shown in the case of the official Ameneminet, "to indicate he was shown as an older man"¹⁸⁵ (fig.407). This is again noted from a figure of a kneeling priest holding a standard of Hathor¹⁸⁶ (fig.408) and a Ramesside block statue of an unnamed official whose "wreath of hair with parallel zig-zag grooves reaches the shoulders"¹⁸⁷. The best known of such figures represents the Saite luminary Montuemhat (fig.623), virtually identical in the treatment of the hair to that of the aforementioned Ameneminet. Although described as "a sweeping wig, cut severely back from the forehead [which] represents the balding head of an old man"¹⁸⁸, the use of the term 'wig' in this context is surely misleading since the remaining hair must be Montuemhat's own, as is that of an anonymous contemporary¹⁸⁹ (fig.624). The fact that such figures are shown as squatting supplicants in 'humble' form is perhaps a clue to their unbewigged appearance¹⁹⁰, although rather more realistic portrayals of baldness continue into Roman times in both statuary¹⁹¹ (fig.679) and painted form¹⁹² (fig.680).

That this condition was not a particularly desirable state may be deduced from the relatively large number of remedies

contained in medical texts ¹⁹³, despite Herodotus' statement that "baldness is rarer in Egypt than anywhere else" ¹⁹⁴. There are several terms for baldness in Egyptian texts (*ḥ3s* ¹⁹⁵, *nkm* ¹⁹⁶, *wsh* ¹⁹⁷), and in the Middle Kingdom Lamentations of Ipuwer it is stated that "everyone's hair has fallen out [*wsh*], one can't distinguish the son of man from the pauper" ¹⁹⁸. It was necessary to invoke the creator god Khnum to remedy the situation, and his abilities are praised in the Great Hymn at Esna, "He made hair sprout and tresses grow" ¹⁹⁹.

In addition to this, practical remedies were attempted, one of the earliest found in the Old Kingdom Pyramid Texts stating that "the king will spit on your scalp, O Osiris. He will not let it be ill, the King will not let it be bald", Faulkner noting that "spittle is a known remedy in folk-medicine"²⁰⁰.

The majority of baldness remedies however, are listed in the medical papyri Ebers and Hearst, the best-known being "A remedy to make the hair grow, made for Shesh, mother of his Majesty the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Teti, justified: bone of a dog 1; date kernels 1; donkey's hoof 1; boil well in a jar with oil or fat and use as an unguent" ²⁰¹. Indeed, a whole section of the Ebers Papyrus deals with baldness and hair preservation ²⁰², and includes "A remedy to make the hair of a bald (person) grow again: fat of lion 1: fat of hippopotamus 1: fat of crocodile 1: fat of cat 1: fat of snake 1: fat of ibex 1; reduce into a mass and smear over the bald head" ²⁰³. An application of chopped lettuce is advocated to encourage hair growth on bald patches ²⁰⁴, as is castor oil, to be rubbed into the scalp to make specifically women's hair grow ²⁰⁵, a process which could even be reversed by an application of lotus leaves boiled in oil or fat ²⁰⁶, or a mixture of 'n'rt worm boiled in ben oil ²⁰⁷, both "to put on the head of the hated woman".

The Hearst Papyrus contains similar remedies for baldness, including an application of a paste made from emmer wheat, honey and oil ²⁰⁸, another remedy including the use of juniper berries, the astringent properties of which could actually stimulate the scalp ²⁰⁹. Indeed, manual stimulation of the scalp during the application of such a mixture actually serves to increase the flow of blood, effectively encouraging the hair follicles and papillae to produce hair ²¹⁰, and since the 20th Century has yet to provide an effective 'cure' for baldness, these ancient attempts could be no less effective than their modern counterparts.

In studying hair loss the physical remains of the Egyptians can also be employed, and contrary to the aforementioned statement of Herodotus regarding the rare occurrence of baldness in Egypt, Ruffer refers to the condition "in many men and not a few of the women...in most cases baldness is central...occasionally scattered patches are found on the skull, showing that it may have been caused perhaps by some local parasitic disease" ²¹¹. This is repeated by Leek, who explains the need for false hair as "having arisen not only from hair loss due to ageing, but from localised loss of hair due to infection of the scalp" ²¹².

It does however appear that alopecia senilis was the major cause of baldness. No definite cases of baldness were detected among 635 naturally desiccated bodies from the predynastic cemetery N7000 at Naga ed-Dêr ²¹³, a rather unsurprising

finding from a time when life expectancy would have been considerably less than that achieved by the New Kingdom royal families for example; their relatively luxurious life-style would in many cases increase life expectancy by several decades, and an increased number of examples of alopecia senilis would be expected amongst such a group, as is indeed the case, with seven of the eighteen pharaohs' mummies bald or balding²¹⁴, including Ramses II whose hair is confined to the temporo-occipital zone in an advanced stage of baldness indicative of extreme old age²¹⁵.

This problem is by no means restricted to men, however, and in contrast to Yuya's flowing locks, his wife Thuya has little hair left on the top of her head²¹⁶, Senmut's mother Hatnefer exhibiting only "sparse grey locks"²¹⁷. A similar pattern of baldness is noted in the case of the mummies identified as Tetisheru²¹⁸, Ahmose Nofretari²¹⁹, Honttimihou²²⁰ and Nodjmet²²¹, whilst a priestess from the cache of bodies found at Deir el-Bahari in 1881 exhibits more localised hair loss²²². All except Thuya had taken steps to disguise their condition with a variety of hair-pieces, false braids and resins, although such artifice was not restricted to women, nor to those in the upper sections of society. In his examination of sixty bodies of XIth dynasty soldiers, Winlock discovered one case of baldness in which the individual had "very little hair left, and that little was eked out with artificial locks, tightly wound in spirals"²²³.

- 1 Cox 1984, p.165; see also Cox 1983, p.1 and Woodforde 1971, p.4. Confusion may arise with use of term 'wig' to mean either 'style' or natural hair, eg. Petrie & Mace 1901, p.51.
- 2 Freed 1982(ii), also stating that "It is likely that every Egyptian nobleman and noblewoman owned at least one", p.196; see also Davies 1982(ii), "Men and women of standing as a rule wore their natural hair close-cropped, attiring themselves with wigs on public occasions", p.189; Dayagi-Mendels 1989, "It may be assumed that at least among the upper classes of the population, every man and woman owned a wig", p.60; Lloyd 1976, "Wigs were very common indeed", p.154; Müller 1982, "Perücke: sie gehört zu den Kennzeichen einer ägyptischen Persönlichkeit", 988-989; Hayes 1953 I, "men and women alike cropped their own hair and when in public and on formal occasions wore wigs", p.108; Leek 1980, the fashion for wearing wigs was "common during certain periods because of their representations on tomb paintings and other art forms", p.39; Garetto 1955, "di parruche...come elemento indispensabile ed abituale della loro toletta...", p.65; Laver 1963, "one of the most striking items of Egyptian costume was a wig", p.5; Murray 1963, "from early in the historic period, men and women wore wigs", p.90; MacKay 1918 "in wall paintings of Egyptian tombs the head of the human figure is always represented either completely bare or covered by a wig", p.113.
- 3 Brunton 1920, p.37, expressed doubts that the natural hair was always cropped and wigs automatically worn, and Chiotasso et al. 1992 note that "è strano che Erodoto, così attento all'abbigliamento e alle acconciature dei popoli descritti nelle sue Storie, non menzioni mai l'uso egiziano della parrucca", p.99, although it must be said that at time of his visit to Egypt in C.5th BC they were far less popular than in previous times.
- 4 Davies 1923 II, p.74 note 1.
- 5 See Derchain 1975, p.56, 70.
- 6 Riefstahl 1952, p.11, and 14-15.
- 7 Murray 1963, p.89, possibly following Frazer 1993, on subject of "head tabooed", p.230, 231; repeated in Cox 1984, p.60; Morris 1985 p.33 and Woodforde 1971, p.5.
- 8 Body Shop Public Information leaflet, 1990.
- 9 Martin 1989, p.85.
- 10 McDowell 1984, p.9.
- 11 eg. ostracon sketch Turin No.7052, in Abbate 1972, pl.64; Garetto 1955, p.71; Manniche 1987(ii), fig.66, p.85; Smith 1981, fig.379, p.382; Westendorf 1968, p.197; Amiet et al. 1981, fig.156, p.286 and Garolla 1988, p.106; tomb scene (TT.53), in Wreszinski 1923 I, 179; figurines Brooklyn Acc.No.13.1024, in Breasted 1948, p.89, pl.84-85.b and Berlin Inv.No.14202, in Breasted 1948, p.90, pl.85.a.
- 12 Turin No.5639, in Manniche 1987(ii), p.112, 114 and Störk 1977, 6.
- 13 For obvious reasons only selected examples used.
- 14 Simpson 1978, fig.33-34, pl.XXIII-XXIV; Smith 1981, fig.105-106, p.108-9; Donadoni 1955, fig.43-44 and Westendorf 1968, p.49.
- 15 Murray 1905 I, p.8, although comments referring to skull-cap should be disregarded in favour of interpreting this as depiction of shaven/cropped head, as stated by Davies 1923 II, p.74.
- 16 Moussa & Altenmüller 1971, shaven head, pl.26, short wig, pl.24 and longer style, pl.2, 30; for relative Kahay in short style see frontispiece and with shaven head pl.7.
- 17 MMA.08.201.1, in Cartland 1916, p.168 note 3.
- 18 For short round curled wig see Borchardt 1913 II, pl.33, 35, 37-38; relief with cropped head, Berlin, in Aldred 1965, fig.132, p.127.
- 19 Cairo CG.18, shaven figure and CG.19 with wig, in Borchardt 1911 I, p.19- 20, pl.5; Lange & Hirmer 1957,

- pl.61-65; Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.45-46; Aldred 1980, fig.56-57, p.98; Amiet et al. 1981, fig.95-96, p.215 and Fletcher 1994(ii), fig.225, p.135; CG.19 only in Terrace & Fischer 1970, No.10, p.57-60 and Smith 1949, p.49; also Vandier 1958 III, fig.13 for montage photographs superimposing wig of CG.19 on to shaven head of CG.18. Corteggiani states that creation of two such figures "corresponds to an inexplicable custom...whereby the deceased was given two different effigies of himself, one bare-headed, in a long garment, the other bewigged, in a short loincloth", 1986, p.60.
- 20 MMA.26.2.2, with wig, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.64, p.110-111 and MMA.26.2.4, shaven, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.65, p.112 and Corson 1980, p.36-37, pl.3.A.
- 21 Brooklyn Acc.No.53.222/50.77, in Fazzini 1989, No.14; Brooklyn 1956, pl.2 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.XXXV.1.
- 22 Brooklyn Acc.No.51.1, in Fazzini 1989, No.14; Brooklyn 1952, No.22; Brooklyn 1956, 1.B, pl.4; Aldred 1980, fig.60, p.100; Smith 1981, fig.136, p.140; Westendorf 1968, p.52 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.XXXV.8; also Kansas Gallery of Art No.51-1 in Aldred 1980, fig.59, p.100; Aldred 1965, fig.128, p.125; Smith 1981, fig.135, p.139 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.XXXV.6.
- 23 Tomb statue in Aldred 1980, fig.49, p.90 and Weigall 1925 I, p.252; reliefs in Smith 1981, fig.129, p.136 and Wreszinski 1936 III, pl.5, 9.
- 24 James 1953, pl.VII.
- 25 BM.EA.37895 shaven and BM.EA.37896 with wig, in James 1979, fig.76, p.201; Vandier 1958 III, pl.LVII.4-5 and Vandersleyen 1975, pl.149a-b, p.233.
- 26 Blackman 1915 II, pl.III, VI, XV for long style, pl.VIII for short round style, pl.XV-XVI, XXXIV for shaven head.
- 27 Leiden Inv.AP.63, Abydos, in Boeser 1909 II, No.5, p.3, pl.IV and Vogelsang-Eastwood ed. 1994, fig.5, p.10.
- 28 Leiden Inv.No. AH.113, Thebes, in Boeser 1910 III, figurine pl.XV and wig pl.XXII; Schneider & Raven 1981, No.41, p.63; Braat & Klasens 1968, pl.42, p.34; Vandier 1958 III, pl.LXXXI.6; Aldred 1969, No.29, p.40-41; Amiet et al. 1981, fig.64, p.242; Fechheimer 1921, pl.58 and Donadoni 1955, figs.69-70 (although wig too large for actual figure, see Delange 1987, p.129, note 1).
- 29 Davies 1933, pl.IX, XVII for shaven head, and pl.VIII, p.10 with wig.
- 30 Davies 1923, p.17, pl.LIV.
- 31 Manniche 1988, fig.43, 54, pl.26, 33.
- 32 Davies 1941, pl.XXX-XXXI.
- 33 Davies 1903-1908 for frequent representations of shaven head together with fashionable styles, eg. Panehesy in Davies 1905 II, pl.XXII for shaven head and pl.XXIII for shoulder-length style, etc.
- 34 Zivie 1990, fig.24, p.61.
- 35 Cairo JE.11751, in Otto 1968, pl.7.
- 36 Cam.Fitz.E.5549.
- 37 Davies 1927, pl.VII and VIII.
- 38 Davies 1948, pl.XXXV.
- 39 Otto 1968, pl.12 and Koenig 1990, p.84.
- 40 Davies 1948, p.40, although terms 'full wig' and 'bald head' misleading (as discussed below).
- 41 eg. Cairo CG.42236, in Legrain 1914 III, p.85-87, pl.XLIV-XLV; Smith 1981, fig.407, p.414; Leclant 1961, p.3-20, pl.1-2; Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.246; Chicago Natural History Museum No.31.723, in Bothmer 1960,

- No.13a, pl.13, p.14 and Cleveland No.51.281, in Manniche 1987 p.86.
- 42 eg. Kansas Gallery of Art, No.48-28/2, in Bothmer 1960 No.14, pl.13, p.16 and Smith 1981, fig.406, p.413.
- 43 Erman 1971, p.218.
- 44 Erman 1971, p.224.
- 45 Leiden Inv.AM.10, in Schneider & Raven 1981, No.23, p.46; Vogelsang- Eastwood ed. 1994, fig.4, p.9; Vandier 1952 I.2, fig.497, p.753 and Fechheimer 1914, pl.100.
- 46 Cairo CG.1426, in Borchardt 1937 I, p.108, pl.25; Corteggiani 1986, p.38; Vandier 1952 I.2, fig.470, p.713; Smith 1949, pl.31b; Smith 1981, fig.47, p.62; Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.18-19; Aldred 1965, fig.102, p.107 and Fechheimer 1914, pl.101; see also CG.1430, in Borchardt 1937 I, p.110-111, pl.27 and Vandier 1952 I.2, fig.489, p.712.
- 47 Cairo CG.1428, in Borchardt 1937 I, p.109-110, pl.26; Vandier 1952 I.2, fig.488, p.711 and Corteggiani 1986, p.37.
- 48 Cairo CG.1427/JE.28504, in Borchardt 1937 I, p.109, pl.25; Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.21; Abbate 1972, pl.7-8; Corteggiani 1986, p.35-7; Smith 1981, fig.48, p.62; Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.18-9; Vandier 1952 I.2, fig.488, p.711; Schäfer 1974, pl.1, 15; Fechheimer 1914, pl.101-102; Terrace & Fischer 1970, No.4, p.33-38; see also CG.1429, in Borchardt 1937 I, p.110, pl.26; Vandier 1952 I.2, fig.489, p.712 and Schäfer 1974, pl.14.
- 49 Moussa & Altenmüller 1971, p.19, 30, pl.2, 30 for long style and p.29, pl.24.a for short round style.
- 50 Cairo CG.3/4, in Borchardt 1911 I, p.3-5, pl.1; Vandier 1958 III, pl.X.1- 5; Smith 1981, fig.78, p.85; Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.27; Westendorf 1968, p.34-35 and Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.22-25.
- 51 Petrie 1892, Nofret pl.IX-X, XV and Rahotep pl.IX-XII, XIV-XV.
- 52 Sculpted fragment Cairo CG.6265, in Vandier 1958 III, pl.XLVII.5, and Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.53, p.303; relief scene Cairo CG.6267/JE.66626, in Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.52, p.303 and Corteggiani 1986, No.22, p.53.
- 53 Short style MMA.26.2.6 and long shoulder-length style MMA.26.2.2, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.64, p.111 (compared to aforementioned cropped head MMA.26.2.4, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.65, p.112).
- 54 Short style Louvre A.102/103/104 and long shoulder-length style Louvre A.105.
- 55 Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.75.
- 56 Aldred 1965, fig.117, p.116; Aldred 1980, fig.49, p.90; Kanawati 1987, pl.116 and Hart 1991, p.188, pl.83.
- 57 Cairo CG.60/JE.30796, in Borchardt 1911 I, p.52-53, pl.15; Vandier 1958 III, pl.XLII.1, and Corteggiani 1986, No.27, p.60.
- 58 Blackman 1953 V, pl.VI, IX-XI, XIII.
- 59 Blackman 1953, pl.V-VI, X, XII, XIV.
- 60 eg. stela of Nefru, in Westendorf 1968, p.66.
- 61 eg. sarcophagus scenes of Kawit, Cairo JE.47397 in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.68.b,d and Gauthier-Laurent 1938, "La princesse Kaouit porte probablement ici une perruque, car sur les deux autres scènes de son sarcophage elle a soit...une coiffure bouclée d'un type différent de celui-ci", p.688.
- 62 Dorman 1988, p.116-120.
- 63 Smith 1981, fig.220, p.227.
- 64 MMA.31.4.2, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.58, p.109; for similar sketch MMA.66.3.252 see Lansing and Hayes 1937, fig.7, p.8.

- 65 For basic 'one-piece' style see Cairo CG.42116, in Smith 1981, fig.221, p.227; Vandier 1958 III, pl.CLXII.3 and Aldred 1961, No.32, p.51; Cairo JE.37438, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987 No.132; Cairo CG.42114, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.132; Aldred 1961 No.31, p.51 and Nims 1965, p.48; BM.EA.174, in Aldred 1961, No.33, p.52; Aldred 1980, fig.120, p.156 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.CLXII.2; for 'flared' version see Brooklyn 67.68, in Fazzini et al. 1989, No.34; Fazzini 1975, Cat.54, p.75; Bothmer 1967, fig.5- 6, p.60-61 and Smith 1981, fig.222, p.227; Chicago 173.800, in Aldred 1980, fig.119, p.156; Vandier 1958 III, pl.CLXII.5 and Vandersleyen 1976, pl.179a- b, p.245; MMA.48.149.7, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.57, p.106 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.CLV.5; also Dorman 1988, p.116-138 for Senmut's statuary in general.
- 66 Cairo JE.44861, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.148; Vandier 1958 III, pl.CLXXI.3; Terrace & Fischer 1970, No.25, p.117-120 and Aldred 1980, fig.136, p.171; also Luxor J.4, in Luxor 1978, No.117, p.52.
- 67 Cairo CG.551, in Vandier 1958 III, pl.CLXXI.4 and Kozloff & Bryan 1992, fig.VIII.2, p.239; also Cairo CG.42127/JE.38368, in Legrain 1906 I, p.78-80, pl.76; Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.149; Vandier 1958 III, pl.CXLIX.5; Smith 1981, fig.267, p.271; Aldred 1980, fig.137, p.171 and Fletcher 1992, p.16.
- 68 Green 1988, p.560.
- 69 Eaton-Krauss 1981, "throughout Egyptian history, wigs and who might wear them on which occasions were subject to certain conventions...a case in point is the vogue...of the so-called 'Nubian' wig during the Amarna period", p.252.
- 70 Werner 1979, p.327.
- 71 eg. long style CG.42236, in Aldred 1980, fig.184, p.220 and Leclant 1961, pl.I-II; balding figure Cairo CG.647, in Terrace & Fischer 1970, No.37, p.161-164; Smith 1981, fig.408, p.415 and Leclant 1961, pl.XXXV- XXXVIII.
- 72 eg. short round style, in Lefebvre 1923 III, pl.XXVIII, XXXI-XXXII and long shoulder-length style, in Lefebvre 1923 III, pl.XXV.
- 73 Bonn Kunstmuseum der Universität B.284, in Brooklyn 1988, No.64, p.168.
- 74 Harvard University Art Museum No.1983.96, in Brooklyn 1988, No.65, p.169- 170 and Hildesheim RPM.1025, in Brooklyn 1988, fig.43, p.76.
- 75 MMA.20.2.21, in Brooklyn 1988, No.66, p.170-171.
- 76 BM.EA.10479.6, yellow style, in Faulkner 1985, p.31 and BM.EA.10479.7 and blue style, in Faulkner 1985, p.106.
- 77 Scenes in which their hair black discussed below.
- 78 Desroches-Noblecourt et al. 1985, scene 16.
- 79 Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.98.
- 80 Davies 1925, p.53, pl.VIII.
- 81 Davies 1933 I, p.13, frontispiece; as result of greyness he believes style to be natural hair.
- 82 Davies 1927, p.40, note 4, pl.XXII-XXIII.
- 83 Campbell 1912, p.143.
- 84 BM.EA.10470.4, in James 1985, fig.62, p.56; Rossiter 1979, p.31 and Price 1970, p.149.
- 85 Davis 1908, pl.XVIII and Schäfer 1974, pl.61.
- 86 Cairo CG.34138, XVIII dyn, Qurna stela, in Lecaup 1909, p.188-189, pl.LVII.
- 87 BM.EA.10470.5, in Faulkner 1985, p.38 and Dunand & Lichtenberg 1991, p.34- 35.

- 88 Manniche 1987, fig.69, p.82 and Michalowski 1969, fig.570.
- 89 Davies 1926, p.15, pl.XI.
- 90 Davies 1926, pl.XVI.
- 91 eg. scribe of Khaemwaset (TT.261), in James 1985, fig.11, p.14 and Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.100.
- 92 eg. vintner of Nakht (TT.52), in Davies 1917, pl.XXVI.
- 93 eg. fisherman of Apy (TT.217), in Davies 1927, pl.LXXXVII.
- 94 Zivie 1979, pl.10, 23-24; Michalowski 1969, fig.574 and el-Saghir 1990, p.71.
- 95 eg. Pap.Ebers 450-463/Pap.Hearst 147-149, in Ghalioungui 1973, p.134-135, 156; Leake 1952, p.89 and Kamal 1967, p.213-214; for Ptolemaic reference see also Pomeroy 1984, p.68-69.
- 96 Despite term 'wig' when meaning hair, eg. Manniche 1987, p.82.
- 97 For unique example of false braids made up of grey hair dated to Coptic period, see Martin 1981, p.74.
- 98 eg. Manniche 1987, "Years do not show in the face the way the Egyptian artist was declined to depict his model", p.82, hair instead shown as grey or white; see also Davies 1927, p.40.
- 99 eg. Gauthier-Laurent 1938, "l'on voit même sur le front une partie de la monture de la perruque", p.691; also Davis 1910, "the headdress is a wig, the line of the cap showing on the forehead", p.25.
- 100 See Corson 1980, "women [and men] sometimes wore wigs over their own hair which was parted in the middle and combed flat, often showing beneath the wig in front", p.24; also Erman 1971, "little locks of natural hair peep out from under the edge of the heavy wigs", p.219; Watterson 1991, "their own hair carefully delineated by the artist", p.102; Garetto 1955, p.65 and Wenig 1969, p.41.
- 101 Cairo CG.1386/1387, in Murray 1905 I, p.4, pl.II (for 'brushed' read 'combed' as brushes not used), also Borchardt 1937 I, p.48, pl.11
- 102 Cairo CG.4, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.27; Aldred 1971, "over her cropped poll, Nofret wears a short bushy wig", p.183; Abbate 1972, pl.15; Corteggiani 1986, No.13, p.38-41; Malek 1986, p.110; Vandier 1958 III, pl.X.2, 4-5 and Corson 1980, p.38-39, pl.4.B.
- 103 Copenhagen NCG.AEIN.1536, Sakkara, in Koefoed-Petersen 1950, No.5, p.9, pl.7.
- 104 MMA. 26.7.13.91, in Gardiner 1917, pl.I, p.1-3; Fechheimer 1921, pl.9 and Reeves & Taylor 1992, p.114.
- 105 BM.EA.65430, in Robins 1993, fig.68, p.162 and back cover illustration in Malek 1986.
- 106 BM.EA.24619, in Hall 1925, pl.I, p.1; Malek 1986, p.86 and Fechheimer 1921, pl.10.
- 107 Boston MFA.30.1456, in Dunham & Simpson 1974, p.23, pl.XVII.a-b; Vandier 1958 III, pl.XIII.2; Smith 1949, pl.16.c; Wenig 1969, pl.8; Aldred 1980, p.77 and Hart 1991, p.109; also Boston MFA.30.1461, unidentified bust with same style and hair-line as Hetepheres again found in tomb of Meresankh.
- 108 Dunham & Simpson 1974, p.14; Reisner 1955, p.7; Wenig 1969, pl.9; Smith 1981, fig.99, p.105 and Vandersleyen 1976, pl.XIX, p.28, although Hart 1991, fig.24, p.113 fails to differentiate between style and hair-line.
- 109 Boston MFA.11.1738, in Aldred 1965, fig.110, p.111; Aldred 1980, fig.35, p.74; Smith 1981, fig.108, p.112 and Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.44-45.
- 110 Presumably divine figures would have no need of such practical/status items; for triads of Mycerinus with Hathor, see Cairo JE.40679, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.33; Smith 1981, fig.110, p.114; Hildesheim 1984, No.96, p.194-195; Corteggiani 1986, No.17, p.46-48; also Boston MFA.09.200, in Aldred 1980, fig.36, p.75.

- 111 Cairo JE.39133, Sakkara, in Malek 1986, p.102-103 and Smith 1949, p.176, pl.54.b.
- 112 Brooklyn Acc.No.39.119, in Brooklyn 1952, No.19; Fazzini et al. 1989, No.15; Fazzini 1975, Cat.19, p.31; Brussels 1976, No.17, p.40; Vandier 1958 III, pl.VIII.4; Smith 1981, fig.140, p.145; Aldred 1980 fig.53, p.95 and Hart 1991, p.214, pl.99.
- 113 Cairo JE.51280, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, "4th or beginning of the 5th dynasty", No.39; Aldred 1980, fig.37, "a number of stylistic details which suggest a date late in the IVth dynasty or early Vth dynasty", p.77 includes treatment of hair-line; see also Smith 1981, fig.133, p.138; Vandier 1958 III, pl.XLVIII.5; Westendorf 1968, p.63 and Terrace & Fischer 1970, No.12, p.65-68.
- 114 Cairo CG.22, in Borchardt 1911 I, p.23-24, pl.6; Vandier 1958 III, pl.XXXI.3 and Hildesheim 1984, No.2, p.14-15.
- 115 eg. Cairo CG.134, in Borchardt 1911 I, p.99-101, pl.30; Brussels 1960, Cat.16 and Hildesheim 1984, No.5, p.18-19; also MM.No.11423.
- 116 Cairo JE.66617, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.51 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.XXVI.4.
- 117 MMA.52.19, in Metropolitan 1984, p.8-9; Scott 1980, fig.4 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.XXIX.4; also Brooklyn Acc.No.49.215 in Brooklyn 1952, No.16; Vandier 1958 III, pl.XXXI.1 and Robins 1993, fig.71, p.165.
- 118 Northampton Museum Y.2610, in James 1963, "Sitmeret is shown wearing a heavy wig (painted black) and on her brow is a line of small, neat circular curls", p.8, pl.I-II and Aldred 1965, fig.124, p.122.
- 119 Louvre A.102; for separate identities of these officials and their families see James 1963, p.5-12.
- 120 Boston MFA.06.1876, Giza Tomb G.2004, in Boston 1988, No.15, p.87.
- 121 Copenhagen NCG.AEIN.1, Sakkara, in Koefoed-Petersen 1950, No.4, p.9, pl.6.
- 122 Other examples include VI dyn. wooden figure of official Amsterdam APM.3933, and figure of V dyn. priest Tenti, Berlin Inv.No.12547 (although damage around hair-line of latter prevents more precise interpretation).
- 123 MMA.26.2.2/26.2.3, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.64, p.110-111; see Corson 1980, p.36-37, pl.3.J. for reconstruction of woman's style.
- 124 Cairo JE.51738, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.55 and Firth 1926, pl.5.
- 125 MMA.25.2.3, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.83, p.141; Dunham 1937, No.78, p.92-94, pl.XXVIII.2 and Robins ed. 1990, fig.6.1, p.39.
- 126 BM.EA.45193, c.2000 BC, Asyut.
- 127 Louvre E.22756, in Delange 1987, "a la separation des mèches sur le front sont marqués les cheveux naturels, en méplat", p.196.
- 128 Cairo CG.381/CG.382, in Terrace & Fischer 1970, No.14, p.74; for further example of crescent-shaped hair-tab see "Head of a statuette of a Middle Kingdom lady, found at Megiddo in Palestine", Palestine Museum, in Wilson 1951, fig.14.b.
- 129 Brooklyn Acc.No.65.134.3, XII dyn, eastern Delta.
- 130 Brooklyn Acc.No.56.85, in Fazzini et al. 1989, No.19; Fazzini 1975, Cat.39, p.52; Aldred 1980, p.131; Aldred 1987, fig.3, p.15; Westendorf 1968, p.93 and Smith 1981, p.187.
- 131 eg. Louvre E.3111/C.167, XII dyn.
- 132 Blackman 1953 VI, p.23, pl.XI; see also fig.8, p.21, pl.XVIII.
- 133 eg. Cairo CG.42116, in Legrain 1906 I, p.64-65, pl.67; Smith 1981, fig.221 p.227 and Terrace & Fischer 1970, p.97; also Cairo CG.42114, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.132; Aldred 1961 No.31, p.51 and Nims 1965, p.48.

- 134 Cairo CG.42127, in Legrain 1906 I, p.78-80, pl.76; Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.149; Vandier 1958 III, pl.CXLIX.5; Smith 1981, fig.267, p.271; Aldred 1980, fig.137, p.171 and Fletcher 1992, p.16.
- 135 Davies 1941, pl.X-XI; Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.169-170 and Nims 1965, p.71.
- 136 Davies 1941, pl.XVIII, XIX, XXI, etc, and Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.166-167.
- 137 Berlin Inv.No.2063, in Fechheimer 1914, pl.139 and Chicago House MMA.Photo Archive T.811.
- 138 Martin 1991, fig.104, p.161.
- 139 Kozloff & Bryan 1992, fig.56.a, p.289.
- 140 Troy 1986, fig.34, p.57.
- 141 English Private Collection, in Kozloff & Bryan 1992, p.170-171.
- 142 Louvre E.25493, in Kozloff & Bryan 1992, No.22, p.202-203; dyad of Khaemwaset, Cairo JE.87911, in Kozloff & Bryan 1992, fig.49.a, p.258 and Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.152.
- 143 Kozloff & Bryan 1992, p.202, note 1.
- 144 Cairo JE.31053, in Hildesheim 1984, No.63, p.136-137.
- 145 Cairo JE.39637 in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.171 and Nims 1965, p.83 and MMA.07.2261 in Hayes 1959 II, fig.184, p.299 and Aldred 1957, p.142-143.
- 146 Cairo CG.616, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.202 and Terrace & Fischer 1970, No.32, "That it is a wig and not a stylised representation of hair is apparent from the headband lying below it on the forehead, to hold his own hair in place", p.141-142.
- 147 eg. 'White Queen' statue of Meritamon, Cairo JE.31413, in Borchardt 1925 II, p.152, pl. 108; Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.208; Aldred 1980, fig.158, p.192; Griggs ed. 1985, No.32, p.53; Freed 1987, No.9, p.142-143; Vandier 1958 III, pl.CXXXVI.2 and Nims 1965, p.134; see also Abydos reliefs of Seti I, in Borchardt 1905, p.82.
- 148 Louvre N.2454, Memphis(?), in Bothmer 1960, No.67, p.81-83, pl.64-65; Ziegler 1990, p.77 and Aldred 1980, fig.193, p.232; thanks to Dr.E.Delange for information.
- 149 MMA.26.7.1402, in Young 1964, fig.12, p.254.
- 150 Cairo Temp.Reg.5:3:25:7, 120-70 BC, in Bothmer 1960, No.122, p.157, pl.112-113; Grimm 1974, pl.13.2 and Russmann & Finn 1990, p.197-199; Bothmer also believes two figures of Ptolemaic queens Cleopatra II and Arsinoe II show natural fringe beneath ringlet-style wigs, ie. MMA.89.2.660, 170-160 BC in Bothmer 1960, No.113, p.145-146, pl.105 and MMA.20.2.21, c.100 BC, in Bothmer 1960, No.123, p.159-160, pl.114-115, also Grimm 1974, pl.12.2.
- 151 eg. BM.GR.1879.7-12.13, sculpture No.2009, bust of young Roman girl in wig, AD.210-230; see Balsdon 1979, "Denn auf einigen Porträtbusten markiert sich die Linie des Haaransatzes an der Stirn so deutlich, daß man wohl andeuten wollte, die ganze Pracht sei in Wirklichkeit eine Perücke", p.42.
- 152 Cairo CG.6004/JE.46216, in Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.40-41, p.301; also Vandier 1958 III, pl.XII.4 and Malek 1986, p.58; Cairo CG.46215/46218, in Vandier 1958 III, pl.XII.1, 3; Boston MFA.14.719, in Reisner 1942, pl.54.b; Aldred 1980, fig.28, p.68 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.XII.8; UC.15988, in Adams 1984, fig.9, p.18; see Smith 1981, fig.103, p.108, for cropped reserve head of Princess Merytyetes, contrasting with her tomb reliefs (G.4140) in which she wears tripartite style, in Reisner 1942, pl.57.a.
- 153 Laskowska-Kusztal 1978, fig.57-61, p.106-109, 113.
- 154 Cairo JE.71969, in Lauer 1939, p.450, pl.LXX, also Zivie 1988, p.187, pl.11; for second example see Zivie 1988, p.179-195, pl.7-10 and Zivie 1990, fig.38-48, p.86.

- 155 Cox 1989, p.16-17; also Simpson & Barth 1991, p.113-135; Simpson 1991, p.136-166; Rook & Dawber 1991, p.167-199; Wojnarowska 1991, p.283-295; Simpson 1991(ii), p.296-333 and Rook & Dawber 1991(ii), p.334-369.
- 156 Schäfer 1974, p.16-17.
- 157 Davies 1927, p.53, pl.XXVIII; see also Manniche 1989, p.12; Aldred 1972, pl.10 and Scott 1980, fig.7.
- 158 Faulkner 1978 III, p.195; see Spell 847, p.32; Spell 984, p.96 and Spell 987, p.97.
- 159 eg. Brooklyn Acc.No.49.62, fragmentary V dyn. Sakkara tomb relief.
- 160 Harpur 1987, p.145, 149, 166.
- 161 Moussa & Altenmüller 1971, p.20.
- 162 Malek 1986, p.114.
- 163 Mekhitarian 1978, p.11 and Vandersleyen 1976, pl.252.a-b, p.288-289.
- 164 Aldred 1965, fig.134, p.128-129 and Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.76.
- 165 Cairo JE.30191, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.60; also Terrace & Fischer 1971, No.11, "two are heavier and partially bald", p.61-64.
- 166 Blackman 1953 V, Meir tomb D.1, pl.XLV (no mention of hair in text).
- 167 eg. cattle-herder in stela scenes of Vizier Senwosret, Louvre C.16, XIII dyn, Abydos.
- 168 Tylor & Griffith 1894, p.17, pl.IV.
- 169 Davies 1913, pl.XXXIX.
- 170 Davies 1943, pl.XLVI.
- 171 Davies 1923, fig.1, p.73-77; also Davies 1922, p.63.
- 172 Davies 1925, "the artist has shown humorous contempt for the old fellows with thin hair" p.60; Mekhitarian 1978, p.125 and Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.36.
- 173 Davies 1927, p.60, pl.XXXVII and Mekhitarian 1978, p.147.
- 174 Crop assessor, BM.EA.37982, in James 1985, fig.32, p.33; Stead 1986, fig.33, p.26 and Fletcher 1994(ii), fig.212, p.129; labourer, Berlin Inv.No.18529, in Manniche 1987, p.146-149, No.68-69, pl.48-49 and Schäfer 1974, fig.29, p.73.
- 175 Cam.Fitz.EGA.106.1949; probably XIX dyn. on stylistic grounds rather than Ptolemaic/Roman date given in Brunner-Traut 1979, No.15, p.42; see also Cairo SP.11202, XX dyn(?) ostrakon sketch featuring head of unnamed man with bald crown around which wreath of hair suggested by five broad strokes.
- 176 Turin No.55001, in Strouhal 1992, p.48, fig.54-55; Manniche 1987(ii), p.112,114-115 and Naguib 1990, p.16; thanks to Dr.J.Taylor of the British Museum for latter reference, pers.comm. 11.7.94.
- 177 Brooklyn Acc.No.77.130, XVIII dyn.
- 178 Martin 1989, scene 69, pl.85-86, p.85 (although in this line drawing hair-line unnecessarily inserted, close inspection of original scene revealing no such feature); see also Martin 1977, p.15, pl.II.3; Baines & Malek 1984, p.150 and Smith 1981, fig.333, p.344.
- 179 Leiden Inv.H.III.OOOO-QQQQ, in Schneider & Raven 1981, No.82.b; Martin 1989, pl.102; Martin 1991, fig.44, p.74-75 and Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.200-202; another such balding officer, Brooklyn No.32.103, in Brooklyn 1952, No.48; Aldred 1961, No.145, p.84-85; Martin 1991, fig.55, p.80 and Fazzini et al. 1989, No.55, where reference actually made to "a receding hairline"; also Cairo S.R.11862 for similar relief depiction of Memphite(?)

- official.
- 180 Boston MFA.27.442, in Vandier 1958 III, pl.XIII.1,3-4; Aldred 1980, fig.33, p.71; Westendorf 1968, p.39; Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.21 and Terrace & Fischer 1970, p.164.
- 181 Cairo CG.34, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.40; Borchardt 1911 I, p.32-33, pl.9; Vandier 1958 III, pl.XVI.1-2; Aldred 1980, Fig.126, p.124; Lange & Hirmer 1956, pl.54-55; Corteggiani 1986, No.18, p.48-49; Vandersleyen 1976, pl.137.a; Smith 1949, pl.18.c and Smith 1981, fig.115, p.121.
- 182 See Pinch 1993, p.334; also Faulkner 1981, p.9, 30.
- 183 BM.EA.43132, 8cm high, in Naville 1913, pl.XVIII, No.5, "The hair is represented as natural, not a wig: it is moderately long, and the top of the head is shown as bald", p.24 and Leclant 1961, p.100, pl.XXIX; thanks to Mr.V.Davies for access.
- 184 Musée Besançon No.17-46, in Leclant 1961, p.100.
- 185 Luxor J.141, in Luxor 1978, No.227, p.91; Lipinska 1966, p.67, pl.I and Pinch 1993, p.334.
- 186 Turin Inv.Cat.3018, in Curto 1984, p.235; Vandier 1958 III, pl.CLIV.2 and Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1989, fig.262, stating "the hairstyle..induces us to date the piece to the Ethiopian age", p.171, although Ramesside date given by Leclant 1961, p.100, pl.XXX.
- 187 Smith Collection No.189, in Björkman 1971 p.30, pl.4-5.
- 188 Cairo CG.647, in Terrace & Fischer 1971, No.17, p.161-164; also Borchardt 1925 II, p.193, pl.119; Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.246; Corteggiani 1986, No.101, p.155-156; Fechheimer 1914, pl.91-92; Westendorf 1968, p.204; Smith 1981, fig.408, p.415; Amiet et al. 1981, fig.26, p.298 and Leclant 1961, pl.XXV-XXVIII, p.99-100; see also Brooklyn Acc.No.83.160, relief figure of balding man from tomb of Montuemhat (TT.34)(?).
- 189 Ox.Ash.E.1970.357, XXVth dyn, unprovenanced.
- 190 Although Pinch 1993 suggests heads of such figures "partially shaven", p.220, also p.334; in confusing baldness with purposefully shaven head she translates *is* as "my shaven head" even whilst acknowledging literal meaning of "for my baldness", p.334.
- 191 eg. BM.EA.55252, C.Ist AD, Tell Basta.
- 192 eg. Cairo CG.36802, in Parlasca 1969 I, No.31, p.34, pl.8.3 and Cairo CG.33249, Fayuum, in Parlasca 1977 II, No.452, p.81, pl.110.4.
- 193 In addition to remedies in Egyptian medical texts (discussed below), see Pliny's 'Natural History' XXXII.xxiii.67, trans. Jones 1963, "Alopecias replet hippocampi cinis nitro et adipe suillo mixtus aut sincerus ex aceto, praeparat autem saepiarum crustae farina medicamentis cutem: replet et muris marini cinis cum oleo, item echini cum carnibus suis cremati, fel scorpionis marini, ranarum quoque trium, si vivae in olla concrementur, cinis cum melle, melius cum pice liquida", p.504-505.
- 194 'Histories' III.13, trans. de Sélincourt 1954, p.207.
- 195 Faulkner 1981, p.9.
- 196 Faulkner 1981, p.141.
- 197 Faulkner 1981, p.70; also Gardiner 1982, D.3. p.450.
- 198 Pap.Leiden 344 Recto, in Lichtheim 1973, p.153.
- 199 Lichtheim 1980, p.112.
- 200 Utterance 684 in Faulkner 1969, p.294-295, note 3; see also Utterance 324, "...for I have come with hair-spittle for this hair of his, which is ill at [the beginning of] the months and which is bald at the beginning of the half-months", in Faulkner 1969, p.103-104, note 6; see also Faulkner 1930, p.171, note 4; practice "as a healing

- operation" also referred to in Coffin Texts, Spell 622, "...spit on her head and hair" in Faulkner 1977 II, p.204-206, note 17.
- 201 Ebers 468, in Manniche 1989, p.134; Murray 1963, p.90; Strouhal 1992, p.86; Corson 1980, p.27; Cooper 1971, p.151; Ghalioungui 1973, p.134-5 and Kamal 1967, p.213.
- 202 Estes 1989, Table 7, p.107; Dawson 1932, p.153; Dawson 1934, p.41-42 and Dawson 1935, p.37.
- 203 Ebers 465, in Naguib 1990, p.7.
- 204 Ebers 467, in Manniche 1989, p.46, 113; Dawson 1932, p.153 and Dawson 1934, p.41.
- 205 Ebers 251, in Manniche 1989, p.143 and Estes 1988, p.102.
- 206 Ebers 475, in Manniche 1989, p.127.
- 207 Ebers 474, in Naguib 1990, p.7.
- 208 Hearst 145-147, 157-158, in Manniche 1989, p.152; Leake 1952, p.89-90 and Kamal 1967, p.213-214.
- 209 Hearst 147, in Manniche 1989, p.46.
- 210 Cooper 1971, p.23.
- 211 Ruffer 1914, p.244.
- 212 Leek 1980, p.39.
- 213 Podzorski 1990, p.85.
- 214 Smith 1912, ie. Tuthmosis II, p.30; Amenhotep II, p.36; Amenhotep III, p.50; Ramses II, p.62; Merneptah, p.66; Ramses IV, p.87 and Ramses VI, p.94.
- 215 Paris 1985, p.256-257 and Smith 1912, p.62.
- 216 Smith in Quibell 1908, p.72, pl.LIX-LX; Smith & Dawson 1924, p.97-98; Harris & Weeks 1973, p.19, 41 and Harris & Wente 1980, fiche 5.B.12.
- 217 Lansing & Hayes 1937, fig.31, p.20, also Eisa 1948, fig.2, p.11.
- 218 Smith 1912, p.14.
- 219 Smith 1912, p.13.
- 220 Smith 1912, p.19.
- 221 Smith 1912, p.97.
- 222 Smith 1906, p.158, pl.IV.
- 223 Winlock 1945, body No.70, p.9.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS HAIR

Having attempted to differentiate between real and false hair and between purposefully shaven and naturally balding heads, it is now possible to examine the ancient Egyptians' attitudes to hair in general. Such attitudes are most easily examined if divided into three broad categories:

1. Practical

2. Social/sexual

3. Religious

These are not set down in any order of importance since each has equal validity, and all interact to form complex patterns of custom and behaviour; this necessarily simplistic approach is employed only to give the clearest overview regarding hair and its treatment.

1. Practical Considerations

The hot climate of Egypt affected almost every aspect of the daily life of the whole population, not least the choice of dress, which would be expected to provide protection from the harmful effects of the sun upon the body whilst keeping it cool and comfortable. Loose drapery provided the solution in terms of actual clothing, but the choice of head-covering was not so simple, since although a shaven head might be cool, it would leave the vulnerable areas of scalp and neck open to the damaging rays of the sun.

The use of wigs in this context might at first seem contradictory¹, Wilkinson stating that "It may appear singular that so warm a covering to the head should have been adopted in the climate of Egypt, but when we recollect that they always shaved the head, and that the reticulated texture of the groundwork, on which the hair was fastened, allowed the heat of the head to escape, whilst the hair effectually protected it from the sun, it is evident that no better covering could have been devised, and that it far surpassed in comfort and coolness the modern turban..."².

It has been noted however that "the wig of the ancient Egyptian and the turban of the Arab or Turk had much in common - both were worn over a shaven head, they were worn throughout the day both indoors and out..."³, and whilst turbans, hats or caps were not generally worn by the dynastic Egyptians⁴, kerchiefs and simple cloths⁵ were extensively used in the absence of wigs to cover shaven/cropped heads or to protect the natural hair if retained. Headcloths were worn by a wide variety of individuals including priest Nakhtamun (TT.341), who "being wigless...has put a kerchief on his bald [shaven] head to shade it from the otherwise welcome sun"⁶ (fig.399). Less exalted figures also found this a good idea, the door-keeper of Neferhotep (TT.49), "finding his position too sunny...has spread a handkerchief over his bald head"⁷ whilst in the same tomb scenes a workshop inspector wears a cloth over his own hair⁸, a common practice of a wide variety of manual workers of both sexes⁹ to keep the head shaded and the hair clean¹⁰.

At the other extreme hair could be grown relatively long and full to protect the head from the sun, and although this would not have been as comfortable as a shaven scalp it was felt to be more practical in the case of soldiers, where it could have a limited effect of cushioning the head¹¹. This is indeed borne out by the physical remains of XIth dynasty soldiers found at Deir el-Bahari (fig.737-742), Winlock stating that "each had his head well incased with locks, for before helmets were introduced into Egypt...every soldier had to depend almost entirely on the thickness of his hair to protect his skull"¹².

However, this practice seems only to have applied to such specialised professions as the military, the Egyptians much preferring the cleanliness afforded by a shaven or closely-cropped head. Petrie states that as early as the predynastic period people "shaved the head...and wore wigs, so that there was much care of the person and cleanliness"¹³, with "overall hairiness...symptomatic of uncleanliness and neglect"¹⁴. As in cases of baldness it is generally the 'lower orders' who are depicted with an unkempt appearance complete with excess body hair, examples including an old man from the tomb of Inyotef (TT.155)¹⁵, a carpenter from the tomb of Rekhmire (TT.100)¹⁶, another carpenter in a fragmentary painted scene

from a lost tomb ¹⁷ (fig.326) and a similar fragmentary figure possibly from the tomb scenes of Nebamun ¹⁸ (fig.313), all of whom have been clearly differentiated from the depilated and purposefully contrived appearance of the wealthy.

It is clear from both artistic representations and physical remains that the Egyptians loved elaborate styles, and those which could be removed at will would constitute the ideal coiffure. Derchain remarks upon "La belle chevelure que l'art du perruquier rend immuable" ¹⁹, and Corson describes one of the main reasons for the adoption of wigs as a solution to "the practical problem of keeping the hair clean...in the hot Egyptian climate, especially since they had a taste for elaborate hairstyles which could not easily be combed out" ²⁰.

It has been suggested that the wigs were extremely heavy and uncomfortable to wear, in some cases exerting sufficient pressure to rub away the hair to cause baldness and ultimately parietal thinning of the skull! This bi-lateral thinning of the parietal bone is found as early as the IIInd dynasty ²¹, and is clearly seen on the skull of Khety of Middle Kingdom date ²² and those of Meritamun(?) ²³ and Tuthmosis III. In the latter case Smith notes that "upon the lateral aspect of the cranium there are large triangular depressions due to the atrophy of the outer surfaces of the parietal bones. Such depressions are of common occurrence in the crania of ancient Egyptian aristocracy. I have suggested by way of explanation the constant wearing of heavy wigs or other headgear may be the cause" ²⁴, and he concludes that the condition was confined to the upper-classes living between the IIInd and XXth dynasties.

However, others have rejected this hypothesis since "the condition has been found amongst other populations who...did not wear wigs...the wearing of wigs could not possibly produce such localised anomalies because their weight would be borne by the whole dome of the head, and so could not be responsible for such limited areas of pressure..." ²⁵.

Research undertaken during the course of this study has revealed surviving wigs to be relatively light ²⁶, the weight of one XVIIIth dynasty man's wig (fig.763-765) estimated at between 0.5 to 1 kg ²⁷ which is sufficiently light for it to have been stored in its flimsy reed box ²⁸. Since wigs were adopted mainly for the sake of convenience, it seems more than a little unlikely that they would ever have been made so heavy as to cause skull deformation!

Rather than being the source of any such problem, it would appear that false hair could have been used to conceal skull deformity as well as baldness since a number of bodies exhibiting various diseases affecting the skull have been found with wigs. In the New Kingdom necropolis at Deir el-Medina Bruyère discovered the body of a small girl with "une perruque postiche de cheveux naturels noir divisés en petites nattes, qui n'était pas posée sur son crâne, mais dans une coupe près du cercueil. Cette enfant était hydrocéphale et n'avait pas un cheveu sur la tête" ²⁹, with two further examples of Roman date from the Kharga oasis cemetery of Douch revealing a similar practice. In the first example "La présence d'une perruque sur la tête d'une petite fille de sept ans a permis de faire le diagnostic rétrospectif de typhoïde. Dans ses formes prolongées cette maladie entraîne la chute des cheveux, qui repoussent ensuite très irrégulièrement. Sous la perruque on a trouvé des cheveux très courts, implantés de manière désordonnée" ³⁰. The second wig was found on the

balding head of a young woman of approximately 20 years of age, and again it has been suggested that the wig hid the effects of typhoid ³¹.

In addition to the problems caused by parietal thinning, hydrocephalus and typhoid, the skull could also be affected by osteoporosis, the cause of which has again been suggested to be the result of carrying 'heavy burdens' on the head. However, Leek suspects the cause to be a primary infection of the scalp, followed by a secondary infection of the bone, and he suggests that false hair was not only employed to cover baldness resulting from ageing, "but from localised loss of hair due to infection of the scalp by bacteria or fungi. Life on the desert and at some distance from available water must at times have made attention to hygiene difficult, and surely this could be a contributing factor to any disease of the scalp" ³².

This reinforces the idea that the majority of Egyptians would keep their own hair to a minimum length, not only for comfort, but for reasons of hygiene and cleanliness. The references to scalp diseases introduces the very common problem of head-lice (*Pediculus humanus capitis*), a parasite encountered throughout history. The lice are most easily dealt with by removing the very hair in which they live by either cutting or shaving, which "reduces the chances of picking up headlice...our ancestors who shaved the head and wore a wig recognised this" ³³.

Indeed, a common Greek phrase of the Fourth Century BC was "to shave down to the louse" ³⁴, with further classical references to lice ³⁵ including that of Herodotus who states that "the Egyptian priests shave their bodies all over every other day to guard against lice" ³⁶.

This was also common practice amongst the Roman military who cropped or shaved their hair not only to distinguish themselves from the long-haired enemy but for reasons of hygiene ³⁷ and to reduce the spread of typhus, a louse borne disease ³⁸. The louse seems to have been especially problematic in the heat of desert conditions, one anecdote recalling how "Pythagoras, while travelling in Egypt, is said to have been so plagued by insects and vermin in his hair that he cut it off and wore an Egyptian wig" ³⁹, the frequency of lice in Egypt in later times noted by Prospero Alpini in his work 'De Medicina Aegyptiorum' ⁴⁰.

The few references to lice in ancient Egyptian texts are rather vague however. The first is found in an el-Bersheh coffin text, which states that "a man shall say this spell over a louse from his head; he shall place it on his knee, spitting(?) until a fly comes to snatch it" ⁴¹, the word *ktt* translated by Faulkner as 'louse' on account of the insect determinative ⁴². The other example is found in the medical papyri which prescribe possible treatments for headlice(?), the term 'hnsyt...of the head' having been translated as 'that which moves about on the head' ⁴³. Both the Ebers and Hearst Papyri ⁴⁴ contain remedies to treat "hnsyt-illness of the head: fruit of the castor-oil plant 1; ox fat 1; moringa oil; is combined to a paste and used as an unguent every day" ⁴⁵, with another such remedy involving the use of an externally applied emollient ⁴⁶, such prescriptions actually proving quite efficacious when applied to short or cropped hair which would also facilitate their

application.

The use of oil to prevent lice was common amongst both Egyptians and other ancient people ⁴⁷, the oiling of the hair "a way of fighting infestation...for oil prevents the penetration of oxygen and thus suffocates the lice" ⁴⁸ by obstructing their tracheal system. This practice has been validated by extensive scientific tests carried out by Buxton, who acknowledges the antiquity of a practice known to Aristotle. Mineral, vegetable and essential oils were known to reduce vermin, and their use continues in modern times ⁴⁹. Fakhry notes the use of olive oil by the women of Siwa ⁵⁰, and Keimer records the use of oil, fat and butter amongst the Bisharin and Nubians of Aswan, "in this climate an effectual safeguard against vermin" ⁵¹. Buxton concludes that the use of such oils "with a small addition of insecticide, would be found to be invaluable for treatment of the head" ⁵² in cases of head-lice, and notes that such insecticides are found in plants, particularly quassia ⁵³; derris, saffron and stavesacre were also employed as vegetable insecticides before the introduction of D.D.T. ⁵⁴, and as Secoy and Smith note, "pest control is not new...plants have been, and still are, used by many different societies throughout the world to kill or repel pests" ⁵⁵. Indeed, the modern pesticide industry is based upon the effective insecticidal compounds of plants known since the earliest recorded times ⁵⁶.

The most obvious way of removing parasites however is by manual delousing, or 'squirling', defined as "delousing a living head of hair by picking out the pests by means of the fingers" ⁵⁷. This is clearly demonstrated by a group of women in Manilla photographed as recently as 1900 ⁵⁸ (fig.870), the scene virtually identical to a 'hairdressing' group of the XIIth dynasty found at Lisht ⁵⁹ (fig.869). The latter group is composed of a mother and child seated before a second woman whose hands are touching the hair of her companion in front, the second woman usually referred to as a hairdresser at work ⁶⁰. The scene may indeed be interpreted as such, although it is interesting to compare it not only to the ladies of Manilla, but to another figurine group from Thebes "showing two apes engaged in a similar but not identical operation" ⁶¹. In conjunction with this piece it is interesting to note that "headlice of men...are caught exactly in the same way the monkeys catch them in the zoo. A couple of Indian belles will often devote a spare half hour to entomological researches in each other's glossy tresses..."⁶², an activity Herodotus observed amongst Libyan women, who then, like their Indian counterparts, bite the louse having found it! ⁶³.

A similar figurine of a woman attending to the hair of a young girl (fig.871) was found at Diospolis Parva by Petrie, his interpretation of the task as plaiting ⁶⁴ repeated in subsequent studies ⁶⁵ with the notable exception of Maspero who regarded it as "une scène d'épouillage" ⁶⁶. Despite the dismissal of such a conclusion on the grounds that "la position des index rend cette interprétation impossible" ⁶⁷, Maspero's suggestion is valid, the position of the fingers being quite compatible with the delousing process. Although such scenes do indeed represent hairdressing, some were perhaps intended to show delousing as part of the general upkeep of the hair itself, and it is important that modern sensibilities should not interfere with possible interpretation.

As previously stated, the threat of head-lice in such hot dry conditions would prove very real ⁶⁸, although the problem could be kept to a minimum by keeping the natural hair short, and using false hair if and when desired. Studies into the biology of the louse clearly show it can only survive in hair close to the scalp in close proximity to the blood, its sole source of food, on which it must feed five times a day ⁶⁹. Feeding is hindered and reduced if the head is dirty, and thus contrary to popular misconceptions, head-lice can only thrive upon clean hair. Their prevalence in the modern western world would be a paradox if it was thought that they would disappear with the improved hygiene standards of an affluent society ⁷⁰, as in the case of the relatively high standards of cleanliness amongst the ancient Egyptians.

The louse's method of transmission has also been misunderstood until recently, their high levels of mobility rarely realised; lice are spread by direct contact of heads only, and cannot survive away from their food source which they will only ever abandon voluntarily at the moment of the host's death.

It has been stated that "the greatest threat to...any louse is posed by the grooming activities of its host...Being such short lived creatures [approx.2 weeks] lice are simply not worth repairing...One of the most effective weapons ever devised against lice is the ordinary pocket comb," which serves to dislodge and ultimately kill them ⁷¹. Comparisons between modern 'nit' combs and ancient Egyptian combs (fig.881-883) show no actual difference in design, both proving equally effective ⁷².

The desire to remove lice and their eggs ⁷³ is not merely a cosmetic exercise however, and in cases of heavy infestations of over 200 lice, the host may suffer quite serious health problems. As a result of 200 lice feeding five times a day the scalp is punctured over 1,000 times daily ⁷⁴, and after a few weeks the sensitisation to louse saliva causes severe itching, often leading to secondary skin infections as referred to by Leek in studies of ancient crania.

The main danger posed by these insects is undoubtedly their ability to transmit serious diseases, and with the exception of the mosquito it has been estimated that the louse has been responsible for more human deaths than any other insect ⁷⁵. Historically they have been the major insect vector of disease, and much of what was classified as plague was not flea-borne bubonic plague but louse-borne typhus, relapsing fever and trench fever ⁷⁶, one authority attributing the great plague of C.5th BC Athens to the spread of lice amongst the great numbers of people forced to live in cramped war-time conditions ⁷⁷. In a study of disease in ancient Nubia Armelagos found that 40% of scalp and hair samples from bodies of the X-group people (c.AD 350- 550) were infested with head-lice, which he acknowledges as vectors of disease without drawing any "speculative conclusions" ⁷⁸.

As such, the presence of lice amongst the ancient Egyptian population could shed light on a variety of questions, entomologists in the Manchester Mummy Project team having stated that "parasites living on the Egyptians would be of the greatest interest to us...If we found them in remains it would give us an indication of hygiene standards and disease transmission" ⁷⁹.

However, prior to the present study there was no evidence for actual headlice in a dynastic context, although a few empty egg cases are reported to have been found on the hair of the New Kingdom weaver Nakht⁸⁰, and in a pathological study of royal mummies in Cairo Museum Ruffer states that "I have not been able to find any in the mummies I have examined, except in a few cases, the eggs of lice still adhering to the hair in some cases"⁸¹. Although it is unclear if the eggs referred to were found on a royal host, this would not be surprising, since it has been noted that lice are no respecters of class, nor are they necessarily indicators of poor hygiene practices. A study by Ewing into lice from mummified bodies revealed eggs in the case of one "Egyptian mummy, but of the 4th century A.D."⁸², and the only adult lice also date to this period, having been found amongst the aforementioned C.4-6th AD Nubian X-group bodies⁸³ and on a comb of C.5-6th AD date from Antinoë⁸⁴.

The eggs themselves are very durable, and as such are comparatively common⁸⁵, whereas adult lice are far more fragile and difficult to trace due to their habit of leaving a dying host; most often found in a fragmentary state between the teeth of the comb which dislodged them, they are only very rarely found still caught up in the hair⁸⁶.

Considering the importance of such parasites in the decision to adopt false hair whilst removing the natural hair, and as possible indicators of daily living conditions, it was felt a careful study of the available hair samples could prove most informative, especially in the virtual absence of clearly documented examples. The current research thus began at Manchester Museum in 1989, and since previous examination of the museum's mummy collection had found no trace of either lice or their eggs, it was decided to examine the separate items held in storage⁸⁷.

Following an initial search, eggs were found on hair labelled "Part of wig. Abydos", with further research revealing a proto-dynastic date⁸⁸. The whole sample consists of a dark brown plait (fig.728) and a separate portion of auburn curls (fig.731), the latter being heavily infested with both unhatched eggs (fig.1), and empty, often abraded cases, the many instances of several eggs fastened to a single hair indicative of a prolonged and severe case of pediculosis. Further detailed examination of the hair revealed three adult lice caught within the curls, in a good state of preservation⁸⁹ (fig.2-3). Scanning electron microscopy (SEM) has enabled the lice and eggs to be studied in considerable detail⁹⁰ (fig.1-3), and comparative studies between these lice and their counterparts from both Roman Britain and the 20th century have revealed no visible differences⁹¹.

Due to the heavy infestation of the auburn hair sample in contrast to the dark brown plait found with it, it would seem that the lighter coloured specimen was the natural hair taken from the body, the reference to 'wig' relating to the darker hair which is actually part of another sample of hair labelled "Portion of wig, false hair and fringe, Abydos, Shunet el Zebib" (fig.728), again of proto-dynastic date⁹². As such it is possible to reconstruct the original find which had been divided up several times (fig.728-729, fig.732), the dark brown hair being part of a fragmentary wig, a plait of which was retained with the original auburn hair. That this auburn hair is not part of the wig is clear from the louse's need to exist in

'living' hair, with a constant supply of blood, and a wig which could be removed at any time would prove a totally unsuitable environment. Therefore any such traces of lice indicate an infestation whilst the hair was in its natural state, their very presence in this sample directing interpretation⁹³.

In 1990 it was decided to examine the mummified heads in storage at Manchester Museum as the only source of hair not yet examined. A number of these heads (fig.715-716) had been 're-discovered' in 1987, having been left unrecognised in the Zoology Department of the Museum since their donation by Smith earlier this century during his time as Professor of Anatomy. Their documentation shows that they date to the Predynastic to Early Dynastic periods and originate from Abydos⁹⁴ and the Naga ed-Dêr excavations of Reisner at Cemetery N.7000, where they were examined by Smith who had subsequently used them as a source of data⁹⁵.

Of the seven crania in storage at Manchester one particular example has an abundance of fine dark brown hair (fig.715) dotted with egg cases, SEM examination revealing the majority to be hatched (fig.4)⁹⁶. In addition there was also evidence of secondary infestation by the stored product mite, several of which were found inside empty egg cases feeding upon their contents⁹⁷; the mite has been tentatively identified as *glycypagus*, although positive identification is not possible on account of the damaged rear end of the exposed ventral surface⁹⁸.

Following the examination of the hair at Manchester Museum, other museum collections in the U.K. were consulted with a view to further studies⁹⁹. Of the eight hair samples examined at the Ashmolean Museum three were found to hold lice eggs¹⁰⁰. A plait of hair from Abydos (Tomb B.15) dated to the proto-dynastic period was found to be dotted with eggs¹⁰¹ (fig.735) whilst a bundle of matted tresses bound with linen and string was severely infested (fig.788), the obvious inability to comb it only adding to the problem¹⁰².

The third example was an infested portion of curly auburn hair with a darker section of worked braids¹⁰³ (fig.729), which proved to be a further part of the sample held at Manchester, a third, smaller portion of which is held by the Bagshaw Museum in Batley¹⁰⁴ (fig.732). Both these portions were found at the Shunet el-Zebib site by the Egypt Exploration Fund at the turn of the century, and would appear to make up the single find of natural hair with wig.

The hair samples held in storage at the British Museum have also been examined, the first being the contents of a sealed glass jar, labelled "Hair of a mummy - from the Deir el-Bahari" (fig.837), which revealed a large number of empty egg cases¹⁰⁵. The other example consists of 24 thick braids of hair (fig.831), the presence of two empty egg cases adhering to one of the hairs possibly due to the insufficient cleaning of the hair prior to use¹⁰⁶.

A most interesting specimen of a fragmentary adult louse was discovered during the conservation of a 1st dynasty linen band set with carnelian beads held by the Petrie Museum¹⁰⁷. On account of the great similarity between the head louse and the body/clothing louse (*Pediculus humanus humanus*)¹⁰⁸ this specimen was initially interpreted as a clothing louse

on the basis of context. However, analysis has proved it is in fact a head louse ¹⁰⁹, enabling the band to be re-interpreted as a head-band rather than a belt.

Of hair in Egyptology collections abroad ¹¹⁰ the false braids of Queen MeryetAmun have also yielded interesting results, one of the braids exhibiting clear traces of empty egg cases ¹¹¹ (fig.757-758). Since, as stated, lice cannot survive in false hair which is frequently removed, it would seem that the eggs must have been laid whilst the hair was still in its natural state, having been insufficiently cleaned prior to its later inclusion into false braids. Alternatively, if the braids had been worn continually for seven days or more ¹¹² it is possible that eggs could have been laid on the part of the braid nearest the scalp, as is indeed borne out by their distribution pattern. It would therefore seem possible that the queen wore these false braids continuously for a week at least during which time she was suffering from pediculosis, a clear indicator that lice are indeed no respecters of class!

In conclusion, practical considerations of comfort, cleanliness and hygiene, as well as a desire to conceal baldness, deformity or the effects of illness, played a large part in the treatment of hair and the subsequent adoption of wigs. However, the practice of disguising such problems in this way could also be described as a 'cosmetic exercise', and should then be considered separately within a different context based on social values.

- 1 Erman 1971, "This custom of wearing artificial hair strikes us as very foolish", p.225.
- 2 Wilkinson 1988 II, p.324; see also Cox 1977, for reference to construction method of the Egyptian wig being "suitable for its purpose and the climate in which it was worn", p.70; Genders 1972, "wigs gave protection from the sun", p.28; Kennett 1975 p.36, quotes perfumier Eugene Rimmel when remarking upon the use of wigs on shaven heads to give protection against the sun; also Laver 1963, p.5; Andrews 1904, p.71-72; Turner-Wilcox 1959, p.1; Watterson 1992, p.102 and Wenig 1969, p.41.
- 3 Winlock 1916, p.238; see also Winlock 1933, p.156.
- 4 During dynastic period hats worn by non-Egyptians, eg. cone shaped hats worn by foreign musicians in NK reliefs Luxor J.210, in Luxor 1978, No.174, p.70, and Schimmel Collection in Cooney 1965, No.45, p.70-72, with XXXth dyn. examples in tomb of Petosiris, in Lefebvre 1923, pl.XIII-XV, and Macedonian kausia hat introduced by Ptolemaic times, see MMA.L.1992.3; form of turban worn by Palestinian mercenaries of Ramesside date, in Sandars 1985, fig.14, p.34-35, also fig.93-94, p.136-137; despite references to Egyptians' use of linen/felt skull-caps, eg. Davies 1903 I, p.13, pl.XXXVII and Winlock 1916, p.239, evidence very limited and confined to Roman/Coptic and Meroitic periods, see Brunton 1937, p.137 and Filer 1994, p.27; Vogelsang-Eastwood states that "Few items which can be identified as caps appear to have been found", 1993, p.169, all of which come from the tomb of Tutankhamen, but "the condition of these pieces makes it uncertain whether they come under the definition of a cap or not", p.169; only definite example fine linen and beadwork skull-cap found on king's head, "a skull-cap of fine cambric-like linen", Carter's notes, Griffith Institute, Oxford, thanks to Dr.J.Malek and Dr.D.MacGee for access; see also Carter 1927 II, p.113; Leek 1972, p.7, pl.XI, and Vogelsang-Eastwood 1993, the cap "more in keeping with either his royal or funerary status rather than reflecting an everyday item of apparel", p.177; otherwise 'evidence' for such headwear comes from artistic depictions, although these unlikely to be caps and instead almost certainly show hair-line of cropped/shaven head; "tightly fitting caps" referred to in Vogelsang-Eastwood 1993, fig.10:1, p.170 would actually appear to be short loose headcloths.
- 5 Three kerchiefs from funeral of Tutankhamen, MMA.09.184.217-219, in Winlock 1916, p.239, fig.2, and Winlock 1941, "Such kerchiefs must have been worn over wigs as protection from the dust", p.10, pl.IIA, VII F; also Vogelsang-Eastwood 1993, p.171-178, pl.2 and Vogelsang-Eastwood ed. 1994, fig.145, p.85; several linen cloths found over short natural curls of 'Unknown Woman D' (Queen Tawosret ?), "tied like those of modern Egyptian girls. A piece of linen about the size of an ordinary handkerchief was placed upon the head and its lateral corners brought round to the forehead and tied in a knot", in Smith 1912, p.82.
- 6 Davies 1948, p.35, 40, pl.XXX, XXII; see also priest Panehesy (TT.16), in Wreszinski 1923, p.72.
- 7 Davies 1933, p.22, pl.XVI.
- 8 Davies 1933, p.37-38, pl.XLVII, with example in tomb of Nakhtamun (TT.335), in Davies 1933, p.22; use of 'turbans'/headcloths by men mentioned by Strouhal 1992, p.85; see also Winlock 1926, fig.39, p.31 and Scott 1939, p.229-230, for Egyptian 'turbans', ie.sprang headcovers of Roman/Coptic period, majority of which worn by women, although they have been found in male burials, eg. MMA.30.3.56, Deir el-Bahari Roman burial No.39, in Scott 1939, fig.1-2, p.229-230 (although no mention of male owner); thanks to Ms.N.Kajitani, Head of MMA Textile Conservation for this information, pers.comm, 11.9.94, and to Dr.C.Roehrig for access to MMA's collection of such headcovers.
- 9 OK female servant figures, eg. Boston MFA.21.2600 & 21.2601, from Giza (tomb G.2415); Cairo CG.110, in Borchardt 1911 I, p.86, pl.24; Aldred 1987, fig.78, p.115; Brussels 1960, Cat.17, fig.15, and Vogelsang-Eastwood 1993, fig.10:3, p.173; NK manual workers, eg. threshers from tomb of Menna (TT.69), in Mekhitarian 1978, p.76; fishermen in tomb of Ipy (TT.217), in Davies 1927, p.60, pl.XXXVII; also female mourners in tomb of Ramose (TT.55), in Davies 1941, pls.XXIV & XLIX; for use of headcloths and kerchiefs in general see Vogelsang-Eastwood 1993, p.171-178.
- 10 Further purpose could have been to prevent spread of lice, as noted in modern Egyptian context by Rugh 1986, p.12.

- 11 Fischer 1976, "soldiers...wore their hair long as a protection against the sun and against the blows of their adversaries", p.41, note 8; see also Breasted 1948, "they wear short wigs, which protect the head like a helmet or stuffed cap", p.101; also Aldred 1957, p.142-143 and Aldred 1987, fig.133, p.191.
- 12 Winlock 1945, p.9, and indeed he notes that in case of body No.68 "caught in the locks of the bushy hair was a fragment of arrow tip 4cm. long and 3mm. in greatest diameter, tapering to a sharp point", p.13; however, by C.5th BC it would appear Egyptian soldiers shave their heads, according to Herodotus, 'Histories' III.13, trans. de Sélincourt 1954, p.207.
- 13 Petrie 1920, p.47.
- 14 Davies 1982(ii), p.189, repeated in Lahren 1987, p.37.
- 15 Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.76 and Smith 1981, fig.250, p.253.
- 16 Davies 1943, pl.LII.
- 17 Berlin Inv.No.23731, in Priese ed. 1991, No.52, p.85 and Strouhal 1992, fig.147, p.136.
- 18 Berlin Inv.No.18529, in Schäfer 1974, fig.29, p.73 and Manniche 1988, p.146-149, No.68-69, pl.48-49.
- 19 Derchain 1975, p.59 and 73.
- 20 Corson 1980, p.24-25.
- 21 Leek 1980, p.38.
- 22 BM.EA.29574, in Dawson & Gray 1968, No.13, p.7, note 2, pl.IIIb.
- 23 Cairo CG.61052, in Smith 1912, p.8, pl.IV.
- 24 Cairo CG.61065, in Smith 1912, p.36, repeated by Ruffer 1914, with addendum "I would point out, however, in that connection that the Greek priests, who never cut their hair, and who never remove their heavy head dress except at the altar, have luxuriant tresses...I am therefore quite unable to account for the baldness of old and modern Egyptians", p.244.
- 25 Leek 1980, p.38-39, pl.IV.3.
- 26 Fletcher 1994, p.32.
- 27 BM.EA.2560, with many thanks to Dr.J.Taylor for providing figures, approximate nature due to wig being firmly stapled to modern wooden mount; this problem also encountered with wig of Nany, MMA.30.3.35, fixed to perspex base, thanks to Dr.C.Roehrig for access and information.
- 28 BM.EA.2561, in Cox 1977, p.67, also Cox 1983, p.2; Cox 1989, fig.248, p.266 and Killen 1994, fig.4, p.10-11; as Quibell 1908 notes, similar papyrus wig box of Yuya and Thuya is light "and can only have stored the slightest fabrics", p.58.
- 29 Bruyère 1937, tomb 1375, p.141; for further references to hydrocephalus see Armelagos 1969, fig.3, p.256 for hydrocephalic child of X-group population, and Rowling 1961 p.304-305 for swollen skull of a young Nubian woman.
- 30 Mummy No.20.2.1.4, in Dunand & Lichtenberg 1991, p.92-93; see also Dunand et al.1992, p.51-52, pl.24.
- 31 Mummy No.58.2.2.4, in Dunand et al. 1992, "une femme paraissant relativement âgée. L'âge probablement avancée de ce sujet s'appuie sur l'existence d'une calvitie compensée imparfaitement par une perruque. Toutefois l'étude radiographique montre à l'inverse que l'âge de ce sujet ne dépassait pas de beaucoup 20 ans!...Ceci évoque la momie 20.2.1.4 [above]. Si la cause du décès n'apparaît pas, toutefois la présence d'une perruque chez cette femme jeune conduit à faire les mêmes supposition que la momie sus- citée, à savoir la possibilité d'une typhoïde", p.142, pl.33.3-4.

- 32 Leek 1980, p.39.
- 33 Buxton 1939, p.123; Shipley 1915 notes that "the wigs worn in the 17th and 18th century undoubtedly owed something to the difficulty in keeping this...kind of vermin down", p.10, and Turner 1959, p.237 relates how the practice was carried out on the orders of George III in 1787- finding a louse in his soup, he ordered all kitchen staff to be shaved on spot.
- 34 Eubulus, quoted in Kock 1884, No.32, p.175; Davies & Kathirithamby 1986, p.168 and Keil 1951, p.308.
- 35 eg. Aristophenes' 'Peace', 740-741, trans. Sommerstein 1985, p.75 and Keil 1951, p.308; Heracleitus in Busvine 1976, p.68; Davies & Kathirithamby 1986, p.171 and Keil 1951, p.306-307; Plato's 'Sophist', in Busvine 1976, p.68 and Keil 1951, p.309; Aristotle's 'Historia Animalium' V.XXXI, trans. Peck 1970, p.209-211; Keil 1951, p.310 and Davies & Kathirithamby 1986, p.168 & p.171; Plutarch's 'Moralia', in Busvine 1976, p.68; Davies & Kathirithamby 1986, p.170 and Keil 1951, p.307 and Pliny's 'Natural History' XLxxxix.114, trans. Rackham 1947, p.502-503; XXVI.xxxvi.138, trans. Jones 1956, p.368-369 and Davies & Kathirithamby 1986, p.173.
- 36 'Histories' II.36, trans. de Sélincourt 1954, p.143, often quoted in this context; see Busvine 1976, p.67; David 1992, p.73; Driver 1976, p.160; Keil 1951, p.308; Naguib 1990, p.15; Fletcher 1995, p.31, etc.
- 37 Morris 1985, p.30; also Buxton 1939, p.123.
- 38 Jackson 1988, p.54; also Shipley 1915, "some German soldiers, before going to war, shave their heads; thus they afford no nidus for *P.capitis*", p.10.
- 39 Corson 1980, p.54.
- 40 Cloudsley-Thompson 1976, p.103-105; for interesting contrast of attitudes regarding cleanliness, compare those of ancient Egyptians to those of C.4th AD Christian monks and hermits, who viewed cleanliness with abhorrence and regarded lice as "pearls of God", in Russell 1961, p.373.
- 41 Faulkner 1973 I, Spell 98, p.97 and de Buck 1938 II, II.94; thanks to Dr.S.Quirke of the British Museum for this reference.
- 42 Faulkner 1973 I, p.97, note 8.
- 43 Busvine 1976, p.67 refers to "remedies for what may be lice" in the Ebers Papyrus; Leake 1952, p.80 gives "that which moves about on the head" in E.437/H.24, then "scurf" in E.446/H17 on p.79, following Dawson 1926, p.241 who also gives "scurf" for *hnsyt*, Manniche 1989 giving "illness of the head", p.123.
- 44 Both date from early NK, "but reflect practices already current in the Old Kingdom", in Estes 1989, p.96.
- 45 Ebers 437/Hearst 24, in Manniche 1989, p.123, 143 and Leake 1952, p.80.
- 46 Ebers 446/Hearst 17, in Dawson 1926, p.241 and Leake 1952, p.79.
- 47 Shipley 1915, stating that Spartan youths would oil their long locks, which would "probably guard against the presence of these parasites" p.9-10; also Keil 1951, who notes "the Spartan reputation for pediculosis capitis", p.307.
- 48 Dayagi-Mendels 1989, p.76-78.
- 49 Buxton 1939, p.117.
- 50 Fakhry 1973, p.47.
- 51 Pickering quoted in Keimer 1953, p.351, note 3.
- 52 Buxton 1939, p.117.
- 53 Buxton 1939, p.114.
- 54 Busvine 1991, p.38-39; it is interesting to note stavesacre is a delphinium, known in England as 'lousewort', and

- also known to ancient Egyptians, "though little has been recorded of its use other than as an ornament", in Manniche 1989, p.32, p.165.
- 55 Secoy & Smith 1983, p.28; thanks to Ms.M.Serpico, UCL, for this reference.
- 56 Thanks to Sanofi International Laboratories Ltd. for extensive information and help.
- 57 Cox 1984, p.145.
- 58 Cox 1984, fig.162, p.246; see also Busvine 1991, fig.3, 6, p.38, 40.
- 59 MMA.22.2.35, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.138, p.222; Vandier 1958 III, pl.XL.5; Breasted 1948, Type 2, No.1, p.56, pl.49.a; Janssen & Janssen 1990, fig.7, p.16 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.6, p.231.
- 60 Hayes 1953 I, p.221; Wenig 1969, pl.26.b; Janssen & Janssen 1990, fig.7, p.16; Gauthier-Laurent 1935-38, p.679 and Cooper 1971, erroneously stating it to be "the earliest known portrayal of a hairdresser at work", p.152.
- 61 MMA.22.3.333, in Hayes 1953 I, fig. 138, p.222.
- 62 Wallace in Davies & Kathirithamby 1986, p.173, note 154.
- 63 'Histories' IV.168, trans. de Sélincourt 1954, p.328 and Driver 1974, p.160.
- 64 Cairo JE.33732, in Petrie & Mace 1901, No. Y.247, p.52, pl.XXVI; ILIP date preferable to XII dyn. date given here on account of styles worn.
- 65 Gauthier-Laurent 1935-38, E, p.678.
- 66 Maspero 1915, No.5300, p.527.
- 67 Gauthier-Laurent 1935-38, p.690, note 1.
- 68 Maunder states that the eggs "will not hatch at temperatures below 22°C...The optimum temperature for hatching is no less than 31°C..." 1983, p.9.
- 69 See Buxton 1939 and Maunder 1977 and 1983.
- 70 Donaldson 1979, p.57.
- 71 Maunder 1983, p.15-16 (going on to state that washing hair only results in cleaner lice!).
- 72 Fletcher 1994, p.32; Coptic bronze comb BM.EA.24633, Thebes, almost identical to modern counterpart kindly provided by Sanofi International Laboratories Ltd.
- 73 Term 'nit' referring to visible empty egg case which acts as decoy away from camouflaged unhatched eggs.
- 74 Maunder 1977, p.1.
- 75 Maunder 1983, p.21 and Fletcher 1994, p.31.
- 76 Maunder 1983, p.21; Manchester 1983, p.50; Buxton 1939, p.24; Strouhal 1992, p.86; Cloudsley-Thompson 1976, p.102; Zivanovic 1982, p.19; Busvine 1991, p.37-38; Brothwell & Spearman 1963, p.435 and Armelagos 1969, p.256.
- 77 Keil 1951, p.305.
- 78 Armelagos 1969, fig.2, p.256 and pers.comm.4.7.90; findings quoted in Cockburn et al. 1975, p.1156 to compare with negative findings of lice on PUM II project.
- 79 Harrison 1986, p.171.
- 80 ROM I, in Strouhal 1992, p.86, although no mention in autopsy reported in Millet et al. 1980, p.71-84.
- 81 Ruffer 1914, p.244.

- 82 Ewing 1924, p.389, vague statement often repeated, see Cloudsley-Thompson 1976, p.104; Donaldson 1979, p.44; Manniche 1989, p.44, etc.
- 83 Armelagos 1969, fig.2, p.256.
- 84 Palma 1991, p.194; for similar combs of C.1st BC.-C.8th AD. from Israel, see Mumcuoglu & Zias 1988, p.545-547, with Romano-British examples in Fell 1991, p.1-7.
- 85 eg. Neolithic examples from Judean desert (uncalibrated date 6500 BC), in Zias & Mumcuoglu 1990, p.1-3; thanks to Dr.J.Zias for comments and access to unpublished material, pers.comm.13.6.90/26.8.90; traces on hair of Chinese mummy c.2000 BC, see Wen 1987, p.152-155; egg cases also found in 44% of North American Indian mummies studied by el-Najjar & Mulinski 1980, table 7.9, p.111, 115 and Manchester 1983, p.50; also "louse eggs quite common" in short hair of male Peruvian mummies of c.1000 AD in Cockburn & Cockburn 1980, p.141 and Manchester 1983, p.50.
- 86 For European/American examples, lice on five mummified Greenlanders c.1460 AD in Bresciani et al. 1983, p.24-27; lice from Aleutian mummies c. AD 1500 in Bresciani et al. 1983, p.24; lice from pre-Columbian mummy from Peru, in Brothwell & Spearman 1963, p.434-435, pl.XX.c.
- 87 Many thanks to Dr.A.R.David for access and information.
- 88 MM.No.1198 only part of larger find, some of which held in storage at Ashmolean Museum (E.4636 below), here firmly dated to proto-dynastic period; thanks to Dr.H.Whitehouse for access and information.
- 89 Fletcher 1994, p.31-33.
- 90 Fletcher 1994(ii), fig.214 (left), p.130 and Fletcher 1994, p.31-33; thanks to Mr.J.Hutton, Dr.R.Butler and staff at Biological Sciences EM Unit, Manchester University Medical School, and Mr.I.Brough, Metallurgy Dept. EM Unit, Manchester University, for providing EM facilities, expertise and advice.
- 91 Fletcher 1994(ii), fig.214 (right), p.130 and Fletcher 1994, p.33; thanks to Dr.J.Kennaugh, Environmental Biology Dept, Manchester University and Dr.J.Maunders, Medical Entomology Unit, Cambridge University for supplying modern lice samples and information; thanks also to Ms.V.Fell of English Heritage for Romano-British samples, see Fell 1991, p.1-4, pl.II.
- 92 Original queried NK date amended to proto-dynastic on account of date provided by Ashmolean Museum (discussed above).
- 93 Fletcher 1994, p.32.
- 94 Asher 1989, fig.4, p.2; thanks to Dr.A.R.David for additional information.
- 95 Lythgoe 1965; Podzorski 1990, p.84 and her comments at British Museum Palaeopathology colloquium, 4.7.90.
- 96 See Fletcher 1994, p.31; thanks again to Mr.J.Hutton and Mr.I.Brough.
- 97 Since these insects do not require live host they are impossible to date and could be relatively modern infestation, see Fletcher 1994, p.32; for similar example of insect damage to hair shafts of Ptolemaic mummified head, see Lahren 1987, "a temporal association of the insects and this damage cannot be made, due to the numerous relocations of this specimen since her discovery in the Nineteenth Century", fig.13, p.37.
- 98 Thanks to Dr.J.Kennaugh for identification and information; see also Fletcher 1990, p.24 and Fletcher 1994, p.31-32.
- 99 Many thanks to Sanofi International Laboratories Ltd. for sponsorship.
- 100 Thanks to Drs.H.Whitehouse and A.Tooley for access and information.
- 101 Ox.Ash.E.1669; unfortunately not recorded in excavation report of Petrie 1901 II, p.7.
- 102 Ox.Ash.E.1881.61, acquired by G.J.Chester.

- 103 Ox.Ash.E.4636, again no record in report by Ayrton et al. 1904 III, p.1-5.
- 104 Batley Bagshaw Museum E.E.F.163, donated by E.E.F. to Dewsbury Museum in 1903, later acquired by Bagshaw Museum, Batley; thanks to Mr.B.Haigh for information.
- 105 BM.2560a, presented by G.J.Chester in 1882; thanks to Dr.J.Taylor for access and information.
- 106 BM.EA.(unnumbered), undated/unprovenanced braids of hair stored in gents' outfitter's box; for more recent example of other hair insufficiently cleaned prior to working, see Pepys, ed. Latham & Matthews 1971, Vol.V, p.212, entry for 18th July, 1664, "Thence to my barbers to have my periwig he lately made me cleansed of its nits; which vexed me cruelly, that he should have put such a thing into my hands," the problem re-occurring on 27th March, 1667,"...sent for Jervas, my old periwig maker and he did bring me a periwig; but it was so full of nits, so as I was troubled to see it (it being his old fault) and did send him to make it clean...", Vol.VIII, p.133; in C.19th AD 'nitting hackle' or 'nitting machine' employed to remove lice eggs from hair prior to its inclusion into wigs, in Cox 1989, p.110, fig.462, p.306.
- 107 UC.16355, Tarkhan; thanks to Mrs.R.Janssen for access and Ms.K.Leath of Hampton Court Textile Conservation Centre for further details.
- 108 See Maunder 1983, fig.6, 12, p.8, 17, "Head and clothing lice resemble one another very closely", p.18.
- 109 Many thanks to Dr.J.Maunder for identification of this sample, "I have not the slightest doubt that this is a head louse", pers.comm.22.12.94.
- 110 Thanks to Dr.R.Germer reporting her findings of "many cases of lice eggs" amongst hair samples in a number of German collections, pers.comm. 4.7.90, and it is also hoped to conduct an examination of hair samples held in Cairo Museum in near future.
- 111 MMA.30.3.15.c, in Winlock 1932, p.9, 34,47, 76, pl.XXXIII.a (no reference to eggs); thanks to Dr.C.Roehrig for access.
- 112 Eggs take 7 days to hatch at optimum temperature of 31°C, 16 days at 22°C, in Maunder 1983, p.9.

2. Social/Sexual Considerations

In any given society the desire to appear 'attractive' to the opposite sex is a basic one, and is comparable with the need to assimilate individually into a particular social group. As society develops certain codes emerge, not least the code of fashion. McDowell states that "The fashionable person sees fashion as a way of telling the world of his or her success, importance, attractions and desirability"¹, a statement which, if used with caution, can be used to interpret prevailing attitudes in ancient Egypt. Since the appearance of the hair, both real and false, played an integral part of dress in this society, a definite fashion trend did emerge, following the patterns set down by the upper sections of society.

The style of hair can therefore be regarded as an indication of social status, used to convey information about the wearer. From an anthropological point of view "hair has social as well as personal significance...styles of wearing the hair...are used as indicators of social difference, varying according to age, sex, marital and other status and crisis situations...these styles are often not just aesthetic modulations or a matter of individual preference; they are strongly conventionalised, given moral approval and used as instruments of social expression and social control"².

It has been stated that "In every age, hair or wigs have been used to denote status, and to serve as a badge"³, and in his comparison of the ancient Egyptian wig and modern turban Winlock notes that "both changed with variations of fashion, the shapes...indicative of the importance, wealth or high rank of the wearer"⁴. Indeed, false hair can be used to convey a greater impression of power than can natural hair⁵, as clearly demonstrated by the archaic and distinctly artificial wigs worn by certain parliamentary officials and members of the judiciary within modern British society⁶. Furthermore, in an anthropological study of modern New Guinea tribespeople Strathern and Strathern have concluded that "messages of the values held by society are communicated by decorations; self-decoration is more than a matter of fashion and cosmetics"⁷.

Such an anthropological approach may be further employed to examine the aesthetic and sexual motivation behind attitudes to hair and its subsequent treatment in any human society, since hair is "directly concerned with sexual display"⁸. A number of anthropologists have undertaken research in this area, and their findings are discussed by Morris⁹. He states that in almost every culture males and females dress their hair in masculine and feminine styles, although it is arbitrary as to which sex has the shortest hair; in some societies men wear elaborate styles whilst women are shaven, whilst in others the situation is reversed, and as a result of this, two completely different types of hair symbolism exist within human folk lore.

In the first type, the length of a man's hair equals his virility and possibly holiness, and so to shave the head would be an act of humility; certain psychoanalysts regard this as a form of castration, an idea expanded upon by Berg, who traces the underlying psychological attitudes to hair in general, concentrating upon its sexual and fetishistic elements¹⁰. The second type explains the current western trend for men's hair to be shorter than that of women. A relatively recent phenomenon, it

was first set down in the 1st century AD by St. Paul in his First Letter to the Corinthians, in which he states "And does not nature itself teach you that it is a disgrace for a man to have long hair, but that it is a woman's glory to have long hair?"¹¹. This Christian doctrine would appear to have been heavily influenced by the contemporary fashion for short hair amongst Roman men, particularly the military, and it is a distinction which still deeply influences attitudes in modern society; indeed, "we have come to believe St. Paul and to accept the false premise that short hair is somehow more masculine"¹².

This notion of defining gender by the length of the hair may also be found in Apuleius' 'Metamorphoses' in which one of the male devotees of Isis is described as wearing fancy dress, whereby he "pretended to be a woman by attaching a wig to his head and walking with a wanton gait"¹³, the long style of wig presumably giving the impression of femininity. Such distinctions between the sexes on the basis of hair length alone seems to have been designed to make a clear break with some of the more 'pagan' customs with which both Christianity and Rome had to compete.

However, to use such attitudes to interpret dynastic Egyptian material can result in serious misinterpretation, as exemplified by an XVIIIth dynasty dyad figure¹⁴ (fig.379). The serene facial features and fashionably elaborate coiffure led Petrie to assume the figure to be female, and for many years it was hailed as 'The Mona Lisa of Ancient Egypt' and 'The Birmingham Isis'. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that the figure is male, since "both wig and dress are typically male"¹⁵. In the case of a group of long-haired scribes in the Memphite tomb of Horemheb (fig.364), "their features and coiffures could lead one to assume they are female. This illustrates the androgynous nature of human artistic representation which appeared...in the Amarna era and continued into the post-Amarna period"¹⁶.

It must be realised however that ancient Egyptian society used neither hair length nor degree of styling to differentiate between gender, a fact made quite obvious by the following studies of both the artistic record and physical remains¹⁷. Both sexes wear styles of varying lengths and intricacy to reflect the fashions of the time, and although Kamal notes that "Women took great care of their hair...[and] wore it long or short, in curls or plaits - according to fashion"¹⁸ it must be realised that his statement is equally true of men. Pre-Christian societies often favoured long hair for both sexes, and in the case of men links to virility are often apparent, the title Caesar, 'long haired', indicating an attribute felt suitable for a leader¹⁹. The Babylonian hero Gilgamesh²⁰ shared with the Old Testament figure Samson²¹ the necessity to retain the long hair which they believed bestowed their strength, a notion which is reflected in a passage from the Book of the Dead in which Horus and Seth are subdued by the cutting of their hair²², since "a man's soul or strength is sometimes represented as bound up with his hair"²³.

The constant renewal of hair makes it a suitable symbol for the life-force itself, and has "loaded it with a huge variety of superstitious beliefs and taboos"²⁴. Many cultures hold beliefs which cause both men and women to treat their hair in a specific way, often concealing it beneath a wig or headcover²⁵, and such customs clearly indicate a widespread belief in hair as a substance imbued with power and sexuality²⁶ which must be suppressed.

However, as Derchain notes, ancient Egyptian attitudes to sexuality are notably different from the taboo-laden Jewish and Christian cultures, being comparable to those found in Imperial China or Renaissance France. In such highly civilised cultures sex was not a forbidden pastime, but regarded more as "une préoccupation ludique"²⁷. Derchain then goes on to outline the coded language of sex within Egyptian society, concentrating particularly on the art and poetry of the New Kingdom which has also been examined by Manniche²⁸.

Both scholars outline the great significance of hair and wigs in this context, the latter stating that "anything to do with hair has an erotic significance"²⁹, and that "in Egyptian representations, the importance of hair was emphasised in substituting a heavy [sic] and elaborately curled wig"³⁰. Furthermore, "la chevelure représente un grand attrait du féminité...la chevelure naturelle ou la perruque tiennent une place de choix dans le charme de la femme égyptienne"³¹.

Whilst the sexual emphasis on hair is not particularly apparent in Old Kingdom scenes³², the situation gradually changes during the Middle Kingdom, until by the XVIIIth dynasty hair features prominently in artistic representations³³. This is particularly highlighted in the exquisite Theban tomb paintings attributed to one Nebamun, a Scribe and Counter of Grain at the time of Tuthmosis IV to Amenhotep III³⁴. In a hunting scene with clear Middle Kingdom precedents³⁵ both the tomb owner and his wife Hatshepsut are resplendent in the fashions of the time³⁶, Nebamun beautifully dressed with matching coiffure (fig.352), whilst Hatshepsut's elaborate attire, including abundant, carefully dressed hair, is even more impractical for the task in hand (fig.498). However, it is the very incongruity of her appearance which gives a strong indication that "il ne peut s'agir d'une partie de chasse réelle...la brillante parure de la jeune femme...donnent à l'ensemble un caractère érotique indubitable; qui me paraît d'autre part souligné encore par la grande perruque...Sans doute ne s'agit-il pas de prétendre que la grande perruque porte nécessairement une allusion érotique"³⁷.

Such 'great wigs' are worn not only by Nebamun's wife, but also his female banquet guests (fig.494, fig.496) and musicians³⁸ (fig.499), with further examples commonly featured in other contemporary tomb scenes. In those of Menna (TT.69) and Pairi (TT.139) "the hair is plaited in infinite numbers of tiny braids, many drawn individually...Such emphasis is placed on abundant hair and individual braids that the viewer is everywhere reminded of Hathor...whose fundamental physical charms included beautiful, bounteous coal black hair,...firm breasts being another classic attribute of Hathor"³⁹.

The sexual overtones are subtle yet clear, and are also to be found in depictions of women engaged in activities governed by the goddess, including lute players⁴⁰ (fig.499, fig.544, fig.565), acrobats and dancers⁴¹ (fig.495), and the priestess/prostitute figure(s) in the Erotic Papyrus who has also been described as "a singing girl in the service of Hathor, goddess of love"⁴² (fig.406). In such depictions, the women are generally distinguished by their highly emphasised hairstyles and prominent breasts to emphasise their sexuality.

The connection between hair and sexuality/fecundity can be traced further to scenes of regeneration and birth, another domain of Hathor⁴³. Representations of the woman in childbed or nursing mother show a particularly distinctive hairstyle

which Brunner-Traut has termed a 'Wochenbettfrisur'⁴⁴. This style is achieved by tying up the natural hair into one or two bunches on top of the head, the ends of which fall down on either side of the head; the tie could then be loosened during labour, "in order to accelerate birth...by sympathetic magic"⁴⁵, although it could also be regarded as an expedient, practical measure of convenience during the difficult process of childbirth, as indeed was advocated in the 'Gynaecia' of Soranus, an Ephesian physician trained in Alexandria⁴⁶.

In the New Kingdom this convenient hairstyle became symbolic of the woman in childbed, and is found on both ostraca sketches and domestic wall paintings⁴⁷ (fig.545-546). A number of so-called 'concubine figures' of the Middle Kingdom and 1st Intermediate Period give a three-dimensional view of the style⁴⁸ (fig.300), whilst variations reveal further sections of hair hanging down at the back⁴⁹ (fig.281-282).

It is tempting to suggest that women depicted with this style have only just given birth, whereas those in similar circumstances with long full styles⁵⁰ (fig.301) have almost completed some kind of purification period during which time they are groomed and prepared to resume their place in society. This can involve the presentation of a mirror and cosmetics (fig.545-546), and the re-styling of the former *wochenbettfrisur* into the fashionable style of the day⁵¹ (fig.542, fig.618, fig.675), some women even depicted having their hair attended to as they lie in bed⁵² (fig.877).

It has been stated that these type of female figurines specifically represent women undergoing purification rituals after the birthing process⁵³, whilst they have also been interpreted in a more general sense as erotic and stimulants to fertility, "projecting the image of mother and child. The fact that they occur in burials points to the continuation of these functions in the nether-world"⁵⁴. Their connection with Hathor's shrines at Deir el-Bahari, Sinai and Nubia has also been pointed out by Hornblower, who has interpreted their role as "the protecting mother-figure connected with Hathor". He also notes that many have holes around the head "to which were fastened locks of hair [or beads] to form a wig"⁵⁵ (fig.302), no doubt to enhance their potency.

Rather more crude versions of such figures exist, and dated to the XIth dynasty and early Middle Kingdom are generally referred to as 'paddle dolls'. They render down the female form to its sexual basics of genitalia and hair although it is the hair which is of paramount importance, and "none of the figurines, however crude, is without this essential attribute of beauty"⁵⁶. The hair itself is often exceptionally detailed, and can be made of various materials including twisted string (fig.220) mud pellets (fig.218), faience beads and straw rings threaded on to strings⁵⁷ (fig.219), the resulting styles perhaps comparable to the elaborate coiffures of modern Nubian women⁵⁸. Although it has been suggested that such an item might be interpreted "as a rattle...whose summarily treated figure serves as a handle and whose abundant wig, formed of chaplets of mud beads was to be shaken"⁵⁹, this would not have been possible in certain cases, since the 'hair' is not actually attached to the wooden body but is detachable and mounted on a linen cap which fits over the small wooden head⁶⁰ (fig.220).

Their general lack of facial features, in contrast to the attention lavished upon the hair, is also noted in the case of small terracotta heads of Graeco-Roman women from Hawara, Memphis and the Fayyum, their elaborate coiffures set in the fashion of the time ⁶¹ and very similar to those of 'rag dolls' of Roman date whose similarly ornate styles are made up of human hair ⁶² (fig.698).

In addition to such representations, the links between hair and sexuality can also be traced to seemingly innocuous wig mounts, which although serving as functional items, can convey erotic overtones by their use of stylised female features (fig.534). In discussing these overtones, Zivie notes that hair in general is strongly linked to female sexuality in ancient Egypt as in other cultures, and was believed to hold powers to restore the fertility of the deceased ⁶³. This is also true of other practical items such as mirror handles, which in the form of naked women playing with their hair are imbued with the same erotic charge ⁶⁴ (fig.472).

To expand further upon the sexual aspect of hair, the artistic allusions are supported by a number of literary references to its importance in a context of love and seduction. The New Kingdom Story of the Two Brothers ⁶⁵ tells a complex tale of human relationships in which Anubis has a wife who has taken a liking to her husband's younger brother Bata. When one day Bata finds the woman in the process of attending to her hair his request for help with the farm work is refused, and he is told "Don't disturb my hairdressing!" ⁶⁶. However, when she next sees him at work she exclaims at his strength and attempts to seduce him. This sudden change in attitude from rebuke to encouragement is ingeniously interpreted by Derchain, who assumes the presence of a servant or hairdresser prevents the wife from acting at first, then "il faut donc qu'au second passage de Bata, à son retour du grenier, la dame ait pu renvoyer sa compagne sous un prétexte quelconque, dont le plus simple serait évidemment l'achèvement de la coiffure" ⁶⁷. When her attempted seduction fails, she plans revenge by lying to Anubis, telling him that "when your brother came for the grain, he found me alone and said to me 'Come, let us spend an hour in bed, wnh p3y nbd'", which is variously translated as 'put on your wig' ⁶⁸, 'don your wig' ⁶⁹, 'put on thy ringlets' ⁷⁰, and so forth; only Lichtheim gives the alternative 'loosen your braids', taking wnh to mean 'to loosen' rather than 'to put on', thus negating any reference to wig ⁷¹.

To resolve the question, it is necessary to examine the words further. Derchain stresses wnh as 'put on', "comme le confirment un grand nombre d'exemples que j'ai contrôlés" ⁷², whilst nbd is often taken to mean 'wig', its root meaning 'to weave'. "Il semble bien avoir pris, comme substantif, le sens spécialisé de perruque et ne pas s'employer indifféremment pour toute espèce de tresses" ⁷³, and in defining this use of nbd as wig, Derchain has examined further texts.

The love poetry of the Harris Papyrus contains the passage "My heart is once again invaded by your love when only half my temple is braided. I run to find you...I trouble myself no longer over my hairdressing and wnh p3y nbd" ⁷⁴. Once again, Derchain gives "Je vais mettre une perruque et serai prête à tout de moment" ⁷⁵, or alternatively "I will put on my

curls, that I may be ready at any time" ⁷⁶, although Lichtheim continues to avoid translating *wnh* as 'put on', to give "If you let me braid my hair I shall be ready in a moment" ⁷⁷.

However, such an interpretation renders the passage quite ineffective, removing the reckless sense of urgency so clearly conveyed by the alternative translations, in which it is possible to imagine the woman carefully preparing her own hair until thoughts of love cause her to lose patience with such a time-consuming task; she reaches for her wig as the instant solution, and is at once ready to meet her lover. The use of the wig as a motif to convey the idea of urgency within a sexual context is clearly seen in the story of Anubis and Bata, the woman relating how Bata told her to put on her wig; the resulting violent reaction of Anubis shows that he has understood this subtle suggestion. Derchain states that "il devient clair qu'une coiffure élaborée ou une perruque soignée fait partie de la toilette d'une dame qui s'attend à faire l'amour" ⁷⁸, and the idea is repeated in a somewhat humorous passage in the Ptolemaic(?) Instructions of Ankhsheshonq, "If a crocodile loves a donkey, it puts on a wig" (*hrk*) ⁷⁹.

In the earlier Middle Kingdom Story of the Herdsman ⁸⁰, hair is once again employed as a motif to create an atmosphere of seduction. The woman involved seems to be a goddess or nymph since "she was not of mortal appearance...my hair stood on end when I saw her *srw* and gleam of her skin" ⁸¹. Here the word *srw* is variously translated as 'wig' ⁸², 'tress' ⁸³, or "wig, tress or animal hide" ⁸⁴, although Goedicke believes that *srw* cannot mean wig, but must be taken to read 'fur', the female figure having the furry body of an animal ⁸⁵. However, this theory cannot stand, since *srw* can be used to mean hair, wig or fur in the same way as can *snw* ⁸⁶, which occurs later in the story to represent the natural hair, in *thth.s snw.s*. Goedicke translates this as "she mussed her hair" ⁸⁷, and commenting upon the erotic implications of such a gesture notes that "she plays with her hair suggestively" ⁸⁸. He thus contrasts *srw*/fur with *snw*/hair, although it is quite apparent that *snw* could likewise represent fur or animal hide, as in the epithet given to one of the seven cows of Hathor, *wrt mrwt.s dsrt snw*, 'much beloved, red of hide/fur/hair' ⁸⁹.

Derchain links the idea of a wig/*srw* worn over natural hair/*snw* to the texts discussed to underline the intentions of the female figure and to explain the fear of the herdsman, "C'est que cette perruque était pour lui le signe d'une certaine disposition à l'amour, une invitation même" ⁹⁰. The use of *srw* to indicate false hair is further illustrated in the sexually potent 'Mysteries of Osiris', in which the women representing Isis and Nephthys are to have all their hair removed and *mdh tp.sn m srw*, generally translated as 'wigs placed on their heads', before performing the mysterious rites of union with Osiris ⁹¹. The two women are thereafter described as *hnskyt*, on account of their beautiful, albeit artificial, hair.

However, the term *hnskyt*, usually translated as 'she of the beautiful/braided hair' ⁹², is most often used to describe Hathor in her role as goddess of beauty and sexual love, and Laskowska-Kusztal notes that "L'usage de perruques de cérémonie par les prêtresses de cette déesse avait sans doute un sens particulier issu du rôle érotique symbolique des perruques et leur connexion avec l'aspect érotique de la déesse Hathor" ⁹³.

The term **hnskyt** is often accompanied by the further epithet **bntywt**, 'she of the beautiful breasts', both attributes discussed above in relation to artistic examples. Hathor is hailed as 'Daughter of Re, lady of the beautiful tress and breasts' at Edfu and Dendera ⁹⁴, and both terms are used to describe her priestesses, most notably the twenty rowers of King Snofru in one of the Middle Kingdom 'Tales of Wonder' ⁹⁵. Far from being a lurid tale of a lascivious monarch seeking dubious amusement from a rowing crew of semi-naked women, it has been interpreted as an allegory of the king as the sun god Ra being propelled across the sky by representatives of the goddess, all of whom exhibit her divine attributes of **hnskywt** and **bntywt** ⁹⁶.

In the tomb scenes of Amenemhet (TT.82) the harpist Bak sings "How happy is the temple of Amun, even she that spendeth her days in festivity with the king of the gods within her...she is like a woman drunken, who sitteth outside the chamber with **hnskyt** and...beauteous breasts" ⁹⁷. This song is repeated in the Ramesside tomb of Pakharu (TT.244), and although **hnskyt** has been translated as 'loosened hair', interpreting general drunkenness with overtones of dishevelment, it would rather seem to fit into the category of epithets alluding to Hathor herself ⁹⁸.

In her aspect as RenpetNeferet, Hathor is again referred to as **hnskyt** in the chamber of Ptolemy IX Euergetes II at Deir el-Bahari, in the phrase "Celle à la belle chevelure qui détient l'amour et réjouit son frère" ⁹⁹. In the Middle Kingdom Coffin Texts this is taken further, with the idea of seduction expressed by a bird trap held by a woman with abundant hair ¹⁰⁰, a love poem in the Chester Beatty Papyrus relating how "she casts the noose on me with her hair" ¹⁰¹. The motif of hair and imprisonment serves to further underline the sexual theme ¹⁰², and is a common poetic device used in many cultures throughout history ¹⁰³.

- 1 McDowell 1984, p.9.
- 2 Firth 1973, p.271
- 3 Cooper 1971, p.91-92, 119, Corson stating that Egyptian wigs "were decorative - often indicative of rank", 1980, p.25.
- 4 Winlock 1916, p.238.
- 5 Angelou 1970, p.20.
- 6 Firth 1973, p.292
- 7 Strathern and Strathern 1971, p.1.
- 8 Dawber 1991, p.1; see also Wojnarowska 1991(ii), p.459.
- 9 Morris 1985, p.28-29; see also Berg 1951; Leach 1958; Firth 1973, p.262- 298 and Brain 1979, p.116-120.
- 10 Berg 1951, p.22, "hair is an index of vigorous sexuality", p.29; see also comments on this work in Leach 1958, p.149-162; Brain 1979, p.120; Wojnarowska 1991(ii), p.458-459 and Naguib 1990, p.9, 11.
- 11 1 Corinthians 11:14-15; see Conzelmann 1975, p.181 and commentary on p.190-191; in 1 Corinthians 11:10 Paul states that a woman must cover her hair "because of the angels", ie. fallen angels who became demons, and as such are "sexually libidinous", in Conzelmann 1975, p.189.
- 12 Morris 1985, p.30-32; Conzelmann 1975 refers to notion of men with long hair as "a reversal of the custom. Normally, a reversal of this kind is considered a 'perversity'...'becoming womanish' is contrary to nature. It is questionable, though, whether Paul is alluding to long-haired 'effeminate'", p.190-191.
- 13 'Metamorphoses' XI.8, in Griffiths 1975, "adtextis capite crinibus incessu perfluo feminam mentiebatur", p.79; also Englert & Long 1973, "a wig marks one participant as a transvestite", p.238.
- 14 Birmingham City Museum 69'96 in Ruffle 1967, p.39-41, pl.V and Westendorf 1968, p.110-111.
- 15 Ruffle 1967, p.39-40; see also Westendorf 1968, for description of figure's "effeminate traits reinforced by an elaborate coiffure", p.110- 111; regarding problems of gender interpretation see Ehrenberg 1989 for enlightening quote in similarly ancient context, "such assumptions probably tell us more about the attitudes and social behaviour of the Victorians than the Minoans", p.115.
- 16 Martin 1989, p.79, although 'androgynous style' already quite apparent during reign of Amenhotep III.
- 17 eg. Wainwright 1920, although he suggests certain human remains from Balabish perhaps female on account of accompanying plaited hair, he cautions that "the hair does not of necessity imply that the wearer was a woman, for in the Nile lands men are accustomed to braid their hair, and, strange as it may appear to our notions, plaited hair is a sign of valour" and also states that presence of the locks "is no criterion of sex", p.11; in contrast see Morimoto et al. 1988, p.2, where simply on basis of style a NK body with straight hair assumed to be male, whilst one with cosmetically curled hair referred to as female, although it must be stated that this is a highly unreliable means of sexing a body !
- 18 Kamal 1967, p.213.
- 19 Also derivatives 'Kaiser' and 'Tsar', in Morris 1985, p.29.
- 20 Morris 1985, p.29; also 'The Epic of Gilgamesh', trans. Sandars 1960, "Gilgamesh washed out his long locks and cleaned his weapons", p.85, also p.115, although his companion Enkidu with virtue of a war god had "long hair like a woman's; it waved like the hair of Nisba, the goddess of corn", p.63.
- 21 Judges 16;17, "if I be shaven, then my strength will leave me", in Firth 1973, p.286, Brain 1979, p.118, and Morris 1985, p.30, 35.

- 22 Chapter 110.8-9, in Naguib 1990, p.9.
- 23 Frazer 1993, p.680; Strathern & Strathern 1971, p.92 state that a good growth of hair is regarded as a sign of male strength among the New Guinea tribes of Mount Hagen.
- 24 Morris 1985, p.33.
- 25 eg. Roman-Catholic women cover their hair when in church; Sikh men never cut their hair but wear it wrapped around the head covered by turban; Orthodox Jewish women must cut their hair short after marriage and wear wig known as a 'sheitel', "to guarantee their vows of fidelity", in Woodforde 1971, p.3; also Cooper 1971, p.67; Cox 1984 referring to a 'shaittel', p.166 and Brain 1979, a 'shetel', p.120; fundamentalist Muslim women conceal their hair with wimple-like 'higab' when in public, see Rugh 1986, "This extreme form of fundamentalist dress interprets the Koranic language, 'And if you ask his (the Prophet's) wives for any object, then ask them from behind a curtain (hijab); that it is purer for your hearts and theirs' (33:52), as meaning 'from behind a veil'. The head covering or veil of the fundamentalist is also called 'higab'(the colloquial of hijab)", p.151.
- 26 Firth 1973, p.284.
- 27 Derchain 1975, p.60.
- 28 Manniche 1987(ii); see also Störk 1977, 4-11.
- 29 Manniche 1987(ii), p.42; also Naguib 1990, "wigs were loaded with definite erotic allusions", p.17.
- 30 Manniche 1987, p.43.
- 31 Posener 1986, p.112.
- 32 eg. in bedroom scene in VI dyn tomb of Mereruka, "an unusually intimate scene for this kind of monument" , Manniche 1991, fig.70, p.115, both Mereruka and wife Seshseshat have cropped heads; see also Manniche 1987(ii), fig.27, p.39; Wreszinski 1936 III, p.9-10, pl.5 and Smith 1949, fig.145, p.294; for similar scene in Meir tomb of Pepi and Sresres (?), again both with cropped heads, see Blackman 1953 V, pl.XLV, LXVI.3.
- 33 Kozloff & Bryan 1992, p.268-269.
- 34 Manniche 1988, p.137.
- 35 ie. Meir tomb of Senbi, with same hunting scene including full coiffure of wife Meres, in Blackman 1914 I, pl.II, XVI.2.
- 36 BM.37977, in James 1985, fig.25, p.27; James & Davies 1985, fig.25, p.27; Abbate 1972, p.88; Strouhal 1992, fig.113, p.108-109; Westendorf 1968, p.123; for tomb see Manniche 1988, Chapter 11, p.136-157.
- 37 Derchain 1975, p.63-64.
- 38 Guests BM.37981/37984/37986, in James 1985, fig.26, p.28; Manniche 1987, fig.35, p.43; Kozloff & Bryan 1992, fig.IX.20a, p.273; Stead 1986, fig.82, p.61; musicians, BM.37984, in James 1985, fig.27, p.29; Aldred 1980, fig.141, p.176; Westendorf 1968, p.114-115, and BM.37981, in Stead 1986, fig.81, p.60.
- 39 Kozloff & Bryan 1992, p.268-269; also Daumas 1977, 1024-1033 for Hathor.
- 40 Ostrakon sketch Cairo IFAO.3000/JE.63805, in Manniche 1987(ii), fig.7, p.17 and Hildesheim 1984, No.68, p.144-145; for similar examples see Berlin Inv.No.21445, in Wenig 1969, p.41 and Michalowski 1969, fig.753; also ostrakon Cairo IFAO.2392, in Manniche 1990, fig.67, p.111; ostrakon in private collection, in Manniche 1987(ii), fig.59, p.76 and drawing on wood (now lost), in Manniche 1987(ii), fig.55, p.66.
- 41 Ostrakon sketch, Turin 7052, in Manniche 1987(ii), fig.66, p.85; Strouhal 1992, fig.46; Abbate 1972, pl.64; Garetto 1955, p.71; Michalowski 1969, fig.754; Westendorf 1968, p.197; Amiet et al. 1981, fig.156, p.286 and Smith 1981, fig.379, p.382; also Cairo IFAO 3779, in Manniche 1987(ii), fig.8, p.18.
- 42 Turin 5639, in Strouhal 1992, p.48; also Manniche 1987(ii), p.112-114 and Störk 1977, 6.

- 43 Hornblower 1939, p.39; see also Staehelin 1978, p.80.
- 44 Brunner-Traut 1955, p.11-30, especially p.24-26; see also comments of Pinch 1993, p.219-220.
- 45 Janssen & Janssen 1990, p.7.
- 46 'Gynaecia' II,70 quoted in Brunner-Traut 1955, p.26-27, note 77.
- 47 eg. BM.EA.8506, in Brunner-Traut 1955, fig.4, p.14; Manniche 1989, p.79; Friedman 1994, fig.5, p.105, and Stead 1985, fig.47, p.44; Louvre E.25333 in Brunner-Traut 1955, fig.2, p.13 and Janssen & Janssen 1990, fig.4, p.5; Berlin Inv.No.21453, in Brunner-Traut 1955, fig.1, p.12, and Schoske et al. 1990, No.92, p.115; also reconstructed Deir el-Medina wall scene, in Brunner-Traut 1955, fig.5, p.15 and Friedman 1994, fig.6, p.106.
- 48 See Pinch 1993, type 2, p.199-200; eg. Munich 1559, in Brunner-Traut 1955, fig.10.a-b, p.25; Cam.Fitz. E.188.1939, in Hornblower 1929, pl.IX,1-2. and Bourriau 1988, No.120, p.126.; MMA.17.6.74, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.6, p.17; MM.No.4422, 1600 BC, Rifeh; also Pinch 1993, pl.46.c.
- 49 This includes form of bobbed style with a number of braids at back, often with back of head shaved, in Pinch 1993, type 1.d, p.199; see also 'Konkubine' figure, Schimmel collection No.171, in Settgest 1978, No.199; Kofler-Truniger Collection K.494.Z, in Müller 1964, No.92, p.59; Berlin Inv.No.14517, in Schoske et al.1990, No.114, p.131; MM.No.3994, c.1900 BC, Abydos; MMA.26.3.327/22.2.34/30.8.198, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.137, p.221; Berlin Inv.No.12764, in Priese ed. 1991, No.42, p.65-66 and figure in Sotheby's 1989, No.92, p.8; for two very similar examples, see Amsterdam APM.24, in Lunsingh Scheurleer 1991, p.24-25, and figure in private collection, in Bourriau 1988, No.118, p.124-125, although style erroneously described by latter as 'tripartite', with somewhat misleading comment that it "may even have been exclusive to girls of pre-marital age. In the New Kingdom this is not the case, and an ostrakon exists which shows women wearing it while nursing babies", p.125; in fact a number of MK figurines referred to above likewise feature children.
- 50 For quite crude MK-IIInd IP figures with full styles, see Berlin Inv.No.9508, in Priese ed. 1991, No.42, p.65-66, also Cam.Fitz.E.430.1982; for more detailed NK figures with long full styles, see Peet & Wooley 1923 I, pl.XII.4, pl.XXIII.5 and Bruyère 1939, pl.XLIV, "statuettes portant différents genres de coiffures", including those lying on beds, often with children; see also BM.EA.20982, in Hornblower 1929, pl.VIII.5; BM.EA.2371, in Stead 1986, "a magical amulet for a safe and easy birth", fig.21, p.18; Munich ÄS.413, in Ishida, ed. 1982, p.145, pl.5 and Louvre E.1678; compare with Cairo Ex.No.9435, Ptolemaic example with short round style fashionable at this time.
- 51 eg. hairdressing scene involving woman nursing a child sat on bed, Louvre Inv.No.3026, XIX-XX dyn, Deir el-Medina, in Gauthier-Laurent 1938, M, fig.14, p.695-696; for figures who have presumably undergone such preparation and grooming, see Berlin Inv.No.21461, in Schoske et al.1990, No.113, p.130, also Brunner-Traut 1979, fig.1, p.4.
- 52 eg. BM.EA.20982, perfumed unguent applied to full style, in Pinch 1993, pl.46.b; UC.8650, short style dressed, in Gauthier-Laurent 1938, fig.15, "Il peut paraître bizarre qu'une femme couchée soit en train de se faire coiffer", p.696, and Derchain 1975, "J'ajouterai qu'il n'est pas moins bizarre qu'elle se soit entièrement dévêtue pour cette operation...La nudité et le lit étant d'une signification qu'il n'est pas besoin d'expliquer, nous pouvons sans doute interpréter le détail de la scène de coiffure comme dans les oeuvres littéraires postérieures, comme une allusion à la prochaine venue de l'amant attendu", p.65; although he goes on to categorise the figure as "concubine du mort", such examples seem more likely to be general fertility figures, "concerned with the whole area of man's and woman's fertility, with sexuality, but also with conception, bearing and rearing of children", Bourriau 1988, p.125, referring to work of Pinch (eg. 1993, p.198-225).
- 53 Lecture 30.10.93, Birkbeck College, London University.
- 54 Janssen & Janssen 1990, p.7; see also Troy 1986, "the presence of the dolls indicates a belief in the potency of the dead", p.93.
- 55 Hornblower 1939, p.40-41, note 4, also Pinch 1993, A. p.199 and Keimer 1948, pl.XIV.2; examples include Berlin Inv.No.9583, in Breasted 1948, Type 4.11, p.95, pl.90.b and Louvre E.10942/E.11263, with more crude

- examples eg. BM.EA.23424, in Pinch 1993, p.201-203, pl.47.B; BM.EA.51269-51270, in Pinch 1993, p.201-203, pl.48A, also pl.46.D; Berlin Inv.No.22397, in Priese ed. 1991, No.42, p.66; Brooklyn Acc.No.77.49, in Fazzini et al. 1989, No.30; Berkley Museum of Anthropology 6-19513, in Fazzini 1975, Cat.46, p.56; MMA.19.3.190 in Hayes 1959 II, fig.6, p.17 and Cairo JE.97947, see also Naville 1913 III, pl.XXIV.2, XXXII.8-9.
- 56 Bourriau 1988, p.126; see also Pinch 1993, p.214.
- 57 eg. Edinburgh RMS.No.1911.284, in Bourriau 1988, fig.121, p.126-127; Munich ÄS.431, in Schoske et al.1990, No.122, p.138; Berlin Inv.No.6907, in Breasted 1948, p.95, pl.91.b; Brooklyn Acc.No.4-37.104L, in Breasted 1948, p.95, pl.92.B; Leiden Cat.I.493 in Fletcher 1994(ii), fig.215, p.130; Cairo JE.56276; see also Petrie 1927, pl.LI, p.59 and Keimer 1948, pl.XV-XVII.
- 58 Winlock 1932(iii), fig.35-37, p.36, also Hayes 1953 I, fig.135, p.219; thanks to Ms.J.Filer for examples of similar styles worn by modern Sudanese women.
- 59 Cairo JE.56274, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.81; Corteggiani 1986, No.31, p.66, and Nims 1965, p.172.
- 60 eg. Liverpool Merseyside County Museum 55.82.15, from Beni Hassan, XI dyn; thanks to Dr.P.Bienkowski for access and information.
- 61 Graindor 1939, p.116-123, pl.16 and Nachtergaeel 1980, p.249.
- 62 eg. UC.28024, C.4th AD, Hawara, reed-stuffed rag figure with hair set using stitching and pine resin, in Petrie 1889, p.12, pl.XX.22. and Petrie 1927, p.62, pl.LV.570, thanks to Mrs.R.Janssen for access and information; another rag doll with human hair of similar date from Hawara, Ox.Ash.1888.818, in Petrie 1889, p.12, pl.XXI.3, thanks to Dr.H.Whitehouse for information; see also Berlin Inv.No.17954, further reed-stuffed linen figure with human hair set in coils around head, in Posener 1962, p.107, thanks to Prof.D.Wildung and Mr.Köpke, Conservationist, for access and information.
- 63 Zivie 1988, p.179-195, pl.7-10 and Zivie 1990, p.86; thanks to Prof.Zivie for allowing access to unpublished material and his comments and help; for similar wig mount, Cairo JE.71969, see Lauer 1939, p.447-456, pl.LXX and Zivie 1988, p.187, pl.11.
- 64 eg. BM.EA.No.32.733, in Hall 1929, pl.XXXIX No.1-3, p.236; Berlin Inv. No.16400 in Priese ed. 1991, No.145, p.239; Rubensohn & Knatz 1904, p.17 and Fecheimer 1914, pl.76; Bologna Reg.No.1859 in Fecheimer 1921, pl.65; Aldred 1961, No.166-167, p.91 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.CXLI.6-7; also Louvre N.1603.
- 65 Pap.D'Orbiney/Pap.BM.10183, in Lichtheim 1976, p.203-211; Erman 1978, p.150-161; Manniche 1987(ii), p.62-65 and Derchain 1975, p.55-74.
- 66 Line 3.2, in Derchain 1975, "Ne sois pas cause que ma coiffure reste en plan", p.55; also Lichtheim 1976, "Don't make me leave my hairdo unfinished", p.204, Manniche 1987(ii) preferring somewhat more inventive "so that I shall not have to leave my wig on the ground", p.63.
- 67 Derchain 1975, p.56.
- 68 Derchain 1975, "mets ta perruque", p.56.
- 69 Manniche 1987, p.43 and Manniche 1987(ii), p.64 respectively.
- 70 Erman 1978 interprets 'ringlets' as "probably meaning...the great wig which Egyptian women wore over their own hair for show", p.153, note 1, referred to in Derchain 1975, p.56, note 3.
- 71 Lichtheim 1976, p.205, note 1, p.211; also in Naguib 1990, p.17, note 13.
- 72 Derchain 1975, p.57.
- 73 Derchain 1975, p.57; see also Faulkner 1981, p.130 for nbd, "to plait, wrap up" and nb3, "wig".
- 74 Pap.Harris 500/Pap.BM.10060, IIb.8, in Lichtheim 1976, p.191; Foster 1973, p.112; Erman 1978, p.248, note 2; Derchain 1975, p.58 and Naguib 1990, p.18.

- 75 Derchain 1975, p.58.
- 76 Erman 1978, p.248, note 2.
- 77 Lichtheim 1976, p.191; similarly Foster 1973, "I'll weave an intricate hair-do", p.112, interpreting word *nbd* to literally mean 'weave', rather than wig.
- 78 Derchain 1975, p.59.
- 79 Pap.BM.10508, line 24.8, in Lichtheim 1980, p.177, note 91.
- 80 Pap.Berlin 3024, in Erman 1978, p.35-36; Manniche 1987(ii), p.69; Goedicke 1970, p.244-266 and Derchain 1975, p.69-70.
- 81 Pap.Berlin 3024, line 5.
- 82 Derchain 1975, p.69 with Gardiner's translation.
- 83 Manniche 1987(ii), p.69 and Erman 1978, p.35.
- 84 Faulkner 1981, p.235; Faulkner 1936, p.132 gives "wig".
- 85 Goedicke 1970, p.248, note 5. and p.249, note 1; also Naguib 1990, p.13.
- 86 See Müller 1977(ii), 924.
- 87 Goedicke 1970, p.256-257.
- 88 Goedicke 1970, p.259; see also Naguib 1990, "the naked goddess playing provocatively with her hair...represented an irresistible invitation to sexual intercourse", p.12.
- 89 Book of Dead Spell 148, in Faulkner 1985, p.137; repeated in certain New Kingdom tomb scenes, eg. Queen Nofretari (QV.66), in Hornung 1990, pl.150, p.195 and Siliotti & Leblanc 1993, p.141; also Amenemhet (TT.82) in Davies & Gardiner 1915, p.108, pl.XXXVI.
- 90 Derchain 1975, p.70.
- 91 Pap.Bremner Rhind I/Pap.BM.10188, in Faulkner 1936, p.121-140; also Goedicke 1970, p.248-249, note 5 and p.257, note 1; Derchain 1975, p.72-73; Sauneron 1980, p.69; Nachtergaeel 1981, p.586; Lurker 1980, p.82 and Naguib 1990, p.15, 18.
- 92 Derchain 1975, p.59; Posener 1986, p.111-117 and Blackman 1936, p.41.
- 93 Laskowska-Kusztal 1978, p.119
- 94 Blackman 1936, p.41, quoting Mariette 1875, Denderah III, pl.74c.
- 95 Pap.Westcar/Pap.Berlin 3033, in Lichtheim 1973, p.215-217; Erman 1978, p.36-47; Manniche 1987(ii), p.71-72, with discussion in Derchain 1969, p.19- 25; Posener 1986, p.115-116; Staehelin 1978, p.76-84; Blackman 1936, p.41 and Daumas 1969, p.1-17.
- 96 Derchain 1969, p.21, although Staehelin 1978, p.77-84 questions necessity of 20 rowers and instead concludes they are performing a tribute to the goddess; see also Blackman 1915 II, p.24, in describing a group of women with notably full styles performing rituals for Hathor in Meir tomb of Ukhhotep he refers to their title *hnyt*, 'rowers', as incorrect, although in light of Westcar reference to rowers/priestesses, their title would in fact seem valid.
- 97 Davies & Gardiner 1915, p.63, pl.XV.
- 98 Phrase 'with the king of the gods within her' surely another allusion to Hathor, whose very name made up of house sign enclosing god figure within, ie. *hwt-Hr* (Troy 1986, p.21-22, points out metaphor of house for womb); 'drunken' references could also refer to Hathor, who becomes drunk in Tale of the Destruction of Mankind, in

Lichtheim 1976, p.197-199, also Bothmer 1960, p.109; it is perhaps possible therefore to reinterpret song as hymn to Hathor, complete with her characteristic epithets.

- 99 Derchain 1975, p.59, note 12; Naville 1906 V, gives "lady of the lock, the beloved lady who gives joy to the heart of her brother", p.12, pl.CXLIX.
- 100 Spell 115, Coffin Texts II.282a in Sethe 1922, p.13 and Derchain 1975, p.59, notes 12-13.
- 101 Pap.Chester Beatty I, recto XVI.9-XVII.7, in Lichtheim 1976, p.187 and Manniche 1987(ii), p.81.
- 102 Berg 1951, p.29 and Firth 1973, p.267.
- 103 In Apuleius 'Metamorphoses', Englert & Long discuss how Lucius "had been held to Photis by her hair, at once symbol and paragon of of her sexual enticements; freed from sensual bondage, he is freed also from...his obsession with hair", 1973, p.239; compare with C.17th poem 'To Althea, from Prison' by R.Lovelace, "When I lye tangled in her haire, And fetterd to her eye...", in Hayward ed. 1956, p.167.

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3. Religious Considerations

The complex religion of the Egyptians deeply affected custom and behaviour at almost every level of society; as Shafer notes, "religion not only suffused the culture, but shaped it" ¹. Whilst taking into account the interaction with the aforementioned practical and social considerations, elements of religious belief are clearly reflected in the Egyptians' attitudes to hair and its subsequent treatment. In the following chapter, the actual treatment of hair within this religious context will be examined alongside its iconography.

References to hair as a symbol of fertility within a sexual context are again found in the description of hair as "a receptacle for physical and often secret power" ², a belief common to many cultures both ancient and modern. Anthropological research has concluded that "head hair is widely used as a ritual symbol...magical stuff, potent in itself...in a ritual context, human hair is used as 'the royalty of kings', 'the divinity of gods', 'the fertility of crops', 'the power of the sorcerers'. Ritual hair symbolizes some kind of metaphysical abstraction, fertility, soul-stuff, personal power" ³.

In an ancient Egyptian context, it would seem that from the earliest times there existed this belief in hair as a receptacle of religious or magical power. A small terracotta 'head of a deity(?)' dating from the Fifth Millennium BC has numerous holes around the scalp and chin into which braids of hair were possibly inserted ⁴ (fig.55). The deep hole at the base of the head suggests it was originally secured to a post as a fetish, and if this interpretation is correct the head provides a possible early prototype for the later sacred symbol of Osiris.

This took the form of hair mounted as a fetish on a standard, to be read *ab*, and used as the determinative for Abydos, *T3-wr*, the cult centre of the god. It is also referred to in the Coffin Texts as *H3w*, "the wig(?) which is on Osiris the fortunate" ⁵, and "I am the Eyeless One, the son of Osiris, my face is the wig(?) [*hnswt*] of the god in On" ⁶, another of Osiris' cult centres at Heliopolis. Gardiner states that the symbol is a "wig, with fillet and plumes, on a pole" ⁷, following Winlock's description ⁸, and Hayes likewise refers to "the Abydene symbol of Osiris...which was apparently a long wig mounted on a pole" ⁹. This is illustrated by two reliefs from the small chapel of Seti I at Abydos in which Ramses I offers to Osiris who takes the "the form of a great wig" ¹⁰ (fig.5).

Alternatively the fetish is described as a reliquary for the head of Osiris ¹¹, or some kind of box or chest ¹², perhaps shaped in the form of a wig. It must have been portable to be carried in religious procession, as noted from certain sculpted figures, including Prince Khaemwese, who carries "the strange vessel associated with the Osiris cult" against his left shoulder ¹³ (fig.412). This piece is believed originally to have stood in the Abydos temple, presumably close to the holy relic itself, which must have been venerated in much the same way as the hair of Isis was worshipped at her cult centres of Koptos and Memphis ¹⁴. The fetish was often used in the place of the god in various temple and funerary scenes ¹⁵, and was also frequently employed in the decoration of coffins together with the *djed* pillar, both potent symbols of Osirian resurrection (which also conveniently filled the length of a coffin) ¹⁶.

Osiris can thus be symbolised by the hair fetish alone, whilst other deities rely upon a distinctive coiffure for recognition¹⁷. However, these can be interchangeable, since different figures adopt the traditional styles of others¹⁸; various goddesses often share the same style where their characteristics merge, and the sidelock most usually associated with Horus may also be found on figures of Khonsu¹⁹ (fig.6), Ihy²⁰, Ra²¹, Shed²² and Mandulis²³.

In his guise as the child Harpocrates, Horus is portrayed both as a single figure²⁴ (fig.7) or seated on the lap of mother Isis²⁵, most often with his finger to his lips and wearing a single lock or plait on one side of his head. This so-called 'sidelock of youth' is generally worn by young children²⁶, and is also referred to as the 'Horus lock.' In the Old Kingdom Pyramid Texts, it is stated that "Horus comes with bound hair as the protector of his father"²⁷.

His title *Iunmutef*, 'pillar of his mother', reflects his link to Isis in his role as son and heir, and in *Iunmutef* form he appears in a funerary context wearing a panther skin, and the sidelock to emphasise his filial aspect²⁸. Such a figure is to be found as early as the reign of Sesostris I (fig.226), although the majority date to the New Kingdom. These include a priest with short black style and distinct blue sidelock administering to Seti I at his Abydos funerary temple²⁹ (although black locks on blue styles are also found³⁰, fig.421), the style repeated on a similarly detailed figure in the king's tomb reliefs (KV.17)³¹. Further examples are found in the Memphite tomb of Horemheb³² (fig.330), in the tomb of Nofretari (QV.66)³³, in the tomb chapel of Amenirdis I at Medinet Habu³⁴ and in the tomb scenes of viziers Nespekashuti (TT.312)³⁵ and Bakenrenef³⁶.

This distinctive coiffure and costume is also worn by the *sem* priest, the human representative of the divine *Iunmutef* figure of Horus and a representative of the god Ptah³⁷, and by High Priests of Ptah on their short round styles. Examples include a sculpted figure tentatively identified as the High Priest of Ptah and *sem* priest Tuthmosis, son of Amenhotep III³⁸, and Prince Khaemwese is generally portrayed with this "traditional lock worn by the high priests of Ptah" in his capacity as High Priest at Memphis³⁹ (fig.418-419), as are the High Priests Ptahmose⁴⁰ (fig.328-329), Pahemneter⁴¹ (fig.420), Pahemnefer⁴² (fig.417) and an unnamed Saïte figure⁴³ (fig.627).

During the Ptolemaic period however, the sidelock can be worn alone rather than affixed to a style, as noted from a relief of Horemakhet, High Priest of Memphis⁴⁴, and five symplegma figures⁴⁵ (fig.663). A youthful Ptolemy V is portrayed with a cropped style and a sidelock, "the insignia of various classes of priest, some of whom are specifically associated with Memphis, where Ptolemy V Epiphanes was crowned pharaoh in 196 BC in accordance with Egyptian rites. The sidelock may eventually prove to be an emblem reserved exclusively for images of Ptolemy V Epiphanes that associate him with Memphis"⁴⁶, suggesting that the lock may have been worn for propaganda purposes, in keeping with the tone of the Rosetta Stone inscription which records the coronation itself. The sidelock is still worn by priests in the Roman period, both in conjunction with a shaven head⁴⁷ (fig.682) and attached to a short style, as noted from the actual costume of a *sem* priest of the C.1st AD, the animal skin replicated in patterned linen whilst the coiffure is formed from linen coated in

gesso to create a helmet-like wig with gilded sidelock attached on the right ⁴⁸ (fig.813-814).

Other male deities are generally depicted with long straight hair ⁴⁹ set in the tripartite style ⁵⁰, as noted from representations of Hapi ⁵¹ (fig.8), Ptah ⁵² and Atum ⁵³, unnamed gods ⁵⁴ and nome figures ⁵⁵. The style is also used in depictions of animal-headed deities such as Anubis ⁵⁶ (fig.9), Thoth ⁵⁷ and the hawk-headed figures of Ra Horakhti ⁵⁸ and Horus ⁵⁹, Hornung noting that "the transition between the human body and the animal head is camouflaged by the blue divine wig and broad collar" ⁶⁰. A variation on the tripartite style reserved specifically for two dimensional figures of gods is the bipartite form, set in two lappets at the front with the back section rounded off rather than forming a third section. This style is noted in the case of Osiris ⁶¹, Heh ⁶² and Nefertum ⁶³ (fig.10), and is particularly favoured by Hapi ⁶⁴ (fig.356). A further style of long hair, best described as the 'swept-back' style, in which the long hair falls entirely in one piece down the back, is noted in the case of divine figures as early as the IIIrd dynasty ⁶⁵, and most notably in the case of later nome deities ⁶⁶. By Graeco-Roman times a shoulder-length flowing style, often with four or five distinct locks set over the forehead ⁶⁷, is characteristic of the hybrid god Serapis ⁶⁸ (fig.11) in contrast to the short styles in fashion at the time.

The long tripartite style seems to have been regarded as most suitable for divine figures in general ⁶⁹, as noted from the majority of representations of goddesses. The style is almost always featured in the statuary of Isis ⁷⁰, Mut ⁷¹, Neith ⁷², Nephthys ⁷³, and Inuet ⁷⁴ (fig.12) for example, and in two-dimensional representations of Maat ⁷⁵ (fig.13), Isis ⁷⁶ (fig.14-15) and Nephthys (fig.15), in the latter case contrasting sharply with the ornate coiffure worn by a figure possibly to be identified as Horemheb's first wife Amenias whose mummy the goddess supports ⁷⁷ (fig.16). This is also the case in a painted relief scene of Hathor in which her tripartite style is set against the more voluminous coiffure of her female worshipper ⁷⁸, the goddess' style again also found in sculpted form ⁷⁹ (fig.17-19). In the case of one particular example, it has been stated that "the nature of the wig worn by the lady indicates she is probably a goddess rather than a queen" ⁸⁰, subsequent research having indeed identified the figure as Hathor ⁸¹ (fig.18).

However, it must be noted that this is not always the case, since Hathor is also portrayed with rather more fashionable hairstyles in the Middle and New Kingdoms. Such coiffures only transgress into the divine sphere when associated with Hathor or other goddesses who share her characteristics, the epithets *hnskyt* and *nbt nbd* ⁸² emphasising the importance of hair in Hathoric worship. Both the goddess and her acolytes are often depicted in the same style, most notably the 'bouffant' or so-called 'Hathor wig', the 'full' or 'enveloping', and the 'layered' styles, all of which are deserving of detailed discussion.

It has also been noted that the goddess was depicted with the fashionable hairstyles worn by the élite women of the time rather than these women being influenced by the style of the goddess. As Mace states, "there is no reason to suppose that Middle Kingdom women with their hair arranged in this way [the bouffant] are identified with Hathor, who was

frequently represented in later times with curled locks on either side of the face. The early form of Hathor [in tripartite style] was still current in the XIIth dynasty and if from that time on the goddess is shown with two curling locks it seems probable that her form was then modified in accordance with the fashion of the day"⁸³. Hornblower likewise remarks that if the goddess "now wears festal wigs...she is but following fashion"⁸⁴, whilst Sourouzian states that "cette coiffure dite hathorique [bouffant] n'est pas emprunté à la déesse. Il semble que bien au contraire, ce soit la mode de la XIIe Dynastie qui ait influencé la coiffure de la déesse"⁸⁵.

This is the obvious conclusion, since the images of the goddess were created by those who chose to portray her with the fashionable hairstyles of the time, emphasising her role as goddess of beauty and love by conveying the idea of contemporary desirability. That these styles were primarily worn by royal and noble women who played a key role in the worship of Hathor due to their social position is not to say that the styles were only worn because they were her priestesses (hmt-ntr Hwt-Hr), but rather because they were the 'leaders of fashion', the goddess depicted in their image rather than vice-versa⁸⁶. A clear example of this is to be found in the Middle Kingdom tomb scenes of Djehutihotep, in which the so-called 'Hathor wig' is worn by three of the nomarch's daughters (fig.278), whilst in contrast, his wife and priestess of Hathor, Hathorhotep, wears the simple tripartite style⁸⁷ (as does another daughter, fig.277).

The cult of Hathor flourished in the Archaic Period, when the goddess was depicted without hair in the form of the cow-eared deity Bat, as noted from the Narmer palette⁸⁸ and various decorative devices⁸⁹. By the Old Kingdom she is shown in the plain tripartite style as noted on the Mycerinus' triads⁹⁰ (fig.19), and this mirrors the most popular female style at the time, worn by prominent women including Hathor priestesses. These women are also shown with shorter styles during the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period⁹¹, whereas the goddess is never depicted with short hair.

Worship of Hathor continued through the First Intermediate Period into the XIth dynasty especially at her cult centre Deir el-Bahari, a site which provides a wealth of information regarding the royal and noblewomen who were also priestesses of Hathor at the court of Montuhotep Nebhepetre II⁹². The king's mother Ioh is depicted in a short round style⁹³, which is duplicated on figures of Sadhe⁹⁴, Kawit⁹⁵ (fig.212, fig.864), Ashayet⁹⁶ (fig.213-214) and Kemsit⁹⁷ (fig.865), all wives of the king (hmt nsw mrt.f) and holders of the titles hmt-ntr Hwt-Hr, priestess of Hathor and hkrt nsw w'tt, sole royal ornament, another title with links to the Hathor cult⁹⁸. In contrast, the king's sister-wife Nefru III is nowhere referred to as priestess of Hathor, and is also distinct from the other women in that she wears the tripartite rather than the short style; however, in common with Kawit and Kemsit, Nefru is depicted in her funerary scenes seated before her hairdressers, having a false braid attached to her tripartite style⁹⁹ (fig.861-863).

Hairdressing scenes first occur in the late Old Kingdom, continuing into the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom when they generally involve women identified as Hathor priestesses and 'Sole Royal Ornaments'¹⁰⁰ (fig.857-868). Riefstahl notes that "Most of the hairdressing scenes that have come down to us date from the Middle

Kingdom...these scenes are not merely reflections of daily life. Unlike most of the rare representations of hairdressing in the New Kingdom...they have a hieratic quality which makes me suspect that they...have some connection with the cult of Hathor...Indeed the whole rite of the toilet...may have a symbolic character" ¹⁰¹. Posener has further stated that "il est possible que les scènes de coiffure assez nombreuses au Moyen Empire soiaient en relation avec le culte de la déesse et même que représentations montrant une servante qui fixe une natte sur la coiffure... fassent allusion à la légende de la natte...d'Hathor; la coiffure restitue ce qui manquait. Il s'agit sans doute d'une autre tête, mais le geste est indirectment une marque de sollicitude pour la déesse" ¹⁰². The concept of such scenes as demonstrations of religious devotion is supported by a number of anthropological studies, one of which notes that "It is a fact that hairdressing is an extremely widespread feature of ritual behaviour" ¹⁰³.

By the Middle Kingdom the shorter coiffure and traditional tripartite style are largely replaced by thicker styles, most notably the so-called 'Hathor wig' ¹⁰⁴ best described as the 'bouffant' style on account of its rounded, puffed-up appearance ¹⁰⁵. It is basically an elaboration on the thickened tripartite style also fashionable at the time, a greater volume of hair achieved with false braids, although it has also been suggested that the style was created using a wig to give the padded appearance at the front, with the natural hair hanging down at the back ¹⁰⁶. The two front ends are tapered to curl outwards and are often wound around two small weighted discs to keep them in place ¹⁰⁷, as noted from both representations (fig.272, fig.274) and physical remains (fig.759-760) ¹⁰⁸. It is possible that the two sections of hair were curled at the ends to imitate cows' horns in an allusion to Hathor's bovine aspect ¹⁰⁹, although it is also interesting to note that these curls usually terminate at breast level, serving to accentuate this feature and neatly providing in one area both distinct physical attributes of the goddess.

Although Archaic prototypes for the bouffant style have been identified ¹¹⁰ (fig.75-77), it first appears in its recognisably classic form with curled ends in the early XIIth dynasty when it is worn by both royal (fig.272) and non-royal (fig.271) women alike ¹¹¹. Its earliest firmly datable manifestation is found on figures of Queen Nofret, wife of Sesostri II ¹¹² (fig.272), and "although it is sometimes called the 'Hathorian' wig, it is not known to be associated with that goddess prior to...this statue" ¹¹³. Indeed, the earliest example of its adoption by Hathor would seem to be on column capitals from the Bubastis temple of Sesostri III, complete with characteristic cow ears ¹¹⁴ (fig.20). The bouffant style was most fashionable at this time, and "plusieurs reines de la fin du Moyen Empire ont adopté cette coiffure" ¹¹⁵ (fig.273) which had also been adopted by women of non-royal status ¹¹⁶ (fig.274-276).

The style is also featured on certain sculpted figures of royal women in the New Kingdom ¹¹⁷ (fig.299, fig.505-508, fig.556) and continues to be used in numerous representations of Hathor when depicted 'en face' as a decorative element ¹¹⁸ in tomb scenes ¹¹⁹, temple relief ¹²⁰ (fig.21) and sculpture ¹²¹, and in more cursive form on faience ware ¹²² (fig.22) and ostrakon sketches ¹²³ (fig.23). The style is also found adorning vases ¹²⁴, cosmetic pots and spoons ¹²⁵, mirrors ¹²⁶ (fig.24), sistra ¹²⁷ and clappers ¹²⁸, all items used in areas of daily life governed by the goddess.

Indeed, the sphere of music is most interesting, the association of curled locks with Hathor in her role as goddess of music possibly dating to the Old Kingdom. Funerary reliefs of Cheops ¹²⁹ (fig.25) and Sahure ¹³⁰ depicting kingship rituals feature Meret, an aspect of Hathor as "the personification of the priestess as singer" ¹³¹ also to be found in later New Kingdom scenes at Karnak ¹³² (fig.26) and Deir el-Bahari ¹³³. It seems significant that in such scenes a distinct curl of hair is to be found at the base of Meret's long swept-back style, perhaps representative of the two curls of the bouffant amended to one by artistic convention rather than a sidelock as has been proposed ¹³⁴. In the feminine form of *hsyt*, 'singer', the determinative is a figure with a curl of hair, and although again generally interpreted as some form of sidelock ¹³⁵ could equally represent the curled locks of the bouffant style. The bouffant coiffure is worn by various women employed in the area of music, including a singer of Middle Kingdom date ¹³⁶, the XVIIIth dynasty singer Hatshepsut ¹³⁷, a number of musicians and dancers in the Amarna tomb scenes of Tutu and Ay ¹³⁸, and the sistrum bearer Mutemonet (fig.557), the inscription on the latter example featuring a determinative figure with a distinct curl of hair ¹³⁹.

The goddess continues to be portrayed with the style in later times ¹⁴⁰, and as her cult spreads to Cyprus the style is found on column capitals from her C.6th BC. temple at Kition ¹⁴¹ (fig.27). It is also reproduced in cedar ¹⁴² (fig.28) and stone reliefs of the Late to Graeco-Roman Periods ¹⁴³, with various examples of the style to be found at Hathor's Dendera temple, including its largest incarnation adorning a huge head of the goddess on the rear exterior wall.

The bouffant style is also worn by Hathor as Amentet, goddess of the West, unusually depicted in profile on the XXVth dynasty coffin of Pekherkhonsu ¹⁴⁴ (fig.29). Her style is rather similar to that worn by an unnamed goddess suckling Horemheb in his Gebel Silsilah reliefs, in this case described as "a peculiar headdress somewhat reminiscent of Twelfth Dynasty queens' wigs" ¹⁴⁵ (fig.30). It is also featured in more usual en face form on figures of the Asiatic goddess Qadesh-Astarte ¹⁴⁶ on late New Kingdom stelae ¹⁴⁷ and clay plaque figurines ¹⁴⁸, in addition to its later adoption by the sky goddess Nut on a number of Ptolemaic coffin lids ¹⁴⁹ (fig.31).

During the New Kingdom the cult of Hathor becomes increasingly important, and the increase in womens' titles relating to the goddess "suggest that her prominence and popularity soared during Amenhotep III's reign. Even hair or wig styles may have been influenced by an increasing homage to Hathor whose own locks were legendary. Perhaps the sudden blossoming of women's coiffures into plentiful plaits and braids...resulted from an increased interest in Hathor's charms" ¹⁵⁰.

Indeed, during the second half of the XVIIIth dynasty the full enveloping style which completely hides the shoulders in a mass of hair largely replaces both the bouffant and tripartite styles in representations of the goddess. It adorns column capitals at her temple sites of Deir el-Bahari (fig.32), Memphis, and later Dendera ¹⁵¹, and in tomb (fig.33) and temple scenes she is frequently shown with hair covering her shoulders in a single mass ¹⁵², in contrast to the plain tripartite styles of other goddesses who only rarely adopt the fuller style ¹⁵³ (fig.5, fig.642). Occasionally Hathor's more

voluminous coiffure is shown as 'swinging' to indicate movement (fig.34) in the same way the hair of contemporary dancers and musicians is depicted ¹⁵⁴ (fig.501), possibly as a visual allusion to the goddess' patronage of these professions. A similar motivation may also lay behind certain Late Period depictions of the sky goddess Nut, her long style hanging down in one piece as she arches her body recalling that of dancers and acrobats ¹⁵⁵.

The great popularity of the full style during the XVIIIth dynasty is reflected in the numerous depictions of élite women who are also priestesses of Hathor, their hairstyles often incorporating three thick braids at the back of the head which hang separately from the mass of hair. These braids begin to appear at the end of the reign of Tuthmosis IV, and are found in both statuary (fig.474-475, fig.481-488, fig.491) and painted scenes ¹⁵⁶ in addition to actual examples which are attached to both the natural hair or wig (fig.778), or wrapped separately ¹⁵⁷, such examples very similar to the triple braid held by Inu the hairdresser in the XIth dynasty funerary scenes of Queen Nefru III ¹⁵⁸ (fig.862).

The most decorative style linked to Hathor however is unfortunately one that is virtually undocumented ¹⁵⁹ and as such has no terminology. It consists of separate sections of hair set in horizontal layers to form the full style (albeit with occasional tripartite variants), and will therefore be referred to as the 'layered' style. Possibly influenced by earlier Middle Kingdom full styles decorated with coloured banding as noted in the Meir tomb scenes of Hathor priest Ukhhotep ¹⁶⁰, the actual layered style is a New Kingdom phenomenon found in two dimensions only.

It first appears in reliefs at the Deir el-Bahari temple of Hatshepsut, where a three layered version is worn by Hathor as she stands amongst twelve deities ¹⁶¹ (fig.35). It then appears more frequently in temple and royal tomb scenes of the late XVIIIth to XXth dynasties, most notably in the tomb scenes of Horemheb (KV.57) in which Hathor has a blue and black style of both seven (fig.36) and eight layers in contrast to her sober black tripartite identical to that worn by Isis ¹⁶² (fig.14). A three-layered striated form is depicted in the Abydene chapel scenes of Ramses I ¹⁶³, with the most intricately detailed examples portrayed in the painted reliefs which once adorned two door pillars in the tomb of Seti I (KV.17) ¹⁶⁴ (fig.37-38), the style a five-layered cream and blue creation similar to those found both inside and on the façade pillars of Seti's temple at Abydos ¹⁶⁵. The style is again worn by Hathor in a scene from the tomb of Ramses II's children (KV.5) ¹⁶⁶, and in this king's temple buildings at Luxor (fig.39), in the Ramesside painted reliefs which adorn the interior of Khonsu's chapel at Karnak (fig.40), in the funerary temple of Ramses III at Medinet Habu (fig.41) and in a fragmentary temple scene from the Theban area in which she sits with Amun, Mut and Khonsu ¹⁶⁷ (fig.6). A XXIst dynasty relief from el-Hiba shows Sheshonq I before "einer Göttin", most likely Hathor, her five layer style here terminating in seven uraei ¹⁶⁸.

Private scenes also show the goddess with the layered style, including the XIXth dynasty stela of Ipi ¹⁶⁹, a late New Kingdom stela fragment ¹⁷⁰ and the Deir el-Medina tomb scenes of Amenemopet (TT.265) (fig.42), with further examples to be found on the interior of IIIrd Intermediate Period painted coffins in which Hathor is shown in her funerary capacity

as goddess of the West ¹⁷¹ (fig.43-45).

The style can also very occasionally take the tripartite form, as in depictions of Hathor in the tomb of Queen Tawosret (KV.14) ¹⁷² (fig.46) and on a stela fragment from Deir el-Medina ¹⁷³.

As in the case of the bouffant style, the layered style is occasionally worn by other goddesses, most notably Isis, whose functions, epithets and regalia are to an extent interchangeable with those of Hathor. Champollion illustrates Isis' use of the layered style (without describing it) ¹⁷⁴ and she is shown with this coiffure in certain relief scenes in the Abydos temple of Seti I, in contrast to her usual tripartite style ¹⁷⁵. Both Isis and sister Nephthys adopt the layered style in certain late coffin scenes ¹⁷⁶, as does Taweret in a XIXth dynasty scene from Silsilah ¹⁷⁷.

Although Hathor is generally depicted in styles which were already fashionable, it would appear that the layered style made its first appearance in the early XVIIIth dynasty on figures of the goddess and is not to be found on other female figures until the later part of the dynasty ¹⁷⁸ (fig.504). It could therefore be said to have been created specifically for her, and as such would seem to deserve the 'Hathorian' epithet rather more than does the bouffant style ¹⁷⁹.

However, both styles came to be emblematic of the goddess, and since one of her main attributes was beautiful hair this was inevitably reflected in the appearance of her devotees, who are generally depicted in a variety of fashionable styles. A particularly notable example of this phenomenon may be observed in the Middle Kingdom Meir tomb scenes of Ukhhotep, High Priest of Hathor, in which large numbers of carefully coiffured and "elaborately attired" ¹⁸⁰ women (fig.287) perform a wide range of tasks, "die Hathor-Atmosphäre mit Händen zu greifen" ¹⁸¹.

Indeed Daumas believes that various categories of priestesses may be differentiated by their hairstyles ¹⁸², the Ptolemaic Biography of Wennefer giving "une énumération complète de ces prêtresses...Natées, parfaites, bouclées, douces", or "Natées, parfaites, et bouclées douces...adjectifs qualifiant les prêtresses qui portaient différentes sortes de coiffures" ¹⁸³. He compares this listing of groups of Hathor priestesses to a similar listing in a hymn to Hathor found at Philae, Edfu and Dendera,

"Les bouclées (hnskywt) t'adorent en prenant leur attitude,

Les vierges (rnnwt) te glorifient,

Les nattées (wprtywt) dansent pour toi, en faisant de la musique..." ¹⁸⁴.

The hnskywt "sont des prêtresses particulières du culte d'Hathor", whilst the wprtyw are also mentioned in the Tanis Papyri, "leur nom leur venait d'une natte de cheveux semblable à celle que certains enfants portaient au côté de la tête" ¹⁸⁵. Although Daumas is referring here to the sidelock, the style worn by the wprtyw could in fact be the bouffant style as discussed.

However, the idea that these texts list categories of priestess by their hairstyle has been refuted, the terms alternatively interpreted as epithets of the goddess herself. In Daumas' translation of "natées, parfaites, bouclées, douces", the translation of *bnrt* as 'douces' is particularly questioned, and "en fait, il est très facile de la corriger en *bnty*, dont il est pratiquement homophone et qui est certainement désuet au temps d'Ounnofré à l'exception de son emploi dans l'expression savante *hnsktyt bnty*" ¹⁸⁶. As such, Lichtheim gives "braided, beauteous, tressed, high-bosomed" ¹⁸⁷, aforementioned epithets of the goddess. Derchain concludes that "dans la biographie d'Ounnofré, comme dans la conte de Snéfrou, il y aurait simplement description complaisante, en termes stéréotypés de la langue sacrée, du chœur de jeunes femmes qui accompagne Hathor lors de ses fêtes et réjouit par son charme et sa grâce les rares élus qui ont le privilège de participer à leurs évolutions" ¹⁸⁸.

By Graeco-Roman times, such attributes of Hathor had been absorbed into the popular worship of Isis, and "Les cheveux d'Isis...constituent...un attribut caractéristique de la déesse et ses prêtresses" ¹⁸⁹. In the Mysteries of Osiris, the aforementioned priestesses playing the roles of Isis and Nephthys were required to adopt long wigs over previously shaven heads, and are thereafter referred to as *hnsktyt*, the 'long-haired ones' ¹⁹⁰.

From the late New Kingdom the hair of Isis was worshipped at Memphis and Koptos ¹⁹¹, possibly in much the same way as the fetish of Osiris at Abydos. In a letter dating from the C.2nd AD, a soldier named Gemellus writes "Before all else, I hope that you are in good health, and without cease, for you, I worship close to the hair at Koptos" ¹⁹². During the Roman period, the hair of Isis became the object of particular veneration and care, Apuleius referring to devotees of the goddess who, "carrying ivory combs, represented with waving arms and bending fingers the adornment and combing of the queen's [Isis'] hair" ¹⁹³. Plutarch even describes the goddess herself in the role of hairdresser to a group of royal maids when she visits Byblos ¹⁹⁴.

The mystical and religious significance of the Isis hair continues into the Graeco-Roman period "même si la mode des coiffures, désormais dictée par Alexandrie et par Rome, change au cours des temps" ¹⁹⁵. Her usual tripartite style ¹⁹⁶ is often replaced by a rather more distinctive coiffure set in heavy corkscrew ringlets about the shoulders ¹⁹⁷, a Hellenistic fashion favoured by Ptolemaic queens and native women alike, and although often employed in representations of the goddess in Roman times (fig.47), "there is no evidence for the exclusive association of these particular locks with Isis" ¹⁹⁸, despite a sweeping assertion that "cette mode de coiffure est devenue un des critères assurés auxquels on reconnaît les figures d'Isis" ¹⁹⁹.

In a hymn to Mandulis at Kalabsha Isis is termed *ευεθειρα*, 'she of the beautiful hair' ²⁰⁰, and a dedicatory inscription from the Delta refers to her as *ευπλοκαμος*, 'she of the beautiful curls' ²⁰¹. In the hymn to Andros dating to the reign of Augustus, her hair is described as growing around her head like the branches of a vine ²⁰², and a dedication made at Koptos for the emperor Trajan in AD.105 refers to "Isis of the hair, the greatest goddess" ²⁰³. In Apuleius'

'Metamorphosis' Lucius is chilled by the sight of Isis, "her abundant, long hair, gently curled over her divine neck or loosely spread, streamed down softly" ²⁰⁴ (fig.48), the state of her coiffure somewhat similar to that of the mysterious goddess figure who so terrified the herdsman in the aforementioned Middle Kingdom tale ²⁰⁵.

The attributes common to both Hathor and Isis also became assimilated with the goddess Aphrodite in the Graeco-Roman period, with an emphasis on her arrangement of her wet hair as part of her Rhodian iconography; her naked state coupled with this emphasis on hair continues the erotic motif of pharaonic times, and is found on stelae ²⁰⁶, statuettes ²⁰⁷ (fig.49) and relief scenes as late as Coptic times ²⁰⁸.

However, with the rise of the Christian church in Egypt, attitudes change dramatically. Although St. Paul states that it is a woman's glory to have long hair, it should be kept modestly covered lest it tempt demons ²⁰⁹; any sign of vanity as exemplified in the use of artificial beauty aids was regarded as sinful. In 215 AD Clement of Alexandria condemned the use of false hair by women as sacrilegious, deceitful and even a mortal sin, Cyprian adding that it was better for a woman to commit adultery than wear a wig ²¹⁰! It is interesting that it is women who are specifically referred to here, which may perhaps indicate a desire by the new Christian religion to remove all traces of the older cult of the goddess in which hair had played such a prominent part.

Having examined the iconography of deities' hair within Egyptian religion, it is also possible to look at the ways in which the hair itself was both treated and employed.

The actual ritual of Egyptian religion involved the removal of all body hair by those participating, the term *fkty*, 'shorn priest' deriving from the verb *fk*, 'to be shorn' ²¹¹, Gardiner having identified the *fkty* priest as a representative of the god Shu ²¹².

Davies states that "from the earliest time it was required of certain categories [of priest] that their heads be shaved completely bald [sic], and this seems to have been an increasingly general practice from the New Kingdom on" ²¹³. Lloyd also states that "although even in the Old Kingdom baldness [sic] was a characteristic of certain types of priests, it was not compulsory until the Late Period...In the Graeco-Roman period wearing hair was a punishable offence" ²¹⁴ for which the penalty was a fine of 1,000 drachmae ²¹⁵.

This shaving is referred to by classical authors, Herodotus stating that "elsewhere priests grow their hair long; in Egypt they shave their heads" ²¹⁶. In his 'Metamorphoses', Apuleius refers to male initiates of Isis as 'capillum derasi', Lucius being shaved on the occasion of his second initiation ²¹⁷. Plutarch also states that "priests cut off their hair" in his 'De Iside et Osiride' ²¹⁸, and Lucien refers to "the shaven prophets" of Egypt ²¹⁹.

Various reasons for such a practice have been suggested. The shaven head is a sign which symbolises subjection to divine

power, the shaving itself regarded as an act of humility in the religious life of many cultures²²⁰. The hair may also be regarded as an offering or substitute for human sacrifice, "hair being appropriate for the purpose because the head is the seat of the soul"²²¹. An alternative theory has suggested that priests shaved their hair as a reaction against the extravagances of Egyptian hair-fashions, "a custom which eventually became the rule"²²². The most often stated reason for the practice however is "for reasons connected with ritual purity"²²³, and to remove any trace of possible parasitic infestation; as Herodotus states, "The priests shave their bodies all over every other day to guard against the presence of lice, or anything else equally unpleasant, while they are about their religious duties"²²⁴.

Depictions of shaven priests are extremely common, especially during the New Kingdom and later periods. One of the finest sculpted examples represents Taitai, High Priest of Horus under Amenhotep III²²⁵, a later wooden counterpart of Third Intermediate date portraying an unnamed priest of Ptah²²⁶ (fig.609) and a superb example in schist representing Wesirwer, Prophet of Montu²²⁷ (fig.646). A brief selection of the numerous two-dimensional examples include Setka, Overseer of the Phyles of Upper Egypt during the VIth dynasty²²⁸, Meryra, High Priest of the Aten²²⁹, Userhet, the High Priest of Tutankhamen's mortuary cult²³⁰ (fig.305), First Prophet of Amun Khonshotep²³¹ (fig.395), Paweremwia, Chief of the Ships of Amun²³² (fig.396), the priests in the tomb scenes of Inherkha (TT.359) (fig.397-398) and the powerful High Priest Amenhotep, accompanied by similarly depilated acolytes, as he stands before his king Ramses IX at Karnak²³³. Rows of shaven priests carry the barque of Amun in a Saïte vignette scene²³⁴, and their numerous counterparts are depicted in temple relief scenes at Medinet Habu (fig.400), Karnak and Dendera²³⁵ (fig.662), their shaven figures especially noticeable when standing beside colleagues with hair²³⁶.

The number of priestly mummies with shaven heads (as opposed to being naturally bald) further confirms the practice, as noted in the case of an unnamed individual of XVIIIth dynasty date²³⁷, and the XXth dynasty mummies of Horemkenesi, a minor priest in Ramses III's mortuary temple²³⁸, and NatsefAmun, a waab priest and scribe at Karnak²³⁹.

Despite erroneous statements to the contrary²⁴⁰, the use of wigs by shaven priests has caused some confusion. Manniche refers to a sem-priest figure who is "presumably meant to be a son of the tomb owner, distinguished from a real sem-priest by not having his head shaved"²⁴¹. However, this point is invalid since the figure could be shaven beneath a wig, the removal of the natural hair as an act of ritual purity seemingly unaffected by the subsequent addition of false hair.

It is known that priestly figures wore wigs since the same individuals are depicted both with and without hair. The aforementioned Vth dynasty High Priest of Memphis Ranefer is portrayed both with and without hair²⁴² (fig.133, fig.110), the Middle Kingdom nomarchs of Meir likewise depicted as shaven in their priestly capacity "clad in sacerdotal vestments" and then with fashionable styles²⁴³. Similar New Kingdom examples include Puimre, Second Prophet of Amun (TT.39)²⁴⁴, Menkheperresonb, First Prophet of Amun (TT.86)²⁴⁵, waab priest of Maat, Merymaat (TT.C4)²⁴⁶, ka priest Userhet (TT.51)²⁴⁷, mortuary priest Khons (TT.31)²⁴⁸ and waab priest NatsefAmun as depicted in his coffin

scenes ²⁴⁹. All are shown in both states, as is the Saite Fourth Prophet of Amun Montuemhat, portrayed both coifed (fig.630, fig.632) and shaven in a number of representations ²⁵⁰. Such artistic evidence can also be supported by actual priests' wigs of XXIst dynasty date (fig.793-800) found with the cache of royal and priests' mummies in the Deir el-Bahari tomb of Inhapi (TT.320) ²⁵¹, with the suggestion that the wigmakers' workshop found nearby may have been used to supply the needs of the clergy ²⁵².

It is also apparent that certain female religious personnel also shaved the head. This is noted in the case of Asru, a XXVth dynasty Chantress of Amun whose mummy clearly exhibits a shaven scalp ²⁵³ (fig.805), a practice supported by artistic evidence from the Old Kingdom onward. Queen Meresankh III, a priestess of Hathor and Thoth, is shown in her Giza tomb scenes with shaven/close cropped hair, and wearing a leopard skin more usually associated with mortuary and sem priests ²⁵⁴ (fig.160). Various other priestesses are similarly depicted, as noted in contemporary false door scenes ²⁵⁵, the Middle Kingdom figurine of Imeretnebes, *hmt-ntr*, 'Wife of the God' ²⁵⁶ quite hairless beneath her detachable wooden wig ²⁵⁷ (fig.264). The Wife of the God is also depicted with a shaven head in the Karnak scenes of Hatshepsut as she undergoes purification rituals with a similarly shaven male colleague before performing sacred duties ²⁵⁸ (fig.532). A further example from the Taharka temple at Karnak depicts the king and a shaven *hmt-ntr* participating in consecration ceremonies, the whole androgynous quality of the scene having been commented upon ²⁵⁹.

Other depictions of shaven priestesses occur in New Kingdom Theban tomb scenes, including that of Khons, First Prophet of Tuthmosis III at the time of Ramses II (TT.31); here the arrival of the sacred barque of Mont is welcomed at Armant by a group of shaven priests and two priestesses with "shaven heads and...a gown of special simplicity" ²⁶⁰ (fig.552). The other examples however are of a funerary nature, a subscene in the XVIIIth dynasty tomb of Montuherkhopshuf (TT.20) depicting the owner's funeral procession in which the 'wife of the god' is shaven and bareheaded in contrast to the two accompanying long-haired women who represent Isis and Nephthys ²⁶¹. However, both these figures are to be found shaven elsewhere, as they participate in funerary rituals in the tomb scenes of Sennefer (TT.96) ²⁶², Rekhmire (TT.100) ²⁶³ and Amenemhat (TT.82) ²⁶⁴, a funerary model also showing their bare pink heads dotted with stubble ²⁶⁵ (fig.50).

The practice is further clearly documented in the 'Songs of Isis and Nephthys' composed in the XIIIth dynasty as part of the performance given to celebrate the Osiris Mysteries. The preliminary instructions referring to the two women who are to play the roles of the goddesses state that "there shall be brought in [two] women pure of body and virgin, with the hair of their bodies removed, their heads adorned with wigs" ²⁶⁶. Thereafter they are referred to as *hnsktyt*, using their long hair to good visual effect as "they mourn for thee in dishevelment, the hair of their heads disordered" ²⁶⁷. The verb *ḥr*, 'to mourn', is written with a lock of hair as the determinative, which Faulkner suggests "has reference to the disarray of the hair of the mourning women in funeral scenes" ²⁶⁸, the words for actual mourners, *ḥkby*, and more specifically *ḥkbyt*, 'mourning woman', using the same determinative ²⁶⁹.

Scenes of mourning as an integral part of the funerary process appear throughout dynastic Egypt, involving both male and female participants. They are shown pulling at their hair in "a common gesture of mourning and despair" found in many cultures²⁷⁰, in addition to throwing dust on their heads and beating their chest in a clear reversal of normal practice. In the Pyramid Texts, the Souls of Pe mourn for Osiris, "they smite their flesh for you...they tug their side-locks for you"²⁷¹.

A graphic example from the VIth dynasty mastaba of Idu (G.7102) shows segregated groups of men and women pulling at their hair, some falling to the ground in grief²⁷². This can be compared with a non-funerary example of mourning from the contemporary Deshasha tomb of Anta in which the distraught inhabitants and ruler of an Asiatic town pull at their hair in grief as Egyptian troops sack their homes²⁷³. Male and female mourners are again depicted in similar pose on scenes from the Ist Intermediate Period tomb of Ity at Gebelein²⁷⁴, and by this time female mourners are also to be found bending over forward allowing their hair to fall down in disarray over their heads, as shown in the determinative in the word *nwn*, to dishevel²⁷⁵ (a pose adopted by both sexes in non-funerary contexts²⁷⁶).

An XIth dynasty coffin scene of a funeral procession features "a woman mourner bending forward with her hair falling in front of her face"²⁷⁷, as also found in certain Second Intermediate Period²⁷⁸ and New Kingdom scenes including those of Amenemhat (TT.82), Gardiner referring to two mourners who "violently throw their hair forward over their faces"²⁷⁹. Again found in the tomb of Minnakht (TT.87)²⁸⁰, a large group of professional mourners also throw dust on their heads and pull at their hair, several of whom have pulled so much that their hair has become unravelled to considerably extend its length from breast to waist level, a feature also noted in the later New Kingdom scenes of Hori (TT.259)²⁸¹, and possibly comparable to the unusual styles of male mourners in the Sakkara scenes of Ptahemhat²⁸² (fig.308).

Crowds of professional female mourners identified by their grieving posture and disordered hair are quite common in New Kingdom private tomb scenes, including those of Nakht (TT.161)²⁸³, Haremhab (TT.78)²⁸⁴, Nebamun and Ipuki (TT.181)²⁸⁵ and the 'classic' mourning scene in the tomb of Ramose (TT.55)²⁸⁶. In the scenes of Neferhotep (TT.49) "curiously rendered hair indicates complete dishevelment"²⁸⁷ as is also the case in the tomb of Merimeri²⁸⁸, although in such Memphite examples the hair is simply carved in a series of deep striations as also noted in the scenes of Horemheb²⁸⁹ (fig.471) and a fragmentary relief²⁹⁰. The tomb scenes of Nakhtamun (TT.341)²⁹¹ and Dhoutemhab (TT.45)²⁹² provide Ramesside comparisons, the mourners of Nespekashuti (TT.312)²⁹³, an unprovenanced relief fragment of a woman tearing her hair²⁹⁴ and an unusual terracotta bust of a female mourner²⁹⁵ (fig.635) continuing the familiar motifs into the Late Period²⁹⁶.

However, it was not always necessary to show female mourners with long hair, as is made clear from certain late Old Kingdom scenes in which women are depicted with styles ranging from the tripartite to the plainly shaven head²⁹⁷. The trend for short-haired mourners is again encountered in the Late Period, with a group of five women in the XXIIInd dynasty coffin scenes of Ankhpakhered portrayed with cropped hair²⁹⁸, and the contemporary stela of Djedamuniufankh

containing a rare scene of the necropolis in which "a kneeling woman...in the traditional attitude of grief" has an equally short style ²⁹⁹.

The so-called 'Dream Book' interprets a dream of 3w n snw, 'lots of hair', as a sign of mourning ³⁰⁰, with other literary references including the comment by Herodotus that "Egyptians, who shave at all other times, mark a death by letting the hair grow" ³⁰¹, a custom also observed by the Ptolemies, Romans, Jews and various Greek peoples ³⁰². However, exceptions are reported by several classical authors, Firmicus Maternus stating that Egyptians of Roman times shaved their hair when mourning Osiris during Isiac rites ³⁰³, the same practice following the death of the Apis bull reported by both Pliny ³⁰⁴ and Lucien ³⁰⁵. A reference in Papyrus Michigan also states that during the reign of Tiberius, members of a certain association were expected to shave their heads and celebrate a funerary meal upon the death of any of their members or be forced to pay a fine ³⁰⁶.

Both extremes of behaviour are well documented in anthropological studies of mourning ceremonies, where "On the one hand, hair may be cut off and the head shaved; on the other the customary hairdressing of normal life is neglected, the hair is allowed to become dishevelled" ³⁰⁷.

It is clear that hair itself played an important part in ancient Egyptian religious and funerary ritual, although a precise interpretation of its role is somewhat problematic. An intriguing example concerns inscriptions on the second golden shrine of Tutankhamen ³⁰⁸, the exterior left panel engraved with a large mummiform figure of the king around whose head and feet runs the serpentine figure of Mehen the Enveloper, also enclosing 'enigmatic' hieroglyphs which include the hair sign. Whilst one set "cannot be deciphered", the hieroglyphs around the king's head have been translated as "He who hides the Horus" ³⁰⁹, which if alternatively interpreted as 'One who hides the Horus', may perhaps be a veiled reference to Hwt-Hr, the goddess whose name is effectively written as Horus 'hidden' within his temple.

The aforementioned Hair of Isis and that of her sister Nephthys is referred to in the Coffin Texts in spells against drought and illness ³¹⁰ -nd in one of the responses given to the ferryman in the Field of Rushes en route to the afterlife - "O Braided tress of Isis which Anubis has affixed by means of the craft of the embalmer" ³¹¹. The royal mummy wrappings are also described in similar terms in the Pyramid Texts, "loosen your bonds, for they are not bonds, they are the tresses of Nephthys" ³¹². References to Isis' hair are again found in the later Book of the Dead, the phrase "Isis was in the shrine of Sokar and she rubbed her hair" ³¹³ alternatively translated as "quand Isis était sur la tombe, alors elle secoua sa chevelure" ³¹⁴.

In Plutarch's 'De Iside et Osiride' Isis is plunged into grief upon hearing of the news of Osiris' death as she arrives at Koptos, and "she cut off there and then one of her locks" ³¹⁵. Griffiths states that although Isis is prominent at Koptos from the New Kingdom onwards, "there seems to be no allusion in Egyptian texts to Isis cutting a lock of hair in mourning. This Greek custom was not found in Pharaonic Egypt, where women showed mourning by wearing their hair in

long and dishevelled state" ³¹⁶, and although this statement is often repeated ³¹⁷ the aforementioned evidence from the Old Kingdom and Late Period shows that this was not in fact necessarily the case.

In contrast to funerary offerings, Nachtergaele states that "Les Égyptiens, comme tant d'autres peuples, sacrifiaient leurs cheveux dans diverses circonstances" ³¹⁸, following Otto when referring to priests of Isis shaving their heads as a symbol of their 'Selbstaufopferung' to the goddess, and agreeing with him that such shaving took the form of an offering to the gods ³¹⁹. He also states that the sidelocks of boys were removed at puberty and "il est probable qu'elle était sacrifiée en même temps qu'ils étaient circoncis" ³²⁰, although there is no specific evidence for this ³²¹.

Another form of 'hair offering' discussed are the small balls of dried mud containing locks of hair which have been found at several pharaonic sites "qu'ils s'agissait d'un gage, de caractère magique, déposé dans la tombe par un prêtre afin de confirmer le contrat qu'il avait conclu avec le défunt pour le service funéraire" ³²². Such items are perhaps comparable to forty mud balls containing reeds and fabric from a Vth dynasty site at Abydos, Peet stating "that they were connected with the rites of burial is however fairly certain, and we may conjecture...some magical significance" ³²³.

Two balls of hair wrapped in linen were found in the tomb of Tutankhamen ³²⁴ (fig.772), Edwards noting that "balls of dried Nile mud, sometimes with tufts of hair in the centre...have been found in Egyptian tombs and are thought to have had a magical significance, the nature of which is still obscure, although there is some evidence to suggest that they were associated with some form of contract" ³²⁵, with the inference of a marriage contract. Two mud balls found by Petrie in a XXth dynasty tomb at Kahun were found to contain "a tuft of red brown human hair, apparently infantile" ³²⁶ (fig.792), and similar findings were made at Amarna (fig.791) where such balls were "a quite common object...they may have been dedications, a lock of child's hair being vowed to a god in the event of his reaching puberty - a practice still current in some districts of Upper Egypt" ³²⁷. As recently as 1925, Blackman noted the Egyptian custom of shaving the heads of young boys and enclosing their hair in a ball of clay, which was then buried near the tomb of a saint or sheikh to whom the hair would be dedicated, a practice also carried out by women wishing for a child ³²⁸.

Another form of hair offering relating to children is mentioned by classical authors, Herodotus stating that when making vows the Egyptians pray to a particular god, and shave some or all of their children's hair; this is then weighed, and the equivalent amount in silver exchanged for food for whichever animal is sacred to the god invoked ³²⁹. This practice is also reported by Diodorus Siculus as being performed when the child was ill ³³⁰, and is a custom still practised in parts of the Middle East ³³¹.

In the context of votive offerings, Carian Greeks dedicated their hair in the temple of Zeus, enclosing the locks within small inscribed boxes ³³², and a similar practice is to be found within the Ptolemaic royal house. In 246 BC Berenice II promised to dedicate a lock of her hair "to all the gods" if husband Ptolemy III Euergetes returned safely from his Syrian war. Upon his victorious return, the lock was duly placed in the Alexandrian temple of Aphrodite Zephyritis ³³³,

whereupon it disappeared only to re-emerge in the night sky as a new star identified by the court astronomer Conon and celebrated in Callimachus' poem 'Coma Berenices' ³³⁴. A similar offering was made by Berenice's daughter Arsinoe III to Artemis for help at the battle of Raphia, an action likewise commemorated in a four verse epigram by Damagetos ³³⁵.

It is clear that Greek customs involved hair offerings of both a votive and funerary nature, although the practice of offering hair in an Egyptian funerary context is generally dismissed. In his examination of the question Nachtergaele states that "En l'absence de textes égyptiens, seules les fouilles sur les sites pharaoniques, en particulier dans les nécropoles, devraient permettre de fournir une réponse" ³³⁶. Unfortunately he is only able to cite eight examples ³³⁷, his brief list concluding with the comment "Si l'on tient compte du fait que ces témoignages s'échelonnent sur plus de 3000 ans, on considérera à juste titre, croyons-nous, que la moisson est maigre". He dismisses four of the examples as dating to the earliest period "et ne permettent pas d'affirmer que le même usage se soit perpétué au cours des siècles ultérieurs", two more are impossible to date, a seventh probably no more than false hair of a cosmetic nature, and the eighth is explained away as a family relic ³³⁸. He therefore maintains that the ancient Egyptians did not offer hair for funerary purposes as did the Greeks, using the lack of examples to support his theory. He further states that this lack of evidence cannot be blamed upon archaeologists' negligence, since as early as 1899 Amélineau had remarked that if Petrie or de Morgan had found samples of hair such as he found at the Ist dynasty necropolis at Abydos "ils les auraient certainement recueillies" ³³⁹.

However, the whole of Nachtergaele's theory can be demolished. His eight examples are woefully inadequate and represent only a small fraction of the many samples of plaits, braids, tufts and balls of hair uncovered during the course of the present research (discussed in detail below) ³⁴⁰. Furthermore, his defence of early archaeologists cannot be supported since hair came very low on their 'list of priorities', and with rarely a mention in the majority of excavation reports ³⁴¹ many of the samples held by museums are either unprovenanced, undated or both.

Due to the relatively large amount of loose hair found within Egyptian burials, in many cases carefully wrapped (fig.784, fig.787-788) and/or placed in some form of container (fig.719, fig.772, fig.783, fig.806, fig.834) often in close proximity to the body (fig.821), it would appear that hair formed an important part of the funerary process in addition to its more familiar role within a votive context. Despite a lack of literary evidence as to its precise nature, a limited amount of artistic evidence is to be found in the XVIIIth dynasty funerary scenes of Montuherkhepshef (TT.20), the artist having included what appears to be a pit containing hair and bodily parts of the tekenu sacrificial victim. As Davies states, "the hair...seems a special object of solicitous burial; for we also see the qed ur (chief mason) and the 'guardian of Serqet' occupied in digging a pit, as if to build a receptacle for the 'black hairs' (such is the writing in the buttressed enclosure)" ³⁴².

As discussed above within a sexual context, the constant renewal of hair made it a suitable symbol for the life force itself, its presence within a burial perhaps comparable to the inclusion of the 'Osiris Bed' which is "supposed to manifest the

unconquerable nature of life and, when placed with the deceased in the tomb,...a magical aid to continued existence"³⁴³. The obvious link between the growth of hair and the growth of crops, common to many cultures³⁴⁴, is alluded to in the Coffin Texts³⁴⁵, and is also to be found in the reference to river-borne papyrus clumps as 'the Hair of Isis'³⁴⁶. The demonstrable powers of renewal of both hair and vegetation would logically explain the presence of both within burials, where such powers might magically influence the rebirth of the deceased.

Although quite distinct from the Greek practice of funerary hair offerings which are more akin to mementoes from the associates of the deceased, it is quite clear that the Egyptians also employed hair in such a context, perhaps as symbol of regeneration where its presence was felt to be more important than its source. However, in certain cases where it can be matched to that of the deceased³⁴⁷ it may have been included in the burial as an important part of the individual in order to make the body 'whole' again, an idea reflected in the later Egyptian Muslim practice of burying cut hair, as leaving it upon the ground would be "inconsistent with the honour that is due to everything that has appertained to the body"³⁴⁸.

The concept of hair as a receptacle of the 'magical' power of an individual imbued it with even further significance, and to possess the hair of an enemy could thus empower whoever had it and enable curses upon the victim to prove particularly effective³⁴⁹. This is a common belief in many cultures both ancient and modern, and the ancient Egyptians held similar beliefs; whilst the hair of Isis and Nephthys was invoked to prevent drought and cure illness in Coffin Text Spells³⁵⁰, instructions given in Demotic magical papyri generally require hair from the 'victim' as a necessary material in love spells, and in spells designed to cause madness³⁵¹. Peet states that some of the aforementioned clay balls containing hair "may represent a more malevolent type of domestic magic"³⁵², and it is also perhaps significant that a "magician's wand" of Middle Kingdom date was found "entangled in a mass of hair" alongside further 'magical' items in a tomb under the Ramesseum³⁵³.

The possession of an individual's hair by another could therefore mean the subjection of that individual to the other's will by either magical or even physical force, in effect actually possessing or controlling an individual by means of their hair. In the Pyramid Texts, the king warns those who would delay him in his ferry journey to the after-life by threatening to "pluck out those dancing tresses which are on the top of your heads like lotus-buds in the swamp-gardens"³⁵⁴. In dealings on the earthly plane the king is frequently shown holding his enemies by their hair, since "Grabbing hold of the hair symbolised the subjection of the whole person...Whenever the Egyptian king conquered an enemy the fact was made plain by his seizing him by a tuft of hair"³⁵⁵, and Gardiner describes "the familiar scene of Pharaoh grasping the locks of his enemies before battering their heads to pieces with his club"³⁵⁶, as borne out by physical remains³⁵⁷. This classic pose of the all-powerful warrior king is a motif found throughout Egyptian history from the earliest dynasties through to Meroitic times³⁵⁸ (fig.51-53, fig.60, fig.605), and is only very occasionally adopted by other figures³⁵⁹ (fig.54, fig.422).

The pictorial evidence for holding an enemy by the hair is supported by literary references in the Pyramid Texts, the hair

referred to as wpt³⁶⁰. Faulkner translates this as 'topknot', as in "It is Grasper-of-topknots who is(?) Kehau who lassoes them for the King"³⁶¹, although Gardiner prefers 'forelock'³⁶². To judge from the pictorial evidence however, the captive figure is usually held by the hair on the crown of the head rather than at the front, and Dawson also refutes Gardiner's subsequent translation of 'brow' in preference to 'vertex'³⁶³, since he believes wpt to be the median line of the head, which as the centre-parting line of the hair would support the reading of wpt as 'topknot'.

It is quite clear that hair was regarded by the ancient Egyptians as a highly potent substance, and could be used to symbolise the divine power of various deities and the subsequent devotion of an individual to them. It could also be used to indicate grief and mourning, sexual desire, social conformity, wealth and status, and as such was an invaluable means of communicating the ideas, beliefs and values held by Egyptian society.

- 1 Shafer 1991, p.3.
- 2 Lurker 1980, p.56-57.
- 3 Leach 1958, p.157, 160; also Firth 1973, p.294.
- 4 Cairo JE.97472, Merimda-Benisalama, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.1.
- 5 Spell 473, in Faulkner 1977 II, "H3w, translation uncertain", p.108.
- 6 Spell 705, in Faulkner 1977 II, p.266, note 1, "For hnswt 'wig(?)' cf. Pyr.No.456", where it states "you shall raise up the King's double for him at his side, even as this wig(?) of yours mounted up to you" in Faulkner 1969, p.91, note 15.
- 7 Gardiner 1982, R.17, p.503; see also Otto 1975, 47-48 and Bruyère 1939, fig.75 for variations.
- 8 Winlock 1921, p.21.
- 9 Hayes 1959 II, p.329 (see also Hayes 1953 I, p.159).
- 10 MMA.11.155.3.b, in Petrie in Caulfield 1902, p.15, pl.II, XII; also Hayes 1959 II, fig.208, p.331; Hibbard 1980, fig.93, p.48 and Fletcher 1994 (ii), fig.216, p.131; see also Reeves 1990(ii) for reference to distinct shape of wig-mount in Tutankhamen's wig box, "reminiscent of the Abydos fetish", p.192.
- 11 Otto 1975, 48.
- 12 eg. David 1982, "a decorated box" whose "origin and purpose remains unclear", p.110 and Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1988, "a chest was worshipped", p.13.
- 13 BM EA.947, in James & Davies 1983, fig.52, p.44-45 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.CLVIII.1, 4.
- 14 Nachtergaele 1981, p.592-5.
- 15 eg. Turin Inv.1465, NK stela of scribe Mahu praying to "del feticcio di Osiride", in Curto 1984, p.171; Leiden Inv.AP.14.a-c, NK portico of Royal Sculptor Userhet, and tomb scene of Inherkha (TT.299), in Westendorf 1968, p.187.
- 16 eg. Louvre E.5334, III IP coffin of Amenemonet, Osiris fetish on front and inside lid, djed pillar along back, in Zeigler 1990, p.72-73.
- 17 eg. Hassanein & Nelson 1976, "les coiffures traditionnelles se rapportent à l'identité du dieu", p.24, and Champollion 1839, "divinités égyptiennes, caractérisées par leurs coiffures", p.257; thanks to Mrs.P.Abbas for loan of latter volume.
- 18 Lurker 1980, p.59-60 and Müller 1982, 989.
- 19 eg. Cairo CG.462/JE.38488, late XVIII dyn, in Vandier 1958 III, pl.CXXIV. 4; Nims 1965, p.64 and Lange & Hirmer 1957, No.204, p.335; Turin Inv.Cat.1589, stela of Nebra, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1988, fig.241, p.176; BM.EA.153, Theban temple(?) relief scene, c.1250 BC and Karnak scene of Ramses II, in Nims 1965, p.73.
- 20 eg. Cairo, Carter No.423/996, in Reeves 1990(ii), p.131, 134; also tomb scene of Seti II (KV.15), in Hornung 1990, p.181.
- 21 eg. Cairo Temp.Reg.14:7:35:6, XXI dyn. funerary papyrus of Hereubekhet, in Terrace & Fischer 1970, No.35, p.154.
- 22 eg. Cairo CG.46954, stela of Ptahmay, Amarna tomb No.525; Louvre N.524, stela c.1200-800 BC.
- 23 eg. relief in Vandersleyen 1976, pl.316, p.334.
- 24 Single figure, eg. NK lapis amulet, MMA.49.121.2, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.251, p.398; LP quartzite figure, Louvre N.4132, in Louvre 1982, No.9, p.12-13; LP votive bronze figure, Highclere H.180, in Reeves 1989, fig.23, p.25;

- Graeco-Roman faience figure, Kofler-Truniger Collection K.2703, in Müller 1964, No.A.165, p.115; wooden figurine, c.360 BC, MM.unnumbered (lock on left); Roman bronze figurine, Private Collection, in Brunner-Traut et al. 1984, No.119, p.146; for separate lock (undated) see Louvre E.11559, in Louvre 1982, No.10, p.13; also cippi stelae, eg. Ox.Ash.1874.279.a, LP, in Moorey 1983, fig.35, p.73; Cairo CG.9401, c.300 BC, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.261 and Hildesheim 1984, No.11, p.32-33; MMA.50.85, LP, in Shafer ed. 1991, fig.37, p.56; Brooklyn Acc.No.60.73, C.3rd BC, in Brussels 1976, No.79, p.127; Brooklyn 1988, No.99, p.204-205 and Fazzini et al. 1989, No.88; KMV.ÄS.4137, C.5-1st BC, in Brunner-Traut et al. 1984, No.52, p.68 and Louvre E.16264, c.950-650 BC; also Ptolemaic 'Sculptor's model' reliefs, eg. MMA.56.99, Fayuum(?), with other relief examples, eg. Philae reliefs of Ptolemy VIII, in MacQuitty 1976, p.75, 78; Dendera reliefs of Domitian, in MacQuitty 1976, p.115, and similar example at Kalabsha, in Fouchet 1965, fig.53, p.101.
- 25 eg. Cairo JE.30555, C.3rd BC, in Hildesheim 1984, No.12, p.34-35; Ox.Ash. Fortnum B.1, LP, in Moorey 1983, fig.34, p.72; MCAG.1934.259, LP, unprovenanced; also bronze arm of Isis holding small Harpocrates figure, KMV.ÄS.762.a, C.3-1st BC, in Brunner-Traut et al. 1984, No.123, p.150; however, BM.EA.36442, in Fechheimer 1921, No.93 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.CXLII, (lock on left side), most likely forgery; thanks to Dr.J.Taylor for this information.
- 26 Although earliest forms of sidelock appear to have been worn by adults, eg. soldier on predyn. palette fragment, Berlin Inv.No.15084, in Schäfer 1974, pl.3 and figure of royal scribe on III dyn(?) fragmentary relief, Turin Inv.Suppl.12341, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1989, fig.299, p.198; Curto 1984, p.57 and Garolla 1988, p.64; for general discussion of lock see Bates 1914, p.137; Griffiths 1975, p.186 and Müller 1980, 273-274.
- 27 Utterance 667.B, in Faulkner 1969, p.282; falcon-headed 'Souls of Pe', the town of Horus, "tug their sidelocks" in Utterance 482, in Faulkner 1969, p.169 and Utterance 670, in Faulkner 1969, p.285; several references to 'wearers of the sidelock', "who stand in the eastern side of the sky" in Utterance 263, Faulkner 1969, p.72 and Utterance 266 in Faulkner 1969, p.75.
- 28 For reconstruction sketches see Corson 1980, p.32-33, pl.LN, p.34-35, pl.2.O.
- 29 Otto 1968, pl.VII; Baines & Malek 1984, p.115 and Michalowski 1969, fig.510.
- 30 eg. in XIX dyn. funerary papyri of Ani, BM.EA.10470.12.
- 31 Abbate 1972, p.130, pl.79; Sadek 1990, p.63 and Fletcher 1994(ii), fig.217, p.131; also Hornung 1990, p.61 for Iunmutf priest in tomb of Ramses IX.
- 32 Martin 1989, p.56-57, pl.54.
- 33 Siliotti & Leblanc 1993, p.150-152, 155 and Westendorf 1968, p.183.
- 34 Murnane 1980, fig.68, p.83.
- 35 Brooklyn Acc.No.52.131.1-32, Deir el-Bahari, in Fazzini et al. 1989, No.73.
- 36 MMA.11.150.50.b, XXVI dyn, Sakkara.
- 37 Kozloff & Bryan 1992 p.254 and Bosse-Griffiths 1955, p.61-62.
- 38 BM.EA.21979, in Kozloff & Bryan 1992, p.253-254; similar XIX dyn. figure, Copenhagen NCG.AEIN.1548, Memphis(?), in Koefoed-Petersen 1950, No.40, p.26, pl.45-47 and Reeves & Taylor 1992, p.21; also Louvre N.792.
- 39 Sculpted figure, Cairo JE.36720, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.209; also shabti figures with blue sidelock on short round black style, eg. Louvre N.445/AF.428 and Northampton Museum X.685, thanks to Mrs.R.Thomas for access; relief figures, Louvre N.518, Sakkara(?) and Yoshimura & Takamiya 1994, p.19.
- 40 Sculpted figure Florence No.1790, in Kozloff & Bryan 1992, No.37, p.241-242; stela figure, Leiden Inv.AP 11, in Bosse-Griffiths 1955, p.56-63; Schneider & Raven 1981, No.92, p.102-103 and Kozloff & Bryan 1992, fig.37.a, p.242.

- 41 Florence No.2607, XIX dyn, Sakkara tomb relief.
- 42 Louvre A.72, XIX dyn. dyad figure, in Vandier 1958 III, pl.CXLV.6.
- 43 Louvre N.495, Sakkara, funerary relief scene.
- 44 BM.EA.391, C.2nd BC, Sakkara(?), in Brooklyn 1988, No.121, p.229-230.
- 45 Brooklyn Acc.No.58.13, 305-30 BC, Alexandria(?), in Brooklyn 1988, No.130, "despite their puerile appearances, [they] are in fact sem-priests, identifiable by their sidelocks", p.241-242, pl.XXXIV; see also Fazzini et al. 1989, No.82.
- 46 Berlin Inv.No.14568/13457, in Brooklyn 1988, No.55-56, p.152-3.
- 47 BM.GR.1824.4-70.4.
- 48 MMA.31.9.5, in Winlock 1932(ii), p.186-187; thanks to Dr.C.Roehrig for access.
- 49 Rare exception being III dyn. gneiss figure of Onuris with "wide round wig [ie. short round style]", Brooklyn Acc.No.58.192, in Fazzini et al.1989, No.7, also Fazzini 1975, No.12, p.24.
- 50 Despite Bothmer 1987, p.29, who suggests tripartite 'wig' specifically Hathoric, and thus indicative of feminine gender; see Friedman 1994, p.115-6 for discussion of this point.
- 51 eg. BM.EA.8, XXII dyn, in James & Davies 1983, fig.64, p.58; MMA.19.2.15, XVIII dyn, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.145, p.240; Vandier 1958 III, pl.CXXIII.4 and Kozloff & Bryan 1992, fig.17a, p.179; also unnumbered statue in Cairo Museum gardens.
- 52 eg. Copenhagen NCG.AEIN.1483, Ramses II dyad, Memphis, in Koefoed-Petersen 1950, No.58, p.34-35, pl.68-69; XX dyn. scene of Amonhirkhopshef (QV.55), in Westendorf 1968, p.179 and Siliotti & Leblanc 1993, p.89.
- 53 Luxor Museum, in Brock,E. 1992, p.43 and el-Saghir 1991, p.35-40.
- 54 eg. XVIII dyn. figures, Chicago No.10607, in Vandier 1958 III, pl.CXXIII. 6 and Kozloff & Bryan 1992, No.17, p.178-181 (referred to as 'headcloth'); Vatican City Museo Gregariano Egizio No.17, in Kozloff & Bryan 1992, fig.V.23, p.142 and San Francisco Fine Arts Museum No.54661, in Kozloff & Bryan 1992, No.18, p.182.
- 55 eg. MMA.18.2.4, V dyn. Koptos nome figure of Sahure, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.46, p.71; Vandier 1958 III, pl.VI.2; Aldred 1965, fig.119, p.119; Lurker 1980, p.88; Smith 1949, pl.17.b and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.90.
- 56 XVIII dyn. figures, eg. Copenhagen NCG.AEIN.33, in Koefoed-Petersen 1950, No.36, p.24, pl.39; Kozloff & Bryan 1992, fig.vii.2, p.215 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.CXXIV.1; Cairo CG.38517, in Vandier 1958 III, pl.CXXIV.3; MMA.17.2.5, dyad with Isis-Hathor, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.218, p.349, and Vandier 1958 III, pl.CXXXVII.4; LP figure, Hildesheim RPM, in Westendorf 1968, p.215; see also tomb scenes of Tuthmosis IV (KV.43), in Hornung 1990, fig.29, p.64; scenes of Horemheb (KV.57), in Hornung 1990, fig.34, p.66; scenes of Pay, in Martin 1994, p.3; scenes of Tausert (KV.14), in Hornung 1990, fig.33, p.65, fig.89, p.132 and Altenmüller 1990, p.65; scenes of Amonhirkhopshef (QV.55) in Siliotti & Leblanc 1993, p.89; scenes of Inherkha (TT.359), in Westendorf 1968, p.187; scene of Petosiris, in Lefebvre 1923 III, pl.XXIII.2, XXXIX; Ptolemaic temple scene at Deir el-Medina, in Westendorf 1968, p.224 and Ptolemaic votive stela Cairo JE.44048, Philadelphia, in Grimm & Johannes 1975, No.11, p.18, pl.12 and Bowman 1986, fig.58, p.99.
- 57 eg. tomb scenes of Nofretari (QV.66), in Siliotti & Leblanc 1993, p.137; scenes of Tyti (QV52), in Siliotti & Leblanc 1993, p.64; scenes of Khaemwaset (QV44), in Siliotti & Leblanc 1993, p.81 and scenes of Ramses VI (KV.9), in Hornung 1990, fig.41, p.70.
- 58 eg. scenes of Sethherkhopshef (QV43), in Siliotti & Leblanc 1993, p.83.
- 59 eg. XIX dyn. syenite figure, Munich ÄS.Gl.WAF.22, in Brunner-Traut et al. 1984, No.63, p.78; bronze figure, BM.36062, C.1st AD, in Brooklyn 1988, No.134, p.245-246 and Bowman 1986, fig.46, p.74; also OK relief of

- Qahedjet, Louvre E.25982, in Ziegler 1990, p.23; scenes of Khaemwaset (QV44), in Siliotti & Leblanc 1993, p.81; compare with human-headed Horus figure, on coffin scenes of Ahotep Tanedjem, MMA.12.181.303.ab, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.38, p.71.
- 60 Hornung 1990, p.66.
- 61 eg. scenes of Menna (TT.69), in Kozloff & Bryan 1992, fig.ix.10, p.268.
- 62 eg. back of Tutankhamen's ceremonial chair, Cairo JE.60708, in Carter & Mace 1923, p.116, pl.LX-LXI; Edwards 1976, No.12, p.114-115, pl.2 and Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.192.
- 63 eg. scenes of Horemheb (KV.57), in Hornung 1990, fig.39, p.69.
- 64 eg. side-scenes on Memnon Colossi, in Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.163 and Kozloff & Bryan 1992, fig.II.1, p.33; reused scene of Ay, Boston MFA.50.3789, Medinet Habu, in Aldred 1961, No.173, p.92-93; also two 'nature gods' from Ramses I's Abydene chapel, MMA.11.153.3.a, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.209, p.333.
- 65 eg. Geb in Heliopolis shrine of Djoser, Turin N.Suppl.2671, in Curto 1984, p.59; Vandier 1952 I.2, fig.626.50, p.953; Donadoni-Roveri, ed. 1988, fig.48, p.48; Donadoni-Roveri, ed. 1989, fig.302, p.200; Garolla 1988, p.63 and Smith 1981, fig.51, p.64.
- 66 eg. painted temple reliefs of Amenhotep III, Cleveland No.61.205/76.51, Middle Egypt(?), in Kozloff & Bryan 1992, No.4, p.118-120, pl.2 and Cleveland n.d. p.12; four 'nature gods' from Ramses I's Abydene chapel, MMA.11.153.3.a, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.209, p.333.
- 67 Brooklyn 1988, with reference to both types of Serapis' coiffure, original Ptolemaic 'Anastole-form' with hair "rising from the brow", and later Roman 'Fransensfur-type' "with five distinct locks falling onto the forehead", p.210-211.
- 68 For anastole-form, eg. marble figure, Cairo JE.46343, in Grimm & Johannes 1975, No.30, pl.62, 64; for more common Fransensfur-type, eg. marble figures, Cairo JE.86128, Athribis, in Grimm & Johannes 1975, No.31, pl.63, 65 and Maehler in Smith & Hall ed. 1983, fig.1, p.88; Cairo CG.27432, in Grimm & Johannes 1975, No.32, pl.66; Turin Inv.Cat.2067, Ashmunein, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1988, fig.314, p.228; private collection, C.2nd AD, in Brunner-Traut et al. 1984, No.124, p.150-151; serpentine head, Michigan Kelsey Museum of Archaeology 8526, C.2-3rd AD, Karanis, in Brooklyn 1988, No.104, p.210-211; bronze bust, Berlin Inv.No.11479, C.2nd AD, Arsinoe, in Brunner-Traut et al. 1984, No.116, p.143-144
- 69 Rare exceptions being Roman representations of Nut on interior of coffins, eg. unusual mid-length blue style on coffin of Soter, BM.EA.6705, in Grimm 1974, pl.138.1 and Bowman 1986, fig.80, p.135; fashionable wavy style gathered up at back, on coffin of Ptahmenophis, Turin Inv.Cat.6545, reign of Hadrian, Thebes, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1988, fig.323, p.232; see also "unidentified goddess" with similarly short style in Augustan reliefs of Dendur temple, MMA.68.1.54, in Aldred 1978, p.80.
- 70 eg. Turin Inv.Cat.694, in Vandier 1958 III, pl.CXXIII.3 and Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1989, fig.223, p.143.
- 71 eg. Cairo CG.602, in Vandier 1958 III, pl.CXXIV.5 and Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.205, p.335; also Luxor Museum figure, in Brock, E. 1992, p.44 and el-Saghir 1991, p.58-61.
- 72 eg. Marseilles No.206, in Vandier 1958 III, pl.CXXIII.1 and Kozloff & Bryan 1992, No.19.a, p.184.
- 73 eg. Louvre E.25389, in Vandier 1958 III, pl.CXXIII.5 and Kozloff & Bryan 1992, No.19, p.183-184.
- 74 Luxor Museum, in Brock, E. 1992, p.41 and el-Saghir 1991, p.3, 8, 31-34.
- 75 eg. Florence No.2469, in Agostino n.d, p.11; many thanks to Dr.C.Guidotti for access during renovation of museum.
- 76 eg. tomb scenes of Horemheb (KV.57), in Hornung 1990, p.53.
- 77 Sakkara tomb relief fragment, in Martin 1989, No.112.a, pl.125.

- 78 Cairo Temp.Reg.3:7:24:2, XVIII dyn, Sakkara, in Hildesheim 1984, No.83, p.174-175; for MK example, relief figure from Amenemhat III's Lisht funerary complex, Louvre B.77.
- 79 eg. Luxor Museum, in Brock, E. 1992, p.40 and el-Saghir 1991, p.11, 28-31.
- 80 BM.EA.948, in James & Davies 1983, p.35.
- 81 Sourouzian 1993, p.14.
- 82 Kozloff & Bryan 1992, p.335.
- 83 Mace 1916, p.45, note 4.
- 84 Hornblower 1939, p.41.
- 85 Sourouzian 1981, p.446, note 8; Strouhal therefore somewhat misleading when he states bouffant style worn "in imitation of the goddess Hathor", 1992, p.84.
- 86 Also seems to be situation regarding 'corkscrew ringlet' style of Isis in Ptolemaic period (discussed below), and perhaps comparable to way in which gods' facial features often modelled on those of contemporary monarch as discussed in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No 93 and Berman ed. 1990, pl.10, 13, 17.
- 87 Cairo JE.30199 in Newberry 1892 I, pl.XXIV, XXIX, frontispiece; Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.99; Terrace & Fischer 1970, No.15, p.77-80; Hildesheim 1984, No.74, p.156-157; Smith 1981, fig.195, p.198 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.90, p.247; also BM.EA.1150 in Stead 1986, fig.67, p.49.
- 88 Cairo JE.32169, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.8; Malek 1986, p.14-15 and Troy 1986, fig.32, p.54.
- 89 eg. two heads on ivory inlay strip, in Petrie 1900, p.25, pl.XXVII, No.71; for MK representation see Cam.Fitz.E.158.1947, head of golden hair-pin, in Bourriau 1988, No.158, p.148.
- 90 eg. Cairo JE.40679, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.33 and Hildesheim 1984, No.96, p.194-195.
- 91 eg. Meretites, wife of Khenti, from VI dyn. Theban tomb scenes (TT.405), in Saleh 1977, pl.14 and Manniche 1987, fig.15, p.18; also XI dyn. relief of Queen Ioh, BM.EA.1819, in Troy 1986, fig.48, p.74 and Royal Academy Catalogue 1962, No.37, p.16.
- 92 For site and links with Hathor and Montuhotep's wives, see Laskowska-Kusztal 1978, p.119.
- 93 BM.EA.1819, in Troy 1986, fig.47, p.74 and Royal Academy Catalogue 1962, No.37, p.16.
- 94 Naville 1907 I, p.32, pl.XVII.D, and 1910 II, pl.XIII.A.
- 95 Cairo JE.47397, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.68.b; Naville 1907 I, p.48-49, 53-56, pl.XIX-XX; Corteggiani 1986, No.32, p.67; Aldred 1969, No.8, p.35; Aldred 1980, fig.69, p.110; Aldred 1987, fig.86, p.128; Smith 1981, fig.155, p.164; Klebs 1922 II, fig.20, 22, p.32-33; Strouhal 1992, fig.87, p.85; Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.83; Gauthier-Laurent 1938, C, fig.3, 9 p.676, 688-689; Riefstahl 1952, fig.2, p.9, 14-15; Riefstahl 1956, p.16, pl.XIII; Posener 1962, p.114; Westendorf 1968, p.71; Garetto 1955, pl.III; Schoske et al. 1990, fig.17, p.22 and Fletcher 1994(ii), fig.210, p.128.
- 96 Cairo Temp.Reg.11:11:20;17, in Naville 1910 II, pl.XVLA and Hildesheim 1984, No.21, p.54-55; also Cairo JE.47267, in Winlock 1942, pl.6-10, p.37; Saleh & Sourouzian 1987 No.69 and Riefstahl 1952, p.15.
- 97 BM.EA.1450, in Naville 1907 I, pl.XVII.C; Naville 1910 II, pl.XX, and Bourriau 1988, No.3, p.14-16; also Naville 1910 II, pl.XX; Naville 1913 III, pl.III; Gauthier-Laurent 1938, fig.4, p.677 and Haynes 1992, p.16; for unusual depiction of Kemsit in tripartite style, see Naville 1913 III, p.9, pl.II, and for unnamed wife identified as a priestess of Hathor see Munich ÄS.1621, in Troy 1986, fig.67, p.99 and Wenig 1969, No.23.
- 98 Discussed in Riefstahl 1956, p.13, note 18, and Troy 1986, p.73, 76; see also Troy 1986, p.99-100 for erotic overtones in some of these scenes.

- 99 Brooklyn Acc.No.54.49 and 51.231, Deir el-Bahari tomb 319, in Brooklyn 1952, No.25; Brooklyn 1956, No.27, p.24; Brooklyn 1974, p.32-33; Brussels 1976, No.24-25, p.52-53; Fazzini 1975, Cat.32, 33a-b, p.48; Fazzini et al. 1989, No.17; Riefstahl 1952, fig.1, p.7-16 and Riefstahl 1956, pl.VIII-IX, p.10-17.
- 100 eg. X dyn. coffin scene of Intefes, Berlin Inv.No.13774, in Gauthier- Laurent 1938, p.674; Donadoni 1955, pl.59; Klebs 1922, p.33 and Wreszinski 1923, 85.a; scenes of Mut, Berlin Inv.No.13772, in Gauthier-Laurent 1938, fig.1, p.674-5; Klebs 1922, p.3 and Wreszinski 1923, 86a; it would appear such late IP hairdressing scenes are amalgamation of OK scenes and early IP stelae which feature mirrors (another object relating to Hathor cult) set before faces of women, eg. Dunham 1937, No.1-3, 5, 19, 58.
- 101 Riefstahl 1956, p.17; see also Riefstahl 1952, p.15-16; Müller 1977, "ob diese Darstellungen Szenen des täglichen Lebens darstellen, oder...zum Hathorkult gehören, kann nicht entschieden werden", 331-332 and Fazzini 1975, "hairdressing scenes known from the walls of both coffins and tombs, possessed some as yet unclear religious significance", p.48.
- 102 Posener 1986, p.113; also Kozloff & Bryan 1992, p.335.
- 103 Leach 1958, p.149.
- 104 See Vandier 1958 III, p.254, 257-8, 315-6; Sourouzian 1981, p.446, note 8; Tefnin 1983, p.98-100; Wenig 1969, p.41; Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.93; Terrace & Fischer 1970, p.73-76 and Davies 1991-2, p.61; Strouhal 1992, p.84 uses term 'scrolled coiffure' and Pinch 1993, p.135-136, 'scroll wig'.
- 105 As suggested by Aldred 1980, p.133.
- 106 Bourriau 1988, p.25 referring to UC.16657, No.14.
- 107 Mace 1916, p.45.
- 108 eg. mummy of Hatnefer, mother of Senmut, in Cairo Qasr el-Einy Medical School, in Lansing & Hayes 1937, fig.31, p.20; Eisa 1948, fig.2, p.11, and unpublished MMA Archive photographs (M16C203/M16C204).
- 109 Watterson 1991, p.102-103.
- 110 Terrace & Fischer 1970, "to find a prototype one must go back to the Archaic period", p.76, also Sourouzian 1981, p.448, eg. Cairo JE.71586, in Smith 1981, fig.29-30, p.47, etc.
- 111 Royal examples include UC.16657, in Page 1976, No.24, p.23, Bourriau 1988, No.14, p.25-26, and Sourouzian 1981, p.449, note 17; non-royal examples include MMA.33.1.5-6, in Lansing 1933, fig.17-18, p.16; Hayes 1953 I, p.207; Terrace & Fischer 1971, p.76 and Bourriau 1988, p.26.
- 112 Cairo CG.381, in Borchardt 1925 II, p.1-2, pl.60; Terrace & Fischer 1970, No.14, p.73-76; Vandier 1958 III, pl.LXXIV.3; Aldred 1969, No.44, p.46; Aldred 1980, fig.95, p.132; Smith 1981, fig.173, p.181; Saleh & Sourouzian 1987 No.93; Sourouzian 1981, p.448-449 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.44, p.239; Cairo CG.382, in Borchardt 1925 II, p.1-2, pl.60; Vandier 1958 III, pl.LXXIV.1, and Aldred 1969, No.45, p.46.
- 113 Terrace & Fischer 1970, p.73.
- 114 Two groups of four Hathor capitals (usurped by Osorkon II), her head on the two opposing sides of each, in Naville 1891, p.11-12, pl.IX; now Boston MFA.89.555, in Troy 1986, fig.6, p.22 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.26, p.314; Berlin Inv.No.10834, in Schäfer 1973, pl.80; BM.EA.1107, in Francis ed. 1971, fig.63, p.68; also Louvre E.10590 and Cairo JE.72134.
- 115 Sourouzian 1981, p.449.
- 116 As noted by Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.93; eg. two unnamed female figures, with both plain style, Cairo CG.473, in Borchardt 1925 II, p.59, pl.78, and highly detailed example Cairo CG.474, in Borchardt 1925 II, p.59-60, pl.79; also unnamed singer, Cam.Fitz.E.67.1932, in Bourriau 1988, Cat.37, p.49; Kemtet, MMA.22.3.68, in Hayes 1953, fig.133, p.216; unnamed woman wearing "la perruque hathorique", Louvre N.3892, in Delange 1987,

- p.106-107, and similar head, Louvre E.26917, in Delange 1987, p.208-209, in addition to two small female figures adorning the side of a head-rest, Louvre E.3196, and 'fertility figurine', Brooklyn Acc.No.44.226, in Fazzini et al. 1989, No.26.
- 117 eg. MeryetAmun, BM.EA.93, in Tefnin 1983, p.96-107; James & Davies 1983, fig.41, p.34-35 and Davies 1992, p.61, note 32; two queens of Tuth.III, Cairo JE.45076/SR.1184.Q, Kom Ombo, in Barsanti 1915, p.174, pl.V; Vandier 1958 III, pl.CIV.7 and Englebach 1931, p.128; Rome Musée Barracco, in Vandersleyen 1976, p.244, pl.173.b; Sourouzian 1981, p.451, note 34, and Vandier 1958 III, pl.XCVIII.7; queen of Tuth.IV(?), Cairo JE.56599/SR.11535, el-Minya, in Englebach 1931, No.2, p.128, pl.II and Vandier 1958 III, p.315, pl.CII.3.
- 118 Pinch 1993, "the scroll wig [bouffant style] came to be associated with the Hathor mask, rather than with Hathor in her full human form", p.136.
- 119 eg. frieze in tomb of Senmut (TT.71), in Smith 1981, fig.252, p.256 and Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.74.
- 120 eg. late MK examples, Turin Inv.Suppl.12386 from Gebelein, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1988, fig.112, p.90; unprovenanced fragmentary relief, Northampton Museum X.739, thanks to Mrs.R.Thomas for access; XVIII dyn. monumental relief from Abusir, Berlin Inv.No.19902; column capitals in XIX dyn. Nofretari temple at Abu Simbel, in Fouchet 1965, fig.146 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.28, p.315.
- 121 eg. prow decoration on XVIII dyn. barque of Mutemwia, Karnak, BM EA.43, in Kozloff & Bryan 1992, fig.v.4, p.126.
- 122 eg. NK bowl, Turin Inv.No.3368, in Rachelwitz 1960, pl.I, p.188; Garolla 1988, p.101 and Donadoni-Roveri,ed. 1989, p.233; see also fragment, Toronto ROM.907.18.217, in Pinch 1993, pl.32.C; for votive pots with small Hathor head elements with this style see Naville 1913 III, p.25, pl.XXIII.4, XXIV.1, XXXII and also MMA.30.8.370, chased Hathor head in bouffant style on gold band of NK silver vase.
- 123 eg. Deir el-Medina ostrakon from tomb of Karo (TT.330), Louvre E.12966, in Manniche 1987(ii), fig.60, p.77.
- 124 eg. XVIII dyn. calcite vase of pregnant woman, Boston MFA.02.525, in Estes 1989, fig.17, p.105 and Boston 1982, No.404, "The hairstyle is reminiscent of another goddess, Hathor, who also had some relationship to motherhood", p.293; NK gold vase from Hawara, UC.28052, in Petrie 1937, p.27, pl.XXXIX.24 and Boston 1982, No.113, p.124-125, style clearly bouffant form, here with cross-hatched detail.
- 125 eg. NK kohl pot, Cam.Fitz.E.72.1932, in Boston 1982, No.267, p.220; Ind IP spoon, Munich ÄS 4858, in Schoske et al. 1990, No.106, p.122-123; Bourriau 1988 notes "Beauty, and specifically the beauty of women's hair, was within the realm of Hathor and her image often decorates cosmetic objects", p.148.
- 126 eg. MK mirror, MM.No.189, in Petrie 1891, p.12-13, pl.XIII; David 1986, p.160-161, pl.6 and Bourriau 1988, No.185, p.160-161.
- 127 eg. Munich ÄS.1689, XVIII dyn, in Schoske et al. 1990, No.127, p.142-143; Hanover Kestner Museum 1935.200.330, c.1200 BC, in Brunner-Traut et al. 1984, No.40, p.55; MK relief depiction of giant sistrum in tomb of Ukhotep, High Priest of Hathor, in Blackman 1953 VI, p.21-22, pl.XIX, with similar NK example, Cairo CG.34017, Abydos stela, in Lecaue 1909, p.36-37, pl.XI.
- 128 eg. fragment of NK clapper from Semna fort, Harvard MFA.29.1188, in Boston 1982, No.369, p.262.
- 129 MMA.22.1.1, IV dyn, Lisht (re-used by Amenemhat III), in Troy 1986, fig.60, p.87.
- 130 Borchardt 1913 II, pl.22.
- 131 Troy 1986, p.87.
- 132 Brooklyn Acc.No.86.226.15, XVIII dyn. reign of Amenhotep I.
- 133 South side of lower colonnade, in Naville 1908 VI, pl.CLVII; see also Blackman 1921, fig.1, p.8.
- 134 Müller 1980, 274; see Berlandini 1982, "Généralement, la Meret se pare d'une longue chevelure tressée avec

- boucle terminale retournée vers le haut", 81.
- 135 Moussa & Altenmüller 1971, p.15, note 35, and p.46, A6.
- 136 Cam.Fitz.E.67.1932, in Bourriau 1988, Cat.37, p.49.
- 137 Turin Cat.No.2710, in Donadoni-Roveri 1989, fig.227, p.145.
- 138 Davies 1908 VI, p.20-21, pl.XIX, XXVIII, XXXVI, although he believes their "peculiar mode of wearing the hair" is evidence of their Syrian origins; however, Gauthier-Laurent, 1938, p.683, note 2, points out similarity of their style to bouffant style worn by MK Egyptian women.
- 139 BME.A.1198.
- 140 eg. BM.EA.47992, steatite bowl, c.530 BC, in James in Smith & Hall ed. 1983, fig.1-2, p.12-14; also sistra, eg. Berlin Inv.No.2767, L.P, in Brunner- Traut et al. 1984, No.39, p.54; Graeco-Roman examples, Cairo JE.53327, in Hildesheim 1984, No.45, p.103 and Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.264, also Northampton Museum X.729, thanks to Mrs.R.Thomas for access.
- 141 MMA.74.51.2475, and similar example in Ward 1965, pl.XIX.b.
- 142 MMA.89.2.214, XXX dyn. cedar carving.
- 143 MMA.07.228.29, Ptolemaic(?), thanks to Dr.C.Roehrig for information.
- 144 MMA.28.3.53, in Metropolitan 1984, p.49.
- 145 Forbes & Reeder 1993, p.48-49.
- 146 Pinch 1993 notes that "because similar hairstyles were worn by several Near Eastern goddesses from the late third millennium onwards, some scholars have argued that the scroll wig [bouffant style] is Mesopotamian in origin", p.136, style also noted on C.14th BC. relief of god Ba'al, in Sandars 1985, fig.65, p.108; however, presence of Archaic and Old Kingdom prototypes in Egypt, and a similar style worn by western Libyan woman in MK, would seem to argue against such a theory.
- 147 XIX dyn. examples, BM EA.191, stela of foreman Kaha, in Bierbrier 1982, fig.65, p.91; Turin No.1601, stela of Ramose and Mutemwia, in Donadoni-Roveri 1988, fig.231, p.169 and Louvre C.86, stela of Huy.
- 148 eg. Haifa, Hecht Collection H.726, in Ishida ed. 1982, "the image is of a nude woman...wearing a typical Hathor wig, with the characteristic ringlets [sic]", p.161, pl.10-10.a.
- 149 eg. coffin of Djedhor, Louvre D.9, in Zeigler 1990, p.80 and Kozloff & Bryan 1992, fig.XL3, p.332; also Tenthapy's coffin, Louvre D.39.
- 150 Kozloff & Bryan 1992, p.335.
- 151 eg. Deir el-Bahari columns in Nims 1965, p.56 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig. 27, p.314; also offering bowl, Vienna Ägyptisch-Orientalische Sammlung 50, XIX-XX dyn, Thebes, in Brunner-Traut et al. 1984, No.35, p.50-51.
- 152 eg. tomb of Tuthmosis IV (KV.43), in Hornung 1990, p.64.
- 153 eg. Nekheb in Koptos relief of Sesostris I, in Petrie 1896, pl.X.2; Isis and Nephthys in Memphite tomb paintings of Inuia, Treasury Scribe of Tutankhamen, in Schneider et al. 1993, pl.II.1; Nephthys in relief of Ankhnesneferibreankh, BM.EA.1744, c.550 BC; Isis in Abydos reliefs of Ramses I, MMA.11.155.3.b-d, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.208, p.331; LP bronze figurines Louvre E.3637, in Ziegler 1990, p.79 and MM.No.1971.25.A (BME.A.36442 in Fechheimer 1921, pl.93 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.CXLII probably forgery, thanks to Dr.J.Taylor for this information).
- 154 As noted from Ramses II's reliefs of Hathor at Abydos and Karnak; compare with reliefs of musicians and dancers, Berlin Inv.No.93/66 in Schoske et al. 1990, No.132, p.145 and Cairo JE.4872, in Saleh & Sourouzian

- 1987, No.214.
- 155 eg. LP coffin of Pefitjauneith, Leiden Inv.AMM.5/M.13, in Taylor 1989, fig.50, p.60 and huge figure of Nut on ceiling of Dendera hypostyle hall; compare with acrobat/dancers, eg. XIX dyn. ostraca, Turin No.7052, in Curto 1984, opp. p.260 and Smith 1981, fig.379, p.382; Cairo IFAO.3779, in Manniche 1987(ii), fig.8, p.18, etc.
- 156 Haynes 1977, p.20; Fletcher 1994(ii), p.132; also Corson 1980, p.38-39, pl.4.Q for reconstruction.
- 157 Two sets of false braids from XVIII dyn. tomb of MeryetAmun, one set attached to queen's own hair, in Winlock 1932, p.9 and note 3, pl.XIII, other identical set stored separately in two baskets (Cairo JE.55157/MMA.30.3.15.c, in Winlock 1932, p.9, 34, 76, pl.XXXII and Riefstahl 1952, fig.4, p.15-16; NK wig of Meryt, Turin S.8499, also has set of these distinct braids attached, see Schiaparelli 1927, fig.74, p.102, and Chiotasso et al. 1992, p.101.
- 158 Riefstahl 1952, p.15 compares loose false braids of MeryetAmun with XI dynasty scene of Nefru; also Fletcher 1994(ii), p.132.
- 159 Except Fletcher 1992, fig.3, p.17.
- 160 eg. wives NebetMehyt, Khnumhotep and attendant, in Blackman 1953 VI, pl.XIII.
- 161 Naville 1894 II, p.13, pl.XLVI.
- 162 Hathor in Hornung 1990, pl.21, p.52; Davis 1912, p.65, pl.XXIX, p.68, pl.XXXVII; Baines & Malek 1984, p.100; Westendorf 1968, p.163, and Milton 1980, p.64; Isis in Hornung 1990, pl.22, p.53 and Davis 1912, pl.XXIX, XXXVII.
- 163 MMA.11.155.3.c-d.
- 164 Louvre B.7, in Zeigler 1990, p.52 and Florence No.2468, in Westendorf 1968, p.178; Agostino n.d. p.11 and Milton 1986, p.49, with thanks to Dr.M.Guidotti for access.
- 165 Although façade decoration dates from reign of Ramses II.
- 166 Weeks in Reeves ed. 1992, fig.13, p.116.
- 167 BM.EA.153, c.1250 BC, exact provenance uncertain; thanks to Dr.J.Taylor for information.
- 168 Although Otto 1964, describes a "lange Perücke wird von einem reich verzierten Netz zusammengehalten", fig.18, p.94.
- 169 Turin Cat.No.7357, in Curto 1984, p.193.
- 170 Stela No.284, in Bruyère 1952, fig.204, p.122.
- 171 eg. coffin of Henttawy, XX dyn, MMA.25.3.6, in Winlock 1926, fig.23, p.20- 22; Bapun's coffin, XX dyn, Turin Cat.2238; coffin of Inpehefnakhtu, XXI dyn, BM.EA.29591, and that of Nesikhons, XXI dyn, Cleveland 14.714.
- 172 Hornung 1990, pl.23, p.53.
- 173 Stela No.34, in Bruyère 1952, fig.156, p.78.
- 174 Champollion 1839, pl.33, No.13, p.257.
- 175 Murray 1963, pl.LXIX, No.2.
- 176 eg. Louvre E.3864, interior scenes of coffin of Amenemopet, c.1000 BC.
- 177 Bergman 1974, fig.46, p.96.
- 178 eg. MeryetRe, wife of Neferhotep, in Davies 1933 I, p.26, 63, pl.XV, LII (although no reference to layered nature of style); also anonymous late XVIII dyn. queen(?), Leiden F.1955/2.6 (sketch on accession card again ignoring layered nature).
- 179 Although to change the term 'Hathor style/wig' to mean layered rather than bouffant style would now prove

- confusing.
- 180 Blackman 1953 VI, p.15.
- 181 Staehelin 1978, p.78.
- 182 Daumas 1969, p.1-17, also Daumas 1977, 1027 and Naguib 1990, p.13, an idea perhaps comparable to Brahmins' use of various hairstyles as means to identify different sects within their faith, in Leach 1958, p.155-156.
- 183 Daumas 1969, p.16, note 126.
- 184 Daumas 1969, p.14-15.
- 185 Daumas 1969, p.14-15, note 109, 111, in which he puts forward same interpretation of curled style as Moussa and Altenmüller 1971, p.15, note 461; for Tanis Papyri, see Griffith & Petrie 1889, pl.X, No.4.
- 186 Derchain 1969, p.24-25.
- 187 Lichtheim 1980, p.56, note 8.
- 188 Derchain 1969, p.25.
- 189 Nachtergaele 1981, p.586, Daumas 1969, p.14, note 109, referring to same personnel serving both goddesses.
- 190 Pap.Bremner Rhind/Pap.BM.10188, early Ptolemaic date, in Faulkner 1936, p.121-140, hnskyt reference p.123 and Nachtergaele 1981, p.586.
- 191 See Nachtergaele 1981, p.584-606, also referred to in Naguib 1990, p.23.
- 192 Pap.Michigan VIII,502, in Nachtergaele 1981, p.593.
- 193 Apuleius 'Metamorphoses' XI.9, in Griffiths 1975, p.81, 183; Heyob 1975, p.96 and Englert & Long 1973, p.239; thanks to Dr.P.James, Manchester University Classics Dept. for this reference and comments in general.
- 194 Griffiths 1970, p.68-69, and Griffiths 1975, p.141, 325.
- 195 Nachtergaele 1981, p.588.
- 196 eg. faience figure in Bastis Collection, C.3rd BC(?), in Brooklyn 1988, No.100, p.206-207, pl.XXVII; stela of Cleopatra VII, Louvre E.27113, in Brooklyn 1988, No.78, p.188-189, with Ptolemaic reliefs at Philae, in MacQuitty 1976, p.97, and those in small temple of Isis at Aswan, currently under investigation by Dr.H.Jaritz; Kalabsha Roman reliefs, in Fay 1982, p.128-129.
- 197 Ptolemaic examples, eg. Cairo JE.39517, in Grimm & Johannes 1975, No.10, p.18, pl.10-11; Turin Inv.Prov.192, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1988, fig.313, p.227; Brooklyn Acc.No.73.85, in Brooklyn 1988, No.102, p.208-209; Roman examples, eg. Leiden F.1958/4.3 in Brooklyn 1988, No.75, p.182-183 and Schneider & Raven 1981, No.145, p.141; Berlin Inv.No.12440, in Priese ed. 1991, No.127, p.208; Berlin Inv.No.7502, in Brunner-Traut et al. 1984, No.115, p.142-143; Alexandria No.25783, in Bowman 1986, fig.101, p.171; Ox.Ash.1889.1229, in Moorey 1983, fig.19, p.47; Munich ÄS.4201, in Brooklyn 1988, No.101, p.206-207; for less 'formal' example, see Cairo JE.47108, Theadelphia, in Hildesheim 1984, No.16, p.40-41 and Grimm & Johannes 1975, No.33, p.22, pl.67.
- 198 Brooklyn 1988, p.182-183; as stated above, this is similar situation encountered with bouffant style of Hathor, in that goddess' style set by popular fashion rather than vice-versa.
- 199 Tinh in Nachtergaele 1981, p.589.
- 200 Roman period, in Nachtergaele 1981, p.589, note 21.
- 201 Nachtergaele 1981, p.589, note 22.
- 202 Nachtergaele 1981, p.593, note 40.

- 203 Nachtergaele 1981, p.589, note 24.
- 204 'Metamorphoses' XI.3, in Griffiths 1975, translating εὐπλοξάμος as "the fair-tressed", p.124, 73; see also Englert & Long 1973, p.238.
- 205 Pap.Berlin 3024, in Erman 1978, p.35-36; Manniche 1987(ii), p.69; Goedicke 1970, p.244-266 and Derchain 1975, p.69-70.
- 206 eg. Turin Inv.Cat.1668, C.1st BC, in Garolla 1988, p.123 and Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1988, fig.312, p.226.
- 207 eg. Brooklyn Acc.No.44.7, c.AD 150, unprovenanced, in Fazzini et al, 1989, No.97; also Heidelberg Ägyptologisches Institut der Universität 961, in Brunner-Traut et al. 1984, No.122, p.149; Hildesheim RPM.2273, c.250 BC, in Lewis 1986, pl.1.B and Turin Inv.Cat.7215, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1988, "the nudity of the goddess contrasts with the luxuriant hairstyle...ribbons and jewels...enhance its eroticism", fig.316, p.229,
- 208 Louvre E.14280, AD C.5-6th, in Zeigler 1990, p.90; see also similar example, Brooklyn Acc.No.68.153, AD C.5-6th.
- 209 St.Paul's 1st Letter to Corinthians, 11:10, 11:15; see Conzelmann 1975, p.188-190.
- 210 Corson 1980, p.57, 76-77.
- 211 Faulkner 1981, p.98-99.
- 212 Gardiner 1938, p.157-179; Lurker 1980 refers to priests as "bald headed ones", p.56-57.
- 213 Davies 1982(ii), p.189; also Strouhal 1992, "from about the 19th or 20th dynasty priests did not allow a single hair to grow on their head", p.48.
- 214 Lloyd 1976, p.152.
- 215 Sauneron 1980, p.37.
- 216 'Histories' II.36, trans. de Sélincourt 1954, p.143.
- 217 'Metamorphoses' XI.10, in Griffiths 1975, p.81; Griffiths 1970, p.123, note 268; Heyob 1975, p.109 and Englert & Long 1973, p.239; Lucius' initiation in Metamorphoses XI.28, in Griffiths 1975, p.107, 335; Griffiths 1970, p.123, 268-269 and Englert & Long 1973, p.239.
- 218 'De Iside et Osiride', 4, in Griffiths 1970, p.123, 268-269; in Chapter 3, Plutarch warns that "it is not the cultivation of a beard...that makes a philosopher, nor does dressing in linen and all manner of shaving make an Isiac devotee", in Griffiths 1970, p.123, 269.
- 219 'On Sacrifices' 14, in MacLeod, trans. 1991, p.184-185.
- 220 eg. Jain priests shave whole body; see Morris 1985, p.29, also Berg 1951, p.24; Leach 1958, p.149; Firth 1973, p.289-291; Brain 1979, p.120; Corson 1980, p.681; Wojnarowska, 1991(ii), p.462; Dayagi-Mendels 1989, p.76 contrasts this with practice of Hebrew priests forbidden to shave.
- 221 Leach 1958, p.149; Otto 1908 II, p.256, note 3, the hair of priests regarded as a 'selbstaufopferung'.
- 222 Posener 1962, p.116; however, their practice of then adopting elaborate wigs over shaven heads would surely defeat such a purpose.
- 223 Davies 1982(ii), p.189 and Hughes 1959, p.163.
- 224 'Histories' II.36, trans. de Sélincourt 1954, p.143; often quoted, Sauneron 1980, p.37; Busvine 1976, p.67; Lurker 1980, p.57; Driver 1976, p.160; Keil 1951, p.308; David 1992, p.73; Naguib 1990, p.15 and Fletcher 1994, p.31.
- 225 Berlin Inv.No.17021, in Kozloff & Bryan 1992, No.42, p.248-249 and Schäfer 1973, pl.86-87.
- 226 BM.EA.67138, XXII dyn, Sakkara, in EES 1968, p.2.

- 227 Brooklyn Acc.No.55.175, XXX dyn, Karnak, in Bothmer 1960, No.83, p.105- 106, pl.79; Brooklyn 1956, No.13, p.13-14, pl.28-29; Brooklyn 1988, No.25, p.117-118; Fazzini et al. 1989, No.80 and Brussels 1976, No.77, p.124-125 (complete piece with body, Cairo JE.38064, in Aldred 1980, fig.198, p.239 and Fazzini 1975, Cat.104, p.120); for contemporary wa'ab priest, Louvre E.10973, in Louvre 1982, No.11, p.13.
- 228 Baines & Malek 1984, p.72.
- 229 Davies 1903, p.13.
- 230 MMA.05.4.2, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.191, p.306 and Naville 1913, p.3, pl.VI.
- 231 BM.EA.705, XIX dyn. sycamore door relief.
- 232 UC.14495, XX dyn(?), unprovenanced stela of Shedsuhor, in Stewart 1976 I, p.33, pl.25.
- 233 Aldred 1980, fig.166, p.201 and Smith 1981, fig.367, p.375.
- 234 Brooklyn Acc.No.47.218.3, 651 BC, in Fazzini et al. 1989, No.72 and Smith 1981, fig.386, p.393.
- 235 Sauneron 1980, p.106 and Brooklyn 1988, fig.13, p.39.
- 236 See Griffiths 1970, "most priests are conspicuous, in the New Kingdom and afterwards, for their shaven and unwigged heads", p.269, although when adopting false hair they look no different from official colleagues; see relief of official delegation, Cairo RT.14.6.24.20, XX dyn, Thebes, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.229, "numerous priests with shaven heads" distinct from nearby officials with hair, although Griggs ed. 1985, No.39, p.60, refers to shaven figures as viziers on account of both shaven heads and distinctive long garments; see also Lefebvre 1923 III, pl.XXXII for similarly shaven priests beside those with hair/wigs in XXX dyn. tomb scenes of Petosiris.
- 237 Minneapolis Institute of Arts MIA.III, in David ed. 1986, fig.54, p.313.
- 238 Bristol City Museum Reg.No.HA.7386, in el-Mahdy 1989, p.98-99.
- 239 Leeds City Museum D.426.1960, in David & Tapp ed. 1992, cover illustration, fig.52 and Rowling 1961, p.71.
- 240 eg. Griffiths 1970, "wigs...were worn on the shaven head except in the case of priests and of persons of the lower classes", p.268-269; Corson 1980, "priests shaved their entire body and did not wear wigs", p.24 and Hughes 1959, "priests...always appear with shaven heads and without wigs", p.171.
- 241 Manniche 1988(ii), p.39.
- 242 Cropped figure, Cairo CG.18/JE.10064, in Borchardt 1911 I, p.19, pl.5; Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.46; Terrace & Fischer 1970, p.60; Vandier 1958 III, pl.XVIII.3; Aldred 1980, fig.56, p.98; Smith 1949, pl.18.b; Lange & Hirmer 1956, pl.61-63 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.96; figure with flared style, Cairo CG.19/JE.10063, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, Nos.45; see also Borchardt 1911 I, p.20, pl.5; Vandier 1958 III, pl.XVIII.2; Lange & Hirmer 1956, pl.61, 64 & 65; Terrace & Fischer 1970, No.10, p.57-60; Fechheimer 1914, pl.32-33 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.95.
- 243 Blackman 1915 II, p.27, pl.XV, XVI, XXXIV.
- 244 Davies 1923, p.17, pl.LIV.
- 245 Davies 1933, pl.IX, XVII.
- 246 Manniche 1988, p.100, pl.26-27, 33.
- 247 Davies 1927, pl.VII-VIII.
- 248 Davies 1948, pl.X, XV.
- 249 David & Tapp ed. 1992, p.60-61 and Leeds 1991, p.4, 7.

- 250 Chicago Natural History Museum No.31723, with hair, in Bothmer 1960, No.13A, p.14; shaven example, Kansas Gallery of Art No.48-28/2, in Bothmer 1960, No.14, p.16.
- 251 Cairo JE.26252.a-h and JE.26270, in Lucas 1930, p.41-53; Lucas 1989, p.30.
- 252 Laskowska-Kusztal 1978, "par ailleurs les produits de l'atelier pouvaient être destinés aux prêtres et prêtresses liés aux temples et sanctuaires des environs", p.119.
- 253 MM.No.1777, in David ed. 1979, p.5, pl.7 and David & Tapp ed. 1984, p.16.
- 254 Dunham & Simpson 1974, fig.4,6,7; Smith 1949, pl.44.a; Smith 1981, fig.99-100, p.105-106; Hart 1991, fig.24, p.113; also sculpted example, Boston MFA.30.1456, in Dunham & Simpson 1974, pl.XVII.a-b, p.23; Smith 1949, pl.16.c; Wenig 1969, pl.8; Aldred 1980, p.77; Hart 1991, p.109.
- 255 eg. Cairo CG.1414, V dyn. false door of Nikaure, in Borchardt 1937 I, p.80-84, pl.19, and Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.57, "a priest and priestess serve the cult from outside the tomb", both figures with cropped heads.
- 256 For role of God's Wife, see Troy 1986, p.137-139, for title, p.188; also Naguib 1990, p.22-23 for reference to treatment of her hair.
- 257 Leiden AH.113, Thebes, in Boeser 1910 III, No.43, p.6, pl.XV; Schneider & Raven 1981, No.41, p.63; Vandier 1958 III, pl.LXXXI.6; Delange 1987, p.129, note 1; Amiet et al. 1981, fig.64, p.242; Fechheimer 1921, pl.58 and Donadoni 1955, fig.69-70.
- 258 Robins 1993, fig.41, p.112.
- 259 Troy 1986, fig.99, p.138.
- 260 Davies 1948, p.14, pl.XII and Fletcher 1994(ii), fig.219, p.132.
- 261 Davies 1913, p.11, pl.II.
- 262 Desroches-Noblecourt et al. 1985, p.36.
- 263 Davies 1943, pl.LXXIX-LXXX.
- 264 Davies & Gardiner 1915, p.52, pl.X (no reference to shaven heads) and MacKay 1918, rather erroneously stating that "women were never represented with the head bare...and exceptions are, in all cases, women personating goddesses in funeral ceremonies, as may be seen in the tomb of Amenemhet, where the cropped or newly growing hair is plainly indicated on the womens' heads", p.116 (pl.XI also mistakenly given for previous reference).
- 265 BM.EA.9524, wooden funerary barque, in James 1979, pl.17 and Breasted 1948, No.9, p.70, pl.65.a; compare with long-haired figures on BM.EA.9525 in Breasted 1948, No.10, pl.66.a.
- 266 Pap.Bremner Rhind/Pap.BM.10188, in Faulkner 1936, p.122; also Derchain 1975, p.72-73; Sauneron 1980, p.69; Nachtergaele 1981, p.586; Goedicke 1970, p.248-249, 257; Naguib 1990, p.15, 18 and Lurker 1980, p.82.
- 267 Faulkner 1936, line 9.21, p.137-138; Lloyd 1976, p.153.
- 268 Faulkner 1981, p.9; also p.201 for h3rt, 'widow'.
- 269 Bourriau 1988, No.76, p.94-95.
- 270 Morris 1986, p.36; also Leach 1958, p.152; Englert & Long 1973, p.236 for practice in Apuleius 'Metamorphoses' and Strathern & Strathern 1971, referring to modern custom in New Guinea, "the only major occasion where decoration is inappropriate is a funeral. Behaviour is opposite to that of a festival...men and women tear off their wigs, smear mud on their body and face...mourners also tear out their hair, old men wear their hair unkempt and unbewigged from grief", p.33.
- 271 Utterance 482 in Faulkner 1969, p.169, and Utterance 670 in Faulkner 1969, p.285.

- 272 Simpson 1976, fig.35, p.22, pl.XIX.b; Smith 1949, fig.84.b; Werbrouck 1938, fig.1, 154-155, p.15, 150; Kanawati 1987, fig.6.b; Adams 1984, fig.10, p.19 and Fechheimer 1914, pl.133, despite erroneous comment of Russman in Boston 1988, "Men do seem to be shown tearing their hair on at least one Old Kingdom example [ie.this one], but there is little or no evidence of women doing so in any period", p.192.
- 273 Petrie 1898, p.6, pl.IV; Weigall 1925, p.216; Aldred 1987, fig.80, p.117.
- 274 Turin Inv.Suppl.14354, in Smith 1981, fig.146, p.155 and Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1989, fig.307, p.203, described in latter as scene of rhythmic dancing accompanying funerary offerings.
- 275 Faulkner 1981, p.128.
- 276 ie. scenes of worship in Book of Dead of Anhai, BM.10472/5 in Faulkner 1985, p.10 and Lurker 1980, p.51; also scenes of Muthetepti, BM.EA.10010, in Faulkner 1985, p.169 and Ani, BM.EA.10470.35, in Faulkner 1985, p.110; pose also adopted by prone 'Inhabitants of Caverns of Underworld' in scenes accompanying Spell 168, eg. BM.EA.10478.6/10010.2, in Faulkner 1985, p.167, 168.
- 277 Cam.Fitz.E.283a.1900, in Bourriau 1988, No.75, p.94-95.
- 278 MMA.14.10.1, XVII dyn, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.14 (top), p.31.
- 279 Davies & Gardiner 1915, p.69, pl.XXIV and Werbrouck 1938, fig.182, p.159.
- 280 Mekhitarian 1978, p.45 for detail; also Werbrouck 1938, fig.181, p.159, pl.IV; Nims 1965, p.88 and Michalowski 1969, fig.402 for larger scene.
- 281 Werbrouck 1938, p.60-61, pl.XLI.
- 282 Berlin Inv.No.12411, in Priese ed. 1991, No.82, p.136-137.
- 283 Manniche 1986, fig.12, p.77.
- 284 Mekhitarian 1978, p.100.
- 285 Davies 1925, p.42, 50-51, pl.XXI-XXII, XXIV-XXV; Mekhitarian 1978, p.130; Westendorf 1968, p.124 and Manniche 1987, fig.98, p.127.
- 286 Davies 1941, p.24-26, pl.XXIV-XXVI; Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.164-165; Westendorf 1968, p.125; Nims 1965, p.88; Mekhitarian 1978, p.115 and Wreszinski 1923, 8.a.
- 287 Davies 1933 I, p.40, and p.39-40,42-43, pl.XX-XXIII, also 1933 II, pl.V, and Werbrouck 1938, fig.18, p.31-34.
- 288 Leiden Inv.AP.6, in Schneider & Raven 1981, No.84, p.96-98; Wreszinski 1923, 421 and Werbrouck 1938, p.89, pl.XXXVI.
- 289 Louvre B.57.
- 290 Havana Museo Nacional/Birmingham 688'66, in Martin 1987, No.21-22, p.14, pl.8.
- 291 Davies 1948, p.36-37, pl.XXV-XXVI.
- 292 Mekhitarian 1978, p.144.
- 293 Brooklyn Acc.No.52.131.3, in Aldred 1980, fig.187, p.224; Fazzini 1975, Cat.97, p.115 and Brussels 1976, No.72, p.119.
- 294 Boston MFA.1976.140, XXX dyn, in Boston 1988, No.138, p.191-192.
- 295 Louvre E.27247, IIIrd IP(?), unprovenanced head and arm of female mourner pulling at hair; thanks to Dr.E.Delange for information.
- 296 Such images prompting Fakhry to note present-day Siwan mourners, "with their hair plaited in a number of small

- tresses and their exaggerated signs of grief...present a living picture of ancient Egyptian women represented on the funeral scenes on the walls of ancient tombs", 1973, p.61-62.
- 297 eg. VI dyn. Giza tomb scenes of Qar, in Simpson 1976, p.5, pl.VII and Smith 1949, fig.84.a, also of Idu, in Simpson 1976, p.22, fig.35, pl.XIX.b.; Smith 1949, fig.84.b.; Adams 1984, fig.10, p.19 and Kanawati 1987, fig.6.b, p.39; see also Sakkara scenes of Mereruka, in Smith 1949, fig.227.b, p.345 and Boston 1988, fig.28, p.57.
- 298 Berlin Inv.No.20.132, in Werbrouck 1938, p.101-102, pl.XLVI and Smith 1981, fig.387, p.394.
- 299 Cairo Temp.Reg.25/12/24/20, in Corteggiani 1986, No.91, p.142-143 and Schäfer 1974, pl.65.
- 300 Pap.Chester Beatty III, in Lloyd 1976, No.3, p.153.
- 301 'Histories' II,35, trans. de Sélincourt 1954, p.143.
- 302 Lloyd 1976, No.4, p.153.
- 303 'De Errore Profanarum Religionum' II,3, trans. Turcan 1982, "In adytis habent idolum Osyridis sepultum, hoc annuis luctibus plangunt, redunt capita ut miserandum casum regis sui turpitudine dehonestati defleant capitis", p.78.
- 304 'Natural History' VIII.lxxi.184, trans. Rackham 1947, "et donec invenerint maerent derasis etiam capitibus", p.128-129.
- 305 'On Sacrifices', 15, trans. MacLeod 1991, "For if Apis, their greatest god, is killed, who values his own hair so highly that he does not shave it all off and make a show of his naked grief on top of his head", p.186-187; in his 'Syrian Goddess', 6-7, trans. Attridge & Oden 1976, mourners of Adonis "shave their heads, as do the Egyptians when Apis dies", p.12-13.
- 306 Pap.Michigan V.243, in Nachtergaele 1981, p.606.
- 307 Leach 1958, p.149.
- 308 Carter No.237, in Reeves 1990, p.102-104 and Desroches-Noblecourt 1963, p.191.
- 309 Piankoff 1962, fig.41, p.120, pl.48.
- 310 eg. Spell 168, "Joining the river banks. The hair of Isis is knotted to the hair of Nephthys - and vice versa" in Faulkner 1973 I, p.145; Spell 531, "your tresses are those of Isis and Nephthys...your braid is that of the scorpion", in Faulkner 1977 II, p.154.
- 311 Spell 404, in Faulkner 1977 II, p.49 and Mueller 1972, p.105.
- 312 Utterance 553, in Faulkner 1969, p.213; also Hart 1986, p.136 and Naguib 1990, "The chains of death transmuted into the protective hair of Nephthys", p.19.
- 313 Spell 17, in Faulkner 1985, p.49-50.
- 314 Barguet in Nachtergaele 1981, p.586, note 9; Allen 1960 gives "Isis was hiding herself. Then she wiped her hair [into her face]", p.92; alternatively, Naguib 1990 states that "when Isis lay on top of Osiris she mussed her hair", p.12-13.
- 315 Chapter 14, in Griffiths 1970, p.139, 314.
- 316 Griffiths 1970, p.314-315, also p.54, 90; for Greek funerary custom of cutting off a lock of hair see Iliad Book XXIII, lines 140-149, in Homer trans. Rieu, 1950, p.415-416; see also Corson 1980, for statement that in ancient Greece "mourners not infrequently tore, cut off or shaved their own hair which they laid upon the corpse", p.54.
- 317 Heyob 1975, p.41; Nachtergaele 1981, p.596 and Naguib 1990, p.19-20.
- 318 Nachtergaele 1981, p.596.
- 319 Otto 1908, p.256, note 3.

- 320 Nachtergaele 1981, p.596, although girls also wore the sidelock.
- 321 Janssen & Janssen 1990, "It could be surmised that the lock was shaved off at the beginning of puberty just before circumcision, as is the hair in modern Moslem ceremony, but there is no proof for this theory as far as Ancient Egypt is concerned", p.40; Montserrat 1991, states that "there is little evidence for its shearing being surrounded by any ritual", p.46, note 12; see also Griffiths 1975, p.186.
- 322 Nachtergaele 1981, p.596; also Müller 1977(ii), 924.
- 323 BM.EA.53897, 53898, etc. in Peet 1915, p.8-9.
- 324 Cairo JE.61762/Carter's No.40, calcite chest contents including "two round balls of hair covered with cloth and tied round below ball. These were 5 and 6 in diam. respectively", Carter's notes, Griffith Institute, Oxford, thanks to Drs.J.Malek & D.MacGee for access and help; see comments of Fletcher & Montserrat 1995, p.60.
- 325 Carter & Mace 1923, p.200, pl.LXVIA; Edwards 1972, No.5 and Edwards 1976, No.9, p.110, pl.7.
- 326 MM.No.6729/6730, in Crompton 1916, p.128 (although means by which it is identified as infantile not stated) and Lucas 1989, p.31, although no mention in Petrie 1890, p.32.
- 327 Peet and Woolley 1923, p.66; see BM.EA.55138 for fragments of such a ball and portions of very soft auburn-blond hair.
- 328 Blackman 1925, p.65-67, referred to in Naguib 1990, p.21.
- 329 'Histories' II,65, trans. de Sélincourt 1954, p.155.
- 330 Diodorus I,83,2; see Nachtergaele 1981, p.597 and Naguib 1990, p.21.
- 331 Naguib 1990, p.21.
- 332 Berg 1951, p.25; also Montserrat 1991, p.45, notes 10-11, p.46, note 13.
- 333 Fraser 1972, p.1023, note 105; Nachtergaele 1980, p.240; Nachtergaele 1981, p.585; Maehler in Smith & Hall ed. 1983, p.92 and Pomeroy 1984, p.20, 38.
- 334 'Aetia' 110, trans. Trypanis 1968, p.181-185.
- 335 Nachtergaele 1980, p.240, note 3.
- 336 Nachtergaele 1981, p.598-599.
- 337 Nachtergaele 1981, p.599-600, notes 69-76, taken from unpublished thesis of Müller 1960, "Haarbeigaben" sections, p.6, 57;
- 1) 2 curls of hair enclosed in gold from predynastic site at Abusir el-Meleq.
 - 2) Curls of hair in a clay pot, from Ist dynasty royal tomb at Nagada.
 - 3) Large number of samples of curled/plaited hair, from Ist dynasty tombs 19- 60, reign of Djer, Abydos.
 - 4) Hair in a clay pot from an Archaic private tomb, Silsilah.
 - 5) Lock of Queen Tiy from the tomb of Tutankhamen (KV.62), XVIIIth dynasty.
 - 6) Black hair from the Theban tomb of a young girl, reign of Ramses II.
 - 7) Hair in small terracotta sarcophagus from LP. intrusive burial at Soleb.
 - 8) Unprovenanced/undated lock of hair published 1858 with comment "such locks are found separately in the tomb, as if thrown in by the friends of the deceased", Nachtergaele adding "On se demandera néanmoins si la boucle n'appartient pas au défunt lui-même" 1981, p.600.
- 338 Nachtergaele 1981, p.600-601.
- 339 Nachtergaele 1981, p.600, note 77.
- 340 As distinct from mummy hair/cosmetic false hair, described below.

- 341 Fletcher 1994, p.31; see for example Crompton 1916, referring to Petrie's exclusion of balls of hair from an excavation report, "The list of contents of the tomb published by him in 'Kahun, Gurob and Hawara', p.32, does not mention these balls", p.128; again no reference to hair sample Ox.Ash.E.986 from Abadiyeh tomb B.101, in Petrie & Mace 1901, p.33; likewise Ox.Ash. E.3562.A. from Abydos omitted from MacIver & Mace 1902, p.53-55, etc.
- 342 Davies 1913, p.16-17, pl.IX, stating that the "mysterious significance of the black hair seems to have been bequeathed to European necromancy".
- 343 Lurker 1980, p.41; for Osiris bed of Tutankhamen, Desroches- Noblecourt 1963, notes "To assist the deceased to reconstitute himself and be reborn, the great silhouette of Osiris...was covered with grain and which was watered. The corn soon germinated...this magical mechanism was intended to recreate the process leading to resurrection. At all costs the body had to remake itself, and must possess the silver bones of its father and the gold skin and flesh inherited from its mother; it was probably to underline the permanence of these two elements that within the chamber set aside for the mysteries of new life...were a statuette of Amenophis III, the king's father, and a curl of Queen Tiy's hair. Every effort was made to prepare for birth", p.186 (although now generally accepted that couple were king's grandparents rather than parents and uninscribed statuette equally likely to represent Tutankhamen himself).
- 344 See Frazer 1993, p.28-29.
- 345 Spell 473, "the earth-hair which the earth yields", in Faulkner 1977 II, p.109, note 36, 'earth hair' being "the name of a plant"; see also Dawson 1926, p.240-241 and Faulkner 1981, sny-t3, p.268.
- 346 Nachtergaele 1981, "une tradition fort ancienne, encore vivace à l'époque romaine, selon laquelle les chevelures de dieux sont des touffes de papyrus et leur apparition sur le Nil qui les emporte annonce non seulement la crue du fleuve, mais aussi la résurrection d'Osiris dans l'inondation", p.594-595.
- 347 It is unfortunate however that lack of documentation for such finds generally prevents further comparative work along these lines.
- 348 Lane 1966, p.29, note 2.
- 349 Morris 1985, "it is feared 'evil beings' may get hold of the [hair] clippings and use them to cast a spell on their owners", p.36; also Frazer 1993, p.13, 231-237; Leach 1958, p.157-159; Firth 1973, p.294-295; Naguib 1990, p.8-9; for Roman example, see Englert & Long 1973, p.238; Strathern & Strathern 1971 note that New Guinea tribespeople also believe their ancestors live in their hair, p.94, and Frazer 1993, p.670 for similar belief.
- 350 Spell 168 in Faulkner 1973 I, p.145; Spell 531 in Faulkner 1977 II, p.154.
- 351 Griffith & Thompson 1904, for love spells eg. Verso Col.XVI, "If you find hair of the woman to put on the wick it is excellent", p.189; Verso Col.XVII, "Spell to bring a woman to a man using hair in a leaf", p.191; for spell "to make someone mad", Verso Col.XXIX, "take the hair of a man you wish, together with the hair of a dead man and tie to each other and tie to the body of a hawk", p.201.
- 352 Peet 1923, p.66; also Podzorski 1990, p.85 and Müller 1977(ii), 924.
- 353 Cam.Fitz.E.63.1896 for wand, although hair now lost; see Quibell 1898, p.3, pl.III and Bourriau 1988, No.100, p.113, 110.
- 354 Utterance 520 in Faulkner 1969, p.194.
- 355 Lurker 1980, p.56; see also Morris 1985, p.28.
- 356 Gardiner 1951, p.31.
- 357 eg. Winlock 1945, "it looks as if the wounded had been picked up by the hair" before the fatal blow was administered, p.18.

- 358 eg. Narmer, palette Cairo JE.32169/CG.14716, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.8; Petrie 1958, p.15-18, pl.J-K and Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.4, p.291-292; Djer, alabaster palette, in Emery 1961, fig.23, p.60; Den, ivory label BM EA.55586, in James 1979, fig.11, p.42 and Aldred 1980, fig.8, p.36; Snofru, Sinai relief Cairo JE.38568, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.24; Montuhotep II, Gebelein relief Cairo, in Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.82 and Fechheimer 1914, pl.135, see also Naville 1907 I, pl.XV.I; Ahmose I, axe blade Cairo JE.4673/CG.52645, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.121 and Smith 1981, fig.216, p.221; Tuthmosis III, Karnak 7th pylon relief, holding 40(!) Asiatic enemies hair with one fist, in Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.136, p.324; Edwards 1976, p.19 and Anderson in Smith & Hall ed. 1983, fig.4, p.47; also relief fragment of large group of captives held by their long hair curiously emanating from otherwise short curled styles, Cairo JE.69306; Akhenaten, New York Schimmel Collection relief, in Aldred 1973, No.55, p.133; Ramses II, Abu Simbel in MacQuitty 1965, p.132-133, and Westendorf 1968, p.169, and painted scene from Memphis, Cairo JE.46189, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.206; Ramses III, Medinet Habu e.face of south tower, in Aldred 1980, fig.103, p.144; Murnane 1980, fig.14, p.19; Nims 1965, p.166, and Otto 1966, pl.43; Ramses IV, sculpture Cairo JE.37175/CG.42152, "a three dimensional reproduction of a very ancient theme: the triumphant king subjugating a prostrated captive", in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.227; also Legrain 1909 II, p.17-19, pl.XV and Aldred 1980, fig.164, p.199; Ptolemy XII Neos Dionysus, pylon reliefs at Edfu, in Lewis 1986, pl.7; Westendorf 1968, p.222-223, and Lloyd & Müller 1980, fig.230, p.166-167, and Philae, in Fouchet 1965, pl.19 and MacQuitty 1976, p.102; Titus at Esna, in Bowman 1986, fig.25, p.38; Meroitic kings to AD C.4th in Smith 1981, fig.419, p.426-427.
- 359 eg. Nefertiti holding female captive, Boston MFA.64.521, in Aldred 1973, No.57, p.135; Samson cites this as evidence for Nefertiti's regality since "only pharaohs are ever found pictured in this conqueror's role throughout the whole of Egyptian history...only kings have been illustrated in this symbolic striding stance", 1985 fig.7, p.25; however, pose also used in depiction of princes, eg. relief on e.wall of Ramesseum hypostyle hall, son of Ramses II about to kill Asiatic from Dapur, scene location in Murnane 1983, p.265 and Porter & Moss, 1972 II, p.438; also Meroitic queen Amanitore holds numerous captives in Naga Lion temple scenes, c.20 BC, in Smith 1981, fig.418, p.425 and Haynes 1992, p.32; for unique non-royal example, VI dyn. Egyptian soldiers killing besieged Asiatics, in Petrie 1898, p.6, pl.IV; Weigall 1925, p.216 and Aldred 1987, fig.80, p.117.
- 360 Utterance 273-274, in Sethe 1908, 401.a.
- 361 Faulkner 1969, p.81, also Faulkner 1981, p.59.
- 362 Gardiner 1951, p.31.
- 363 Dawson 1936, p.106.

Part Two

ARTISTIC REPRESENTATIONS OF HAIR

Having defined the area of study and examined the complex motivation behind attitudes to hair, it is possible to embark upon a chronological survey of hair styles using artistic representations.

Although by their very nature exceptionally idealised ¹, such representations may be employed to trace the evolution and development of styles from the Predynastic to the late Roman period, with the resulting chronological survey providing potential information in the dating and identification of various figures. As Haynes notes in her study of XVIIIth dynasty female styles, "representations of ancient Egyptian women's hairstyles...supply valuable criteria which can be useful in dating female figures. The women's coiffures evolve through distinct stages of stylistic development which can...be traced on a reign-by-reign basis", concluding that "changes in intricacies of women's hairstyles...can be shown to be extremely consistent with reigns, thereby providing a sound dating mechanism" ². It has also been stated that "such details as variations within a wig-type...may aid in the dating of various pieces, in placing them into the chronology" ³, with a recent study of Roman portrait panels actually proposing "an extensive redating based on the hairstyles" ⁴.

A greater amount of information can be gained from a comprehensive study of the range of styles worn by both sexes, of all ages and social groupings throughout the whole time span of ancient Egyptian culture. This may not only "help in the identification of fragmentary figures, especially in uninscribed reliefs" ⁵, but might also prove useful in problematic areas such as the late XVIIIth dynasty, when "the wigs, and who wore them so atypically at Amarna, provide evidence for archaeological identification" ⁶.

However, a study of this nature requires a "consistent nomenclature with precise definition which has been lacking in the past" ⁷, the terminology of styles as set down by previous scholars often proving problematic or even misleading. Although Vandier does provide a useful guideline his categories are relatively limited and uneven in their detail ⁸, and the accuracy of Aldred's terminology has been questioned, most notably in the case of the so-called 'Nubian wig' of the Amarna period ⁹. Samson discusses the confusion regarding this particular style ¹⁰, questioning the use of the term 'short Nubian wig' and suggesting the alternative 'pointed wig' ¹¹; a compromise of 'pointed Nubian wig' has subsequently been put forward in an attempt to clarify the description of a style whose use "by Nefertiti and other royal females at the end of Dynasty XVIII reflect[s] both a political and a cultic prominence the magnitude of which is still to be fully assessed" ¹². Due to the importance of such styles for identification and dating purposes it is therefore crucial to establish a consistent, workable terminology, the present study drawing upon existing terms where it is felt they accurately describe a style, or where their use is now firmly established, with alternative terms suggested and discussed.

The study examines the styles of men, women, children and non-Egyptians within a divided time-scale, with sub-groups including the king, religious personnel, mourners, women in child-bed and so forth ¹³ discussed within the relevant sections.

In addition to the idealised images of the Egyptians themselves, the category of 'non-Egyptians', the Egyptians' portrayal of foreigners, is of equal significance as it reveals how the Egyptians saw themselves in relation to other races. Images of non-Egyptian peoples are generally caricatures created for propaganda purposes, their images in statuary and relief also "used for exorcistical magical rites...For the effective use of these images, it was considered essential that they reflect accurately the typical characteristics of the various people concerned both in physical features and in their costume" ¹⁴, which includes their various hairstyles. Such accurate portrayals of these figures has prompted Hayes to note that "we cannot help but regret the conventions which prevented the Egyptian sculptor from incorporating into the portraits of his kings and fellow countrymen a fraction of the realism and vitality present in [the] portrayal of a conquered enemy" ¹⁵, their very lack of idealisation making the portrayal of non-Egyptian figures so valuable to this study.

- 1 Stead 1986, "there does seem to have been an element of idealisation in the rendering of wigs...for surviving examples are far less elegant than their regular, sculpted counterparts", p.49; however, representations are accurate in that they contain basic elements of actual styles they depict.
- 2 Haynes 1978, p.18, 22; see also Manniche 1988, "hair styles...show changes from reign to reign", and as such can help to "narrow down the date of a tomb", p.137 and note 6.
- 3 Green 1988, p.100.
- 4 Montserrat 1993, p.215, referring to the thesis of B.Müller, 1990; also Pennsylvania 1980, "the hairstyles...help to establish their date", p.67.
- 5 Green 1988, p.100.
- 6 Samson 1975, p.264.
- 7 Samson 1975, p.264.
- 8 Vandier 1958 III, for basic terminology of styles-
 - OK- A.Coiffures royales, p.100
 - B.Coiffures masculines, p.100-104
 - C.Coiffures féminines, p.104-106
 - MK- II.Coiffure des hommes, p.251-52
 - IV.Coiffures féminines, p.253-255
 - NK- I.Coiffures masculines
 - A.Crâne rasé et cheveux courts, p.481
 - B.Perruque courte, p.481-482
 - C.Perruque évasée laissant les oreilles découvertes, p.482-483
 - D.Perruque évasée couvrant à moitié les oreilles, p.483-484
 - E.Perruque à frisons (premier état), p.484
 - F-G.Perruque à frisons (deuxième et troisième états), p.485
 - H.Perruque dite "à revers", p.485-486
 - I.Perruques encadrant le visage, p.486-488
 - II.Coiffures féminines
 - A.Perruque tripartites,
 - a.Début de la XVIIIe Dynastie, p.488
 - b.Fin de la XVIIIe Dynastie, p.489
 - c.Époque ramesside, p.489
 - B.Perruques enveloppantes,
 - XVIIIe Dynastie, p.490,
 - Époque ramesside, p.491
 - C.Coiffures diverses, p.492-493.
- 9 Aldred 1957, p.141-147; also Aldred 1973, No.9-10, p.96, No.18, p.104-105, No.23, p.109, etc.
- 10 Samson 1973, p.56.
- 11 Samson 1975, p.263-264.
- 12 Werner 1979, p.327.
- 13 Müller 1977(ii), 924.
- 14 Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1989, p.129.
- 15 Hayes 1953 I, p.116.

PREDYNASTIC PERIOD

MEN

The earliest sculpted depiction of a human head from the whole of Africa was found at Merimda Benisalama and is dated to the end of the fifth millennium BC (fig.55). It is a male head of painted terracotta with the minimum of facial features, but with the addition of "numerous holes...distributed throughout the skull and around the face, perhaps for originally securing tufts of hair"¹, placing emphasis upon hair as its main feature.

Later predynastic sculpted figures tend to treat the head hair in only summary detail with little more than a line to show the extent of a short growth, as in the case of a late predynastic ivory figure from Hierakonpolis² and the bearded basalt figure of 'MacGregor Man'³ (fig.56).

The contrast between beard and cropped hair is also found on figures adorning painted linen fragments from a tomb at Gebelein⁴, although two dimensional male figures are generally quite hairless⁵. Petrie does however describe a white cross-lined pot decorated "with a combat of long- and short-haired men. The long-haired man is probably of the usual prehistoric people, wearing the sheath, and having the long hair as often actually found on the bodies"⁶, and a "Danse rituelle" scene on a Nagadan pot involves two male figures with distinctly curly hair adorned with large hair-pins or foliage(?)⁷.

By the late predynastic period ceremonial palettes and mace-heads provide evidence for a wide variety of styles worn by the men taking part in the religious and military events which are being commemorated.

Short round styles decorated with tight curls are worn by fallen men on a fragment of the Abydos 'Bull Palette'⁸ and both fallen victims and captive survivors on the obverse of the 'Battlefield Palette' from Hierakonpolis⁹ (fig.57), whereas other bound figures carved on ivory labels have their curly styles rendered in simple cross-hatched detail only¹⁰ (fig.58).

The fragmentary Scorpion mace-head shows the king himself in the white crown of Upper Egypt whilst his two fan-bearers are clearly shown with shoulder-length wavy hair carved with light vertical striations¹¹. A similar style is also found on the fragmentary portion of the 'Beirut Palette'¹², whilst a further palette(?) fragment depicts a "warrior with a prisoner"¹³, the warrior appearing to be wearing his long cross-hatched hair in possibly the earliest known form of sidelock.

An interesting variation of male hairstyle is to be found on the 'Hunters' Palette'¹⁴, again from Hierakonpolis, in which a row of Nagadan huntsmen "have their hair (or wigs) [sic] in horizontal bands of curls in which the majority wear one or two feathers"¹⁵ (fig.59). However, feathers are usually represented in a different way¹⁶, and it would seem more likely that the men are shown with their hair tied up, as in the case of three pig-tailed men depicted on a late predynastic mace-head fragment¹⁷ and a bowing robed figure on a contemporary ivory label from Abydos¹⁸.

On the reverse of the celebrated 'Narmer Palette' ¹⁹ the king in the white crown of Upper Egypt prepares to smite a figure identified as the Chief of Lower Egypt whom he holds by the hair (fig.60). This hair is dressed in the same style as that of another figure elsewhere described as a "lower Egyptian" ²⁰, his mid-length, squared-off style set in four horizontal rows of vertically striated detail held by a head-band, which is also worn by Narmer's captive chief. Two slain figures at the bottom of the palette again have similar hairstyles, minus headbands, with slightly added length falling below the ear and on to the chest ²¹ (fig.61), a longer style also noted on the prisoner's head held by the Horus falcon before the king.

The obverse ²² shows a triumphal procession (fig.62) with Narmer in the red crown followed by his sandal-bearer, who on both sides of the palette is shown with only a hair-line to indicate the minimum hair growth. This is in sharp contrast to the figure identified as *tt*, perhaps the vizier, his hair elaborately dressed in long ringlets set in the tripartite style, and this long-haired figure again seen behind the king on the Narmer mace-head ²³. Four of the royal standard bearers have either cropped heads or the long, striated hair (as in the case of Scorpion's fan-bearers), and the two men restraining the serpopard creatures below them have the same short curls found on the aforementioned Bull and Battlefield palettes.

It might therefore be tentatively suggested that short round styles set in curls or horizontal layers are generally worn by figures identified as Lower Egyptians whilst Upper Egyptian figures tend to be shown with either cropped heads or loose wavy hair.

WOMEN

Although women are rarely depicted on palettes and mace-heads which generally commemorate warfare, the Scorpion mace-head does include a row of three dancing women engaged in ritual proceedings(?), each touching the long plaited hair of the preceding figure ²⁴ (fig.63).

The scene is somewhat reminiscent of earlier predynastic representations of women on painted D-pottery of the Amratian/Gerzean periods, which again seem to depict important religious rituals. Since the female figures "generally dominate male companions...it has plausibly been suggested that they are symbols of resurrection" ²⁵, a very interesting suggestion in view of the emphasised hair of some of the figures, certain scenes including rows of broad-hipped female figures touching their own or another's hair (fig.64). Some are shown with cropped hair ²⁶ whilst a number of the larger figures have distinctly loose, flowing locks ²⁷, Vandier commenting upon "*Les femmes...ont les cheveux longs qui flottent au vent*" in a 'Danse rituelle' scene ²⁸.

Since a number of the women depicted also raise their arms over their heads it seems natural to link them to terracotta figurines, many of which strike the same pose and also have pronounced breasts and hips ²⁹; as with their painted counterparts, the hair is either totally ignored ³⁰ or shown in great detail ³¹, in some cases even modelled from a separate material ³² (fig.65). Petrie refers to female figures "made of vegetable paste and Nile mud, usually modelled on a stick...the black wigs...modelled separately over the bald [sic] heads coloured red" ³³.

Ivory figurines are also found either without hair ³⁴ or more often with long detailed tresses. A number of Nagada II figures have styles made up of long straight braids incised with horizontal detail, which fall on to the chest to form the earliest examples of the tripartite style ³⁵ (fig.66).

CHILDREN

There are virtually no representations of children dating from this time except for the occasional portrayal of babies alongside 'mother figures', one such example in buff pottery showing both mother and child without hair ³⁶.

NON-EGYPTIANS

In this pre-literate period it can be difficult to differentiate between Egyptians and those from outside the Nile Valley and Delta area. It has been suggested that the aforementioned Battlefield Palette is meant to commemorate "the defeat of a Libyan people in the eastern Delta" ³⁷, the fallen men with short curly hair (fig.57) closely resembling the conquered figure on the Bull Palette, again described as "probably a Libyan" ³⁸. In reference to bound male figures on ivory labels from Abydos, Petrie describes them as "captives, probably of Libyan race" ³⁹ (fig.58), although such figures could equally well represent Lower Egyptians.

- 1 Cairo JE.97472, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.1.
- 2 Philadelphia University Museum, in Smith 1981, fig.8, p.30.
- 3 Ox.Ash.1922.70, in Smith 1949, pl.1.b; Malek 1986, p.24-25; Vandier 1952 I.2, fig.633, p.962 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.10, p.196.
- 4 Turin Inv.Suppl.17.138, in Curto 1984, p.44; Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1989, fig.281-282, p.187; Westendorf 1968, p.15 and Aldred 1965, fig.28, p.39.
- 5 eg. late Gerzean tomb scene from Hierakonpolis, in Smith 1981, fig.9, p.31 and Aldred 1965, fig.21, p.33; also Amratian/Gerzean pottery scenes, in Hayes 1953, fig.14, p.12; Smith 1981, fig.2, p.27 and Aldred 1965, fig.27, p.38, etc.
- 6 Petrie 1920, No.74, p.16, pl.XVIII, also Smith 1981, fig.2, p.27 and Aldred 1965, fig.27, p.38.
- 7 Vandier 1952 I.1, fig.194, "Les hommes ont les cheveux courts, ornés d'épingles verticales qui ressemblent à des branches", p.287.
- 8 Louvre E.111255, in Zeigler 1990, p.17; Schäfer 1974, pl.2; Aldred 1965, fig.31, p.42; Petrie 1953, p.15, pl.G; Smith 1981, fig.11, p.32; Emery 1961, pl.3b and Murray 1963, pl.LXVII.1.
- 9 Battlefield portion, BM.EA.20791, in Spencer 1980, No.576, p.79-80, pl.64; Aldred 1965, fig.30, p.42; Malek 1986, p.23; Smith 1949, fig.27, p.112, and bound captives, Ox.Ash.1171.1892, in Malek 1986, p.22; both in Schäfer 1974, pl.4; Petrie 1953, p.14, pl.E and Aldred 1980, fig.4, p.33.
- 10 BM.EA.35514, in Petrie 1901 I, p.21, pl.III.A. and Spencer 1980, No.464, p.65, pl.50.
- 11 Ox.Ash.1895-1908 E.3632, in Moorey 1983, fig.6, p.22; Malek 1986, p.29; Smith 1949, fig.30, p.114; Smith 1981, fig.12, p.33; Emery 1961, pl.2a. and Aldred 1965, fig.37, p.47.
- 12 Louvre, in Petrie 1953, p.14, pl.C.
- 13 Berlin Inv.No.15084, in Schäfer 1974, pl.3
- 14 BM.EA.20790-2/Louvre E.11254, in Petrie 1953, p.12-13, pl.A; Spencer 1980, No.575, p.79, pl.63; Aldred 1965, fig.38, p.49; James 1979, fig.10, p.41 Smith 1949, fig.25, p.110-111 and Emery 1961, fig.70, p.113.
- 15 Hart 1991, p.38; feathers also referred to in Smith 1949, p.110-111; Spencer 1980, p.79 and Petrie 1953, p.12.
- 16 Petrie 1901 II, No.12, p.22, pl.IV.
- 17 UC.14898.A, 'Bearer Mace', in Adams 1974, No.2, p.3-4, pl.3-4 and Murray 1963, detail of "a pig-tailed man dancing", pl.LXVII.3.
- 18 Petrie 1901 II, p.21-22, pl.IV (4-5).
- 19 Cairo JE.32169/CG.14716, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.8; Smith 1949, pl.29a-b; Smith 1981, fig.13-14, p.33; Schäfer 1974, pl.8-9; Aldred 1980, fig.6-7, p.35; Aldred 1965, fig.32-35, p.44-45; Petrie 1953, pl.J-K and Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.4-5; nb. this palette included in predynastic rather than Archaic section, following Murnane 1983, noting there is "some evidence suggesting that the unification had already taken place at some time prior to the start of the First Dynasty", p.46.
- 20 MMA.33.159, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.23, p.29.
- 21 Lloyd & Müller 1980, fig.139, p.76-77 and Corson 1980, p.36-37, pl.3.B for reconstruction sketch.
- 22 Close detail in Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.5; Malek 1986, p.14-15; Schäfer 1974, pl.7; Emery 1961, fig.145, p.247 and Strouhal 1992, fig.216, p.203.
- 23 Ox.Ash.1896-1908.E.3631, in Emery 1961, fig.5, p.46 and Troy 1986, fig.53.b, p.81.

- 24 Ox.Ash.1895-1908.E.3632, in Emery 1961, fig.3, p.43; Moorey 1983, fig.6, p.22; Malek 1986, p.29; Smith 1949, fig.30, p.114; Smith 1981, fig.12, p.33 and Aldred 1965, fig.37, p.47.
- 25 Needler 1984, p.337; Brussels 1976, refers to "le prototype des pleureuses futures", p.23.
- 26 See also Turin Inv.Suppl.17138, figures painted on linen, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1989, fig.283, p.188.
- 27 MMA.20.2.10, Gerzean red-painted buff-ware; similar poses on Hannover Kestner Museum No.1954.125, in Brunner-Traut et al. 1984, No.8, p.20; Berlin Inv.No.20304, in Priese ed. 1991, No.2, p.6, and Westendorf 1968, p.14; Brooklyn Acc.No.09.889.400, in Brooklyn 1952, No.5, and Brussels 1976, No.6, p.23; see also Vandier 1952 I, fig.238, p.353.
- 28 Vandier 1952 I, fig.194, p.287.
- 29 Needler 1984, p.337; Hornblower interprets pose as protective, a forerunner of 'ka' sign, whilst Malek 1986, p.26 suggests the figures are meant to be carrying vessels on their head.
- 30 eg. BM.EA.50.947, in Hornblower 1939, pl.VI.1-2 and Malek 1986, p.27; BM.EA.50.687, in Hornblower 1939, pl.VI.5.
- 31 eg. BM.EA.53.875, in Hornblower 1939, "it is interesting to see how nearly the covering of the face with hair resembles the complete veiling in the 'Willendorf Venus'", p.30, pl.VI.3-4; also UC.15151, in Petrie 1920, pl.III.4; Ox.Ash.1896-1908 E.3203, Abadiya, in Aldred 1965, fig.16, p.28; for short 'pudding basin' styles see MMA.07.228.80 & MMA.07.228.72, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.11, p.19 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.8, p.196.
- 32 For hair made of single clay strip laid over head see MMA.07.228.71, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.11(centre), p.19, and BM.EA.50.680 in Hornblower 1939, pl.VII(4); see also Brooklyn 07.447.505, Nagada IIa, in Needler 1984, No.267, p.336; Brooklyn 1952, No.1; Fazzini et al.1989, No.1; Westendorf 1968, p.13 and Breasted 1948, p.89, pl.82; Brooklyn 07.447.502, in Needler No.268, p.338; Breasted 1948, p.89, pl.82, and Brussels 1976, No.1, p.18; Turin Inv. Suppl.1146, in Donadoni-Roveri 1988, fig.25-26, p.32.
- 33 Petrie 1920, No.29-33, p.7, pl.XLV.
- 34 Louvre E.27432, Nagada I, crocodile bone; also BM.EA.59648, Badarian ivory figure, in Brunton & Caton-Thompson 1928, p.7, pl.XXIV.2, XXV.3-4; Aldred 1965, fig.14, p.28 and James & Davies 1983, fig.74, p.67.
- 35 eg. BM.EA.32144, in Hart 1991, p.20, pl.3 and Louvre E.11887, Nagada II, hippopotamus ivory, in Smith 1949, fig.2, p.2.
- 36 Aldred 1965, fig.17, p.29; for ivory mother-and-child figure, again without hair, see Smith 1981, fig.7, p.29; for pottery mother with long detailed hair holding two hairless children, BM.EA.58.066, in Hornblower 1939, pl.VII(1).
- 37 Aldred 1980, p.32.
- 38 Aldred 1965, p.42.
- 39 BM.EA.35514, in Petrie 1901 II, p.21, pl.IIIA, repeated in Spencer 1980, No.464, pl.50.

ARCHAIC PERIOD: I-IIInd dynasties

MEN

The officials employed to administer the newly unified state are initially commemorated in the form of funerary stelae set up around royal funerary structures at Abydos and Sakkara. The figure of the IInd dynasty official Senba is shown as a basic silhouette with a long full style on his Abydos stela ¹ (fig.67), whilst the nobleman and sem priest Merka has a short rounded style on his stela from Sakkara ². Neither figure has any surface detail, although by the IIInd dynasty such stelae are carved with greater precision and the hair shown in some detail, as noted from the Helwan stela of the carpenter Irni who wears one of the earliest relief examples of the standard short round style set in horizontal layers of tile-like curls ³ (fig.68), a painted example from Sakkara depicting the style in greater detail and coloured black ⁴. An anonymous stela also from Sakkara provides one of the earliest examples of the long shoulder-length style, in this case with detail added in the form of five striations which rise vertically from the shoulder ending at ear-level ⁵.

Comparatively rare examples of private statuary include the limestone head of a bearded man from Hierakonpolis, his short style of horizontal layers of carefully sculpted looped curls a forerunner of the classic short curled style in the round ⁶ (fig.69-70). Another piece described as "one of the first examples of human sculpture created after the unification of Egypt" ⁷ represents a seated, cloaked limestone figure with a centrally parted chin-length style, a series of light striations indicating separate locks of hair (fig.71). A kneeling figure again from Hierakonpolis has a style of similar length set in thick individual braids with long twisted ends reaching to shoulder level ⁸ (fig.72), the greatly increased volume possibly achieved with false hair ⁹.

The king is usually shown with his head concealed by the white crown, as in the case of two large seated figures of Khasekhem from Hierakonpolis ¹⁰. The rigid figure of the king contrasts sharply with the small sprawling figures of defeated rebels carved around the base of both statues, their loose hair hanging down from lifeless corpses ¹¹. Part of a sculpted royal(?) figure with hair was however found at Abydos, Emery noting that "The Udimu [Den] fragment appears to be part of a wig from a life-size figure" ¹².

WOMEN

Depictions of women increase at this time, most notably in the form of funerary stelae from subsidiary graves which contained the bodies of female retainers. As with their male counterparts, their names are given alongside outlines of figures displaying a variety of hair lengths, including the long full style noted from the Abydos stela of Iaineith ¹³ (fig.73). Initially rather simple and lacking surface detail, they develop quite significantly by the IIInd dynasty when the hair is often carved in far greater detail than the rest of the scene ¹⁴. A particularly fine niche stone from Sakkara depicts a royal woman(?) in plain costume, her waist-length tripartite style falling in small horizontal waves to the shoulders where it divides into long plaited sections ¹⁵ (fig.74).

This scene has been linked to a contemporary sculpted figure ¹⁶ (fig.75) in which "there is the same...concentration of minute detail on certain areas, while others are left plain. It is impossible to be certain from the headdress whether a royal personage or a woman is represented by the statuette. The one braid hanging over the shoulder suggests the sidelock of a young prince, but both the statuette and the niche-stone wear the same kind of robe covering only one shoulder which is found in the case of both men and women in other reliefs" ¹⁷.

Although the statuette is badly damaged on the left side of the head and part of the style is missing, it would seem almost certain that originally two symmetrical sections of braided hair fell down on to the chest from behind the ears, the bulky striated top section with a slight depression at the centre parting gathered at the back to fall as a separate section of hair. Such an interpretation can be supported by a number of similar examples of distinctly female figures wearing this very style ¹⁸ (fig.76-77), which has been interpreted as an early prototype of the so-called 'Hathor' or bouffant style popular in the later Middle Kingdom ¹⁹.

A contemporary limestone figurine from Abydos has the horizontally striated hair set in two flattened lappets on the chest to form the tripartite style ²⁰, although in this rather ornate example each lappet ends in three small braids. This is duplicated on a small ivory figurine from Hierakonpolis ²¹ (fig.78), whilst a rather less ornate example again from Abydos has a shorter form of the same style, the roughly striated hair only slightly hanging over the shoulders ²².

A number of other figurines feature 'swept back' styles of long hair in which the full length falls down the back as opposed to being divided up into sections set over the shoulders to be visible from the front. A fine ivory example, again from Hierakonpolis, has a horizontally striated waist-length style which appears short from the front ²³, as does that of a further example in hippopotamus ivory ²⁴ (fig.79).

Another ivory example depicting the rather squat figure of a nursing mother has four thick locks hanging down from what at first appears to be a shaven head ²⁵, whilst a small glazed figurine from Abydos has "the hair...thrown to one side, and plaited in a tail on the back" ²⁶. Close inspection of the latter figure reveals notable similarities to the former example, and although there is only one braid rather than four, the thickness of the locks, the incised 'herring-bone' decoration and the swept back nature of the style all suggest the same basic form of hairdressing which was especially common for nursing mothers and those engaged in manual tasks which required the hair to be fastened back (the position of the latter figure's arms further suggesting that she originally held a child).

Shorter styles are also present at this time, an ivory figurine from the Abydos tomb of royal woman Benerib having the hair set in a similarly centrally-parted shoulder length style (minus surface detail) ²⁷.

By the late IIInd dynasty styles which are to become fashionable in the Old Kingdom begin to appear in their recognisably 'classic' form. A seated female figure from Abydos has been dated to the IIInd dynasty on account of its squat, heavy

figure, large head and "short, striated wig...typical of feminine fashions of the early historic period" ²⁸ (fig.80). As with earlier female figures in both statuary and relief, it is the hair which receives most attention, its surface striated in such a way as to suggest braiding or plaiting, the shoulder-length 'bobbed' style formed from these thick braids radiating out from a centre parting to rest on the shoulders.

Another short style, which is encountered in later Old Kingdom depictions of specifically royal women, first appears in an Archaic stela scene (fig.81); a seated figure in a tight fitting dress with shoulder straps also wears a short round style incised with fine horizontal lines set back on the head to reveal an expanse of forehead ²⁹, and comparisons with later examples would strongly suggest that this is a wig. Despite such comparisons of a style exclusive to royal women, Gardiner has identified the figure as male, and whilst he does state that "for a moment one might ask oneself whether the person depicted is not a woman...the coiffure and hieroglyphic inscription quickly banish this supposition" ³⁰. Since both dress and coiffure are most definitely items of female attire however, the text being extremely faded, the figure is best regarded as female ³¹.

CHILDREN

The few Archaic representations of children are mainly in the form of small faience or stone figurines ³², which although having the finger to mouth pose, do not have the sidelock. Contemporary mother-and-child figures feature very young children/babies again without hair, although this might be explained by their extreme youth ³³.

NON-EGYPTIANS

Figures identifiable as non-Egyptian are again shown in the context of warfare and conquest to indicate the supremacy of a united Egypt over subjugated enemies for propaganda purposes. A roughly inscribed alabaster palette from the Sakkara tomb of Djer depicts the king in smiting pose "striking down a Libyan captive" ³⁴ whose hair is shown in a form of long tripartite style. An ivory label of King Den also carries the inscription 'first time of smiting the east' ³⁵, referring to the conquest of either Bedouins or Asiatics. Den holds one of their number by his long straight hair again set in tripartite style detailed with cross-hatching, this same style replicated exactly on a carved ivory gaming piece of King Kaa (fig.82). Although Petrie describes this figure as having "a lock of hair hanging down" ³⁶ and therefore identifying him as a western Libyan, the figure would rather appear to be wearing the tripartite style and be of eastern origin. The aforementioned statue bases of Khasekhem are carved with rows of slain 'Northern enemies' with long bedraggled hair, possibly Libyans encroaching into the Western Delta if not Lower Egyptian rebels ³⁷.

A highly unusual miniature figurine of a bound Nubian captive in white quartz indicates short cropped hair by means of a simple notch around the head to form the hair line ³⁸.

- 1 MMA.01.4.93, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.25, p.36-37; for other examples from Abydos see Boston MFA.01.7294, in Boston 1988, No.4, p.74 and Petrie 1901 II, pl.XXVII.112, also pl.XXVI-XXX.A and Petrie 1900 I, pl.XXX-XXXVI.
- 2 Emery 1961, p.93, pl.30.a and Smith 1981, fig.21, p.40.
- 3 Cairo JE.88123, in Corteggiani 1986, No.5, p.26; see also Sakkara stela of Wepka in Quibell 1923, pl.XXVIII.1 and Vandier 1952 I.2, fig.493 (top), p.736; reconstruction sketch of basic style in Corson 1980, p.32-33, pl.1.I.
- 4 Smith 1981, fig.32, p.49.
- 5 Quibell 1923, pl.XXVIII.2 and Vandier 1952 I.2, fig.493 (lower), p.736.
- 6 Ox.Ash.E.294, main deposit.
- 7 Berlin Inv.No.21839, Abusir(?), in Fay 1982, p.8-9; also Smith 1949, pl.2.a. and Vandier 1952 I.2, fig.657, p.981.
- 8 Cairo JE.32159, in Petrie 1916, p.191 and Vandier 1952 I.2, fig.656, p.980, also comments of Terrace & Fischer 1970, p.86; due to close similarity with later MK ceremonial styles (eg. Cairo CG.395, in Borchardt 1925 II, p.13, pl.64; Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.103; Corteggiani 1986, No.42, p.79-80; Terrace & Fischer 1970, No.17, p.88; Aldred 1969, No.76, p.54, and Vandier 1958 III, pl.LXX.1-2), it may have had some religious significance.
- 9 As Emery notes "we cannot be certain if wigs were worn, as in later times, but from the limited pictorial evidence this would appear probable", 1961, p.247.
- 10 Limestone figure, Ox.Ash.1896-1908 E.517, in Moorey 1983, fig.9, p.25; Smith 1981, fig.33, p.50 and Malek 1986, p.36; schist figure, Cairo JE.32161, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.14; Smith 1949, pl.2d.; Smith 1981, fig.34, p.50; Emery 1961, pl.31 and Corteggiani 1961, No.8, p.29-30. For ivory figurine of unidentified monarch in white crown, BM.EA.37996, Abydos, see Spencer 1980, No.483, pl.55; James 1979, fig.54, p.142 and James & Davies 1983, fig.21, p.23.
- 11 Detail of base scenes in Emery 1961, fig.62, p.99; Smith 1949, fig.47, p.132; Smith 1981, fig.35, p.51 and Vandier 1952 I.2, fig.625.47, p.951.
- 12 Emery 1961, p.170-171.
- 13 BM.EA.35612, in Spencer 1980, No.7, p.15, pl.4-5; see also Emery 1961, fig.25, p.62.
- 14 eg. niche stone of Sehefnifer, in Smith 1949, pl.32.a and Vandier 1952 I.2, fig.492, p.735; for similar intricate example from Helwan, see Vandier 1952 I.2, fig.490, p.733, with contrasting plain style in Vandier 1952 I.2, fig.508, p.765.
- 15 Emery 1961, pl.32.a and Smith 1981, fig.31, p.48.
- 16 Cairo JE.71586, in Smith 1981, fig.29-30, p.47 and Sourouzian 1981, fig.2, p.448.
- 17 Smith 1981, p.48.
- 18 eg. UC.14879, Hierakonpolis, in Adams 1974, No.88, p.15, pl.8; Smith 1949, pl.1.e and Vandier 1952 I.2, fig.653 (right), p.979; Ox.Ash.E.264, Hierakonpolis, described by Malek 1986 as a "female dwarf with massive wig", p.37, (although no evidence to suggest hair false, nor squat nature of figure necessarily indicative of dwarfism, see Hayes 1953 I, p.43) and Sourouzian 1981, fig.1, (front and back views indicating nature of style), p.448, note 16; see also very similar style of figure Ox.Ash.E.299, with others partly hidden on cloaked figures eg. Ox.Ash.E.326, in Sourouzian 1981, fig.3, p.448 and Kofler-Truniger Collection K.415, in Müller 1964, No.A.59, p.40-41; Vandersleyen 1975, p.217, pl.114.a and Westendorf 1968, p.27; although all three refer to Kofler-Truniger figure as male, style seems very much confined to female figures, and as Sourouzian has pointed out, "il n'est donc pas impossible que cette dernière, désignée généralement comme 'Stadtgott', représente plutôt un personnage féminin", 1981, p.448-449, note 16. See also Baumgartel's accurate identification of similar Hierakonpolis figure UC.14878 as female, in Adams 1974, No.87, p.15, pl.8, although again designated as 'male' figure in Smith 1949,

- pl.1.d and Vandier 1952 L2, fig.653, p.979.
- 19 Smith 1981, p.47; see also Terrace & Fischer 1970, p.73, 76 and Sourouzian 1981, p.448-449.
 - 20 Munich ÄS.4234, in Vandersleyen 1975, p.217, pl.114.b; for similar figure see Vandier 1952 L2, fig.653 (left), p.979 and Smith 1949, pl.1d.
 - 21 Ox.Ash.E.322, in Amiet et al. 1981, fig.17-18, p.197.
 - 22 Kofler-Truniger Collection K.9644.W, in Müller 1964, No.A.58.
 - 23 UC.14860, in Adams 1974, No.360, p.70, pl.44-45; compare Petrie 1920, pl.II.
 - 24 Louvre E.11888, in Zeigler 1990, p.19; Vandier 1952 L2, fig.641, p.967 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.15-16, p.197.
 - 25 Berlin Inv.No.14441, in Priese ed. 1991, No.5, p.1, 10 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.19, p.198; Smith 1949, fig.4, p.3 and Strouhal 1992, fig. 19-20, p.22-23 both giving predynastic date.
 - 26 Petrie 1903, No.40, p.25, pl.IV-V and Vandier 1952 L2, fig.642, p.969.
 - 27 Boston MFA.01.7367, in Petrie 1901 II, No.8, p.21, pl.III.A.; Breasted 1949, p.100, pl.94a. and Vandier 1952 L2, fig.640.7, p.968.
 - 28 MMA.45.2.12, Abydos(?), in Hayes 1953 I, fig.33, p.44, "although only 18 inches in height, has the dignity and the monumental quality which we associate with the great sculpted figures of the Old Kingdom", p.43.
 - 29 Originally in Halifax Bankfield Museum, although present location unknown; see Gardiner 1917 (ii), p.256-260, pl.LV; Smith 1949, p.141, 143, and Vandier 1952 L2, fig.496, p.738-739.
 - 30 Gardiner 1917 (ii), p.258; his conclusion also followed by Vandier 1952 L2, "en dépit de ce costume essentiellement féminin, il s'agit certainement d'un homme, comme le prouvent sa perruque, arrondie sur ses épaules", p.738.
 - 31 As identified by Smith 1949, "The Bankfield lady has a head-dress that is set well back from the forehead and marked with horizontal lines, resembling that of Hetephebtet and the later figures of Hetep-heres and the mother of Khufuw-khaf", p.143 (discussed below).
 - 32 eg. Brooklyn 58.14.1, in Needler 1984, No.277, p.347-348; Kofler-Truniger Collection, K.9644.X, K.9645.D, K.9644.Q, K.9645.U, K.9645.G, K.9646.J, K.9644.QI, in Müller 1964, No.A.41-A.47, p.33-35; see also Smith 1949, "plump forms of children are occasionally met with", fig.6, p.4-5.
 - 33 Berlin Inv.Nos.14441, in Priese ed. 1991, No.5, p.1, 10; Smith 1949, fig. 4, p.3 and Strouhal 1992, figs.19-20, p.22-23; see also Berlin Inv.No.17600, in Priese ed. 1991, No.5, p.10.
 - 34 Emery 1961, fig.23, p.60.
 - 35 BM.EA.55586, in Spencer 1980, No.460, p.65, pl.49; Aldred 1965 refers to "Bedouin", fig.55, p.64; Aldred 1980 refers to "Asiatic foe", fig.8, p.36, and James 1979 refers to commemoration of "early expedition to Sinai", hence enemy an "Asiatic chieftain", fig.11, p.42.
 - 36 Petrie 1900 I, p.23-24, pl.XII.12-13, pl.XVII.30 and Emery 1961, fig.148, p.250.
 - 37 Emery 1961, fig.62, p.99, on base of limestone figure, Ox.Ash.1896-1908 E.517 in Moorey 1983, fig.9, p.25; Smith 1981, fig.33, p.50 and Malek 1986, p.36, and schist figure, Cairo JE.32161 in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.14; Smith 1949, pl.2d.; Smith 1981, fig.34, p.50; Emery 1961, pl.31 and Corteggiani 1961, No.8, p.29-30.
 - 38 Kofler-Truniger Collection, K.9644.V, in Müller 1964, No.A.54, p.38.

OLD KINGDOM: III-VIth dynasties

MEN

IIIrd dynasty

The standard styles for men at this time are the short round and longer shoulder length forms, both of which are encountered in statuary and relief exhibiting a variety of surface decoration.

Some of the clearest examples of these styles are to be found on the five wooden tomb panels of Hesire, a high official of Djoser. Three of the panels feature forms of the short round style, in two cases set with 21 horizontal rows of tiny tile-like curls ¹ (fig.83) whilst a third is rather unusually decorated with small circles to suggest curls set flat to the head, in this case still retaining the original black colouring ² (fig.84). The contemporary calcite relief figures of the Palace Controller Abneb similarly have both circular and tile-like curls adorning a short round style ³ (fig.85).

It will be noticed that in most examples of the latter form at this time the crown area is left free of tile-like detail and is generally filled in with fine lines which radiate out to the top row of curls. This distinct crownpiece is most pronounced in the case of IIIrd and IVth dynasty figures, such as the aforementioned Hesire and KhabawSokar, High Priest of Memphis ⁴; it is then reduced during the Vth dynasty and vanishes altogether by the VIth, when the whole style is shown with a uniform curled surface. It has been stated that since contemporary statuary shows no such detail "this evolution has nothing to do with a change of style in the wigs actually worn. It is more probably to be regarded as the gradual atrophy of a convention employed in representing wigs...to circumvent the problem of showing diminishing rows at the top of the crown" ⁵.

Private statuary of the IIIrd dynasty is less accomplished in its execution when compared with contemporary relief work, and whereas royal sculpture has attained purity of line and perfect proportion by this time, private examples still have a definite archaic quality. This is clearly the case with the granite figure of Hetepdief, the squat figure's large head "rendered even heavier by the full wig [sic]" ⁶, which is actually an early sculpted example of the short round curled style (fig.86). Other early examples include a granite head of a man ⁷ and two life-size statues of the official Sepa ⁸ (fig.87), in all four examples the hair rendered in more detail than any other feature.

Although the short round style is the most common form of hairdressing at this time, the long shoulder-length style is also found in both sculpture and relief. The finest relief examples are again found on two of the aforementioned wooden tomb panels of Hesire, his shoulder-length style of vertical striations subtly carved with four horizontal grooves ranging from crown to eye level to suggest soft waves in otherwise straight hair ⁹ (fig.88). In sculpted form however, the style has a rather 'bobbed' appearance at this time, with the front sections of hair extending forward to touch the side of the face. A diorite figure of the Head Carpenter Ankh has a shoulder-length, centrally parted striated style framing a rather full face ¹⁰

(fig.89), very similar to the style of the high official NedjemAnkh ¹¹. A more heavily striated version, flaring out slightly around the shoulders and ending in small horizontal notches, is worn by the shipbuilder Ankhwa (Bedjmes) ¹², with a totally plain and rather shapeless form worn by another official named Ankh ¹³ (fig.90).

In this early part of the Old Kingdom it seems that it was not unusual for the king to be depicted in considerably longer styles. The earliest life-size figure known from Egypt portrays Djoser in archaic pose ¹⁴, wrapped in a jubilee robe and wearing an early form of nemes over a voluminous striated tripartite style with particularly thick back section, the hair again treated in greater detail than the rest of the figure ¹⁵ (fig.91). A number of standing figures of the king in his Sakkara funerary complex also have this abundant style ¹⁶ which was most likely achieved by the use of false hair since reliefs of the king also show him wearing the tight fitting white ¹⁷ and red ¹⁸ crowns.

Relief forms of this long thick style include a fragmentary scene from the temple of Hathor at Gebelein, in which an unidentified king strides forward with long hair flowing. He is accompanied by his retinue which includes a royal scribe wearing perhaps the earliest example of the sidelock in its classic bound form ¹⁹.

IVth dynasty

In addition to the short round and longer shoulder-length styles, shaven/cropped heads are also portrayed at this time, as in the case of the celebrated painted limestone figure of Rahotep, son of Snofru and High Priest of Ra; his black hair is closely cropped ²⁰ (fig.92), as is that of Cheops' vizier Hemon ²¹ and an unnamed official whose horizontally striated scalp suggests its cropped texture ²² (fig.93). The treatment of their hair in these examples may be compared to that of so-called 'reserve heads' which "are all close shaven, as if they wear skull-caps" ²³ (fig.94), the distinct hair-line clearly visible in the contemporary Giza tomb relief scenes of Prince Khufukhaf ²⁴ (fig.95).

In addition to purposefully shaven/cropped heads, balding figures are also occasionally portrayed. A bust of the vizier Ankhaf has a receding hair-line ²⁵, a feature paralleled in the aforementioned tomb reliefs of Khufukhaf in which one of the prince's retinue has a distinctly balding head ²⁶.

In contrast to their cropped state, a number of figures are further depicted with short round styles set in curls, as in the case of the Medum tomb reliefs of Rahotep ²⁷ and the Giza scenes of Khufukhaf ²⁸ (fig.96). This same style complete with striated crownpiece is also to be found in the Sakkara tomb scenes of Metjen ²⁹ and Akhtyhotep ³⁰ (fig.97), in the Dashur reliefs of Prince Iynefer ³¹ and on the Medum stela scene of Royal Acquaintance Heknen ³² (fig.98), the style also adopted by other figures including a standard bearer of Cheops ³³.

The short round style is also found in sculpted form, the granite figure of the Estate Administrator Methen giving "a general idea of how a high official at the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty looked" ³⁴ (fig.99), the deeply grooved horizontal rows accentuating the structure of his style also noted on the dyad figure of the official Katep ³⁵.

Longer shoulder-length styles are also quite popular amongst the official classes, relief examples including the beautiful painted stela of Wepemnofret ³⁶. A limestone figure of Admiral Tjenti has an atypical form in which the waved hair is carved as if it were folded linen, the striated braids emanating from a central parting suddenly falling vertically to the shoulders with ends slanting from front to back ³⁷ (fig.100). The tripartite style is very occasionally adopted by male figures, as in the case of a kneeling courtier of Cheops in a fragmentary relief scene reused at Lisht ³⁸.

The king is generally portrayed with hair covered (fig.19, fig.155), although in reliefs from his Dahshur Valley Temple Snofru wears the atef crown atop a short curled style ³⁹; in reliefs from Sinai he has "a divine crown composed of double plumes and two double horns set upon a round wig with border curls" ⁴⁰, the only detail on this short style being a serrated edge to indicate the ends of the curls (fig.101). Figures of Mycerinus also show hair, a dyad figure featuring plain tabs of hair protruding in front of his ears beneath the nemes ⁴¹ which are also present on a life-size piece in calcite ⁴². A further example reveals these tabs as horizontal rows of curls again protruding down in front of the ears below the nemes ⁴³, whilst a similar head takes this further, extending the curls from in front of the ears to up over the forehead to form a short fringe ⁴⁴. In a final example the king is portrayed without a headcover to reveal his own cropped hair lightly striated for texture ⁴⁵ (fig.102), and similar to a small limestone head identified as Khephren, again with striated detail ⁴⁶.

Vth dynasty

The short round style, longer shoulder-length style and the shaven/cropped head continue to be represented in both sculpted and two dimensional forms, with all three choices of coiffure found together on the joint funerary triad of the officials Nikawkhufu, Ptahkhufu and Hesy, wearing the crop, short round and long shoulder-length styles respectively ⁴⁷.

Relief examples of the cropped head include a number of scenes in the Sakkara tomb of Nefer, Unas' Inspector of Artisans and Singers, the tomb owner a portly figure in the prime of life "wearing no wig...only short, cropped hair" ⁴⁸. Similarly coiffured figures including a similarly rotund figure of the nobleman Itwesh ⁴⁹ (fig.103), the Chamberlain Peryneb ⁵⁰ and the svelte Royal Manicurists Niankhkhnun and Khnumhotep ⁵¹ (fig.104). Sculpted forms of the cropped head are suggested by either the hair-line alone, or with the addition of a series of grooved striations over the scalp to suggest a stubbly texture, as noted from a scribal figure of Ptahshepses ⁵² (fig.105), Chief Valet and Royal Tutor Seneb ⁵³, a seated granite figure of an official ⁵⁴ (fig.106) and one of the wooden statues of the Province Administrator Mitry "represented without his wig" ⁵⁵ (fig.107). Alternatively, a simple application of black paint can be used to indicate minimum growth, as noted from the scribal figure of Kay(?) ⁵⁶ (fig.108), the Head Brewer Nefer ⁵⁷ (fig.109), High Priest Ranefer ⁵⁸ (fig.110) and Overseer of Tenants Methethy ⁵⁹ (fig.111).

The cropped head is common to male figures of all classes, noted from figurines of potters ⁶⁰, brewers ⁶¹ and so forth, in addition to numerous two-dimensional figures of manual workers. Examples from the tomb of Raemkuy include servants preparing food ⁶², agricultural labourers harvesting crops ⁶³ and sailors rowing the prince's fleet ⁶⁴, with similar reliefs

from the tomb of Kaemrehu depicting workers engaged in carpentry, stoneworking (fig.112), farming and preparing bread and beer ⁶⁵ (fig.177). The musicians of Nenkefetka ⁶⁶ (fig.113) and Werirniptah ⁶⁷ (fig.114) likewise have cropped/shaven heads, as do literally thousands of other figures in tomb scenes throughout Egypt.

In contrast to these active little figures, the rotund figure of Kaaper reflects his high social standing whilst the lightly striated detail of his cropped hair highlights a receding hair-line ⁶⁸ (fig.115), a feature more commonly found amongst relief figures of manual workers ⁶⁹ (fig.116). It is perhaps a younger, slimmer Kaaper represented by a wooden statue complete with a thick short round style set in horizontal rows of curls with its base sharply truncated slightly above chin level ⁷⁰. This most common of male styles is shown in both statuary and two-dimensional scenes, and like the cropped scalp (and receding hair-line) is found amongst all classes.

A fine example is noted in the tomb reliefs of the nobleman Sepedhotep, the treatment of the diminished crownpiece dating it quite precisely to the late Vth dynasty ⁷¹. The same short round style, both with and without curled detail ⁷² and occasionally with a stepped outline to suggest texture ⁷³, is found on figures of manual workers, and in the Sakkara necropolis it has been noticed that "in most scenes the short curled wig does not entirely replace the depiction of natural hair. More often wigs are included sporadically, not necessarily on the most important figures" ⁷⁴.

In such a context however, the use of the term 'wig' to describe the short round curled style is surely misleading, considering the nature of the work taking place. The wearing of a wig by those undertaking certain tasks is more than a little unlikely and totally impractical, the men involved in butchery ⁷⁵ and cattle herding ⁷⁶ for instance shown with what must be their own short, curling hair represented in stylised form. Only where the style is found on figures of non-manual workers is it possible to state that the hair may be false, being more appropriate to their status, wealth and mode of life, a fact which is indeed supported by the number of aforementioned representations of the élite wearing a number of different styles, in addition to a shaven or cropped head. Furthermore, a scene from the tomb of Ptahhotep, Overseer of the Two Treasuries, would seem to involve one of his menservants adjusting a short wig upon his master's head, possibly having taken it out of the nearby box ⁷⁷ (fig.854).

It is therefore more than likely that two of the wooden figures of the Royal Overseer Methethy do indeed wear "a curled black wig, covering the ears, ending just above the shoulders" ⁷⁸ (fig.117), as does one of the wooden figures of Mitry ⁷⁹ (fig.118), an unnamed individual sculpted in limestone ⁸⁰ (fig.119) and a number of figures of the official Rawer ⁸¹ (fig.120). Others with this rather truncated, short round curled style include the official Nenkefetka of Deshasheh ⁸² (fig.121), Ty 'The Rich' ⁸³ (fig.122) and Royal Architect and Chief Sculptor Khaemwaset ⁸⁴. Further examples are found on funerary dyads and family groups, including a dyad figure of Meresankh wearing "a tight wig with small curls" ⁸⁵ also worn as he stands between his two daughters ⁸⁶. The priest Tenti ⁸⁷ (fig.123) and an unnamed official (fig.124) both wear a "curled wig of a short round style" ⁸⁸ on their dyad figures, as do the Overseer of the Granary, Irukaptah ⁸⁹, Scribe of the

Granary Nykare ⁹⁰ (fig.125), two Inspectors of Scribes both named Sekhemka ⁹¹ (fig.126-128), Royal Scribe Neferhotep ⁹² (fig.129), the officials Penmeru ⁹³ and Ptahkemni ⁹⁴ (fig.130), and Chief Sculptor Khaemheset ⁹⁵, all of whom are shown in family groups where their short round curled styles are clearly different to those worn by their womenfolk.

However, this is not always the case, as noted from the seated dyad figure of Granary Scribe Dersenedj and his wife Nofretka ⁹⁶ (fig.131), their squat, heavy figures carved in archaic style wearing virtually identical hairstyles of centrally parted, shoulder-length form with the bobbed appearance typical of earlier Old Kingdom examples. By the Vth dynasty however, the bobbed style proper was reserved almost exclusively for women, and is only extremely rarely worn by men ⁹⁷.

Sculpted forms of the longer shoulder-length style are rather less bulky than the style of Dersenedj and earlier incarnations, now flaring out to varying degrees around ear-level to fall out on to the shoulders as opposed to falling forward to touch the face. This is clearly illustrated by one of the wooden figures of Mitry ⁹⁸ (fig.132) as compared to that of his wife, which although similar reveal subtle differences. Mitry's style is a fine example of the fully developed, shoulder-length 'flared' style as opposed to that of the woman which retains its solid bobbed form, touching the face. The false nature of both is also made clear from their visible hair-lines.

In contrast to its crop-headed counterpart, a second figure of High Priest Ranefer wears a "wide spreading wig" set in the flared style ⁹⁹ (fig.133), both styles also found on a group figure of Penmeru ¹⁰⁰. This flared style is also found on both dyad figures of the Judge and Priest of Ra and Hathor, Nimaatsed ¹⁰¹, the Major-domo Keki ¹⁰² (fig.134), Inspector of Scribes Sekhemka ¹⁰³ (fig.126), funerary priest Kaemked ¹⁰⁴, the architect Nekhebu ¹⁰⁵ and two unnamed figures of officials ¹⁰⁶, in addition to a number of seated scribes including the Royal Scribe Rahotep ¹⁰⁷, and two similar unnamed men. Of these two, the most celebrated example has inlaid eyes and a rather asymmetrical face, whose "importance is emphasised by the style of the wig, the locks of which are thrown back over the shoulders leaving the face free" ¹⁰⁸ (fig.135). The second example has more clearly delineated locks of plaited detail, the ends of the hair flaring out less and touching the back of the shoulders ¹⁰⁹.

Relief forms of the long, shoulder-length style are much the same as depicted as in earlier times, any flared detail obscured by the practice of showing the head in profile. The style is worn by figures of priest Rawer in calcite reliefs from his Giza tomb ¹¹⁰ (fig.136), with further examples found in the tomb scenes of Chamberlain Peryneb ¹¹¹, the Judge Nykuhor ¹¹², and in those of Nefer and Kahay, as worn by both Nefer ¹¹³ and his brother Werbauw ¹¹⁴. However, it must be stated that unlike the cropped head and short round curled style, the long shoulder-length style is never worn by figures of manual workers at this time and is a prerogative of the élite.

Figures of the king again tend to show the hair concealed under a variety of crowns and head-covers, Sahure wearing the nemes in statuary ¹¹⁵ although his Abusir funerary temple reliefs do portray him in the short round curled style complete

with tiny plain crownpiece ¹¹⁶. Further scenes portray his own cropped hair incised with irregular wavy detail ¹¹⁷, the cropped head also found in relief representations of Niusserre topped by ornate regalia ¹¹⁸. A sculpted figurine of Neferefre shows his scalp textured with neat horizontal layers (fig.137), and despite the description of the royal head "snugly enclosed with a round valanced wig" ¹¹⁹, the very short nature of the style and presence of tabs of hair in front of the ears in a continuation of the rest of the style would strongly suggest that the king is shown with his own cropped hair, comparable with earlier royal examples from dynasty IV (fig.102).

VIth dynasty

The basic styles continue to be featured, albeit with a certain degree of embellishment, during this later part of the Old Kingdom.

Sculpted examples of the closely cropped head include a "surprisingly realistic and vivacious" likeness of Urchuu ¹²⁰ (fig.138) and an unnamed individual ¹²¹, with two-dimensional examples including figures of the priest Setka in his Aswan tomb scenes ¹²² and the Meir nomarchs Niankhpepi 'the Black' ¹²³, Pepiankh, called Heny 'the Black' ¹²⁴ and Pepi, the latter figure also portrayed with what appears to be a receding hair-line ¹²⁵. The Sakkara mastaba scenes of Teti's vizier Mereruka also provide numerous examples of the cropped head, from figures of agricultural workers and boatmen, again including receding hair-lines ¹²⁶, alongside similarly shaven figures of Mereruka and his sons ¹²⁷. Two such representations of the vizier flank his false door, from which his sculpted figure strides out wearing the traditional short round style set with rows of tiny curls ¹²⁸ (fig.139).

This short round curled style continues to be popular amongst all classes, as noted from numerous relief scenes including those in the Sakkara tombs of Ipy ¹²⁹ and Khentika, another vizier of Teti ¹³⁰. Here the style is worn by butchers, farmworkers and general household attendants, and is also found on the exquisitely carved figures of Pepi II's offering bearers at his Sakkara pyramid temple ¹³¹. Further relief examples are noted in representations of the scribe Sekhemka ¹³² and the nobleman Sanwehem ¹³³, with all such depictions conforming to the aforementioned trend of gradually reducing the crownpiece until it has disappeared altogether by the end of the VIth dynasty ¹³⁴.

Sculpted examples of the short round style set with horizontal rows of curls are worn by the physician Niankhre ¹³⁵ (fig.140), the Granary Overseer Kuyemsnewy ¹³⁶, the Sedment official Merirehashetef ¹³⁷ (fig.141), an unnamed official ¹³⁸ (fig.142) and the Palace Butcher Itsen ¹³⁹, the style of the latter's father Neferherenptah, Priest of the Royal Mortuary Cults, flaring out around its base ¹⁴⁰, a tendency also noted on a similar Memphite figure ¹⁴¹. The porter of Niankhpepi wears the traditional short round style set in horizontal rows ¹⁴² (fig.143) in contrast to the vertically curled style of his master ¹⁴³ (fig.144).

This increasing tendency to elaborate surface decoration is taken a step further when both the horizontal and vertical rows of curls are limited to the sides and back, with the crown and front section made up of a straight 'fringe' of separate,

vertically striated lines emanating from the crown ¹⁴⁴. Although this style may still accurately be described as the short round style, the term 'partially-curled' best describes its appearance, and examples include the wooden figures of Teti ¹⁴⁵, Tjeteti ¹⁴⁶, two wooden figures of courtiers from Sakkara ¹⁴⁷ (fig.145), an unnamed fig-wood figure of an official ¹⁴⁸ (fig.146), and a number of similarly anonymous contemporaries ¹⁴⁹.

The long shoulder-length style is also subject to varying degrees of elaboration, sculpted forms continuing to flare out at the sides as noted in the striated style of the Revenue Official Hetepni ¹⁵⁰. Rather more common relief forms range from the traditional to the innovative, the long striated styles in the tomb scenes of Mereruka ¹⁵¹ almost identical to those worn by Hesire almost four centuries earlier. Further examples are found on the false door reliefs of Ateti ¹⁵² and Nisuredi ¹⁵³, in the latter example the tomb owner depicted both in standard profile and en face, to give both a side and front view of his heavily striated style.

Other examples range from the plain unincised, as in the Qurna tomb reliefs of Royal Chamberlain Unasankh (TT.413) ¹⁵⁴ and nobleman Khenti (TT.405) ¹⁵⁵ (fig.147), the Meir scenes of Niankhpepi ¹⁵⁶ (fig.148) and Giza scenes of Idu ¹⁵⁷, to the distinctly over-embellished which feature the same rows of tile-like curls as found on the short round style. This has been described as "a wig common from Pepi I onwards...[which] curls in horizontal layers to the shoulders" ¹⁵⁸, and on account of its adoption by Sanwehem on his false door reliefs these been dated to "no earlier than the start of the VIth dynasty, to judge from the style and detail of the shoulder-length wig worn by the owner on the left jamb. Instead of dividing into long strands, it shows horizontal rows of overlapping locks" ¹⁵⁹. This rather fussy style is also worn by the nobleman Ipy ¹⁶⁰, the nomarchs Ihy (TT.186) ¹⁶¹, Pepi ¹⁶² and Pepiankh "The Middle" ¹⁶³ (fig.149), Tjetu I ¹⁶⁴, Nefershempepy ¹⁶⁵ and Overseer Qar ¹⁶⁶, in addition to the Vizier Khentikha who wears this innovative version alongside the more traditional striated form which he favours in the majority of his tomb scenes ¹⁶⁷.

In keeping with this general air of change and innovation a painted limestone figure of the official Itety has a long tripartite style (fig.150), Smith commenting upon the figure's "unusual qualities, chief among which is the use of the lappet wig...otherwise unknown in the case of men" ¹⁶⁸ despite its earlier adoption by Djoser (fig.91).

Figures of the king continue to feature various crowns and headcloths over the hair, a calcite figurine of Pepi II wearing the nemes when seated on the lap of his mother ¹⁶⁹ in contrast to a further figurine in which he is portrayed as a naked child with his finger to his lips and only a line to delineate the minimum of hair growth ¹⁷⁰.

- 1 Cairo CG.1426, in Borchardt 1937 I, p.108, pl.25; Corteggiani 1986, p.36; Vandier 1952 I.2, fig.470, p.713; Smith 1949, pl.31.b; Smith 1981, fig.47, p.62; Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.18-19; Aldred 1965, fig.102, p.107; Fechheimer 1914, pl.101; for same style on standing figure of Hesire, Cairo CG.1430, in Borchardt 1937 I, p.110-111, pl.27 and Vandier 1952 I.2, fig.469, p.712.
- 2 Cairo CG.1428, in Borchardt 1937 I, p.109-110, pl.26; Vandier 1952 I.2, fig.468, p.711 and Corteggiani 1986, p.37.
- 3 Leiden Inv.AM.10, in Schneider & Raven 1981, No.23, p.46; Vogelsang-Eastwood ed. 1994, fig.4, p.9; Vandier 1952 I.2, fig.497, p.753 and Fechheimer 1914, pl.100.
- 4 Cairo CG.1385, in Borchardt 1937 I, p.44-47, pl.10; Terrace & Fischer 1970, No.5, p.37-40; Smith 1949, pl.36.a-b; Smith 1981, fig.49-50, p.63; Murray 1905 I, p.3, pl.5; Murray 1937 II, p.1, pl.1 suggests that this feature represents the wig foundation, the close-fitting cap on which the hair was fastened, and Vandier 1958 III, p.102 refers to a 'calotte' but offers no examples in statuary, see Fischer 1959, p.239, note 16.
- 5 Fischer 1959, fig.4, p.238-239, quoted in Harpur 1987, "plain crownpiece typical of the early IVth dynasty", p.39, 249; see also Brooklyn 1988, p.65 for reference to revival of plain crownpiece for sculpted figures of XXV-XXVI dyn, also noted in XXX dyn. examples.
- 6 Cairo CG 1/JE.34557, recently re-dated to late III dyn, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.22; see also Borchardt 1911 I, p.1-2, pl.1; Smith 1949, pl.2.b; Terrace & Fischer 1970, No.2, p.25-28; Corteggiani 1986, No.9, p.31; Malek 1986, p.32; Amiet et al. 1981, fig.69, p.209 and Westendorf 1968, p.26.
- 7 Brooklyn Acc.No.67.5.1, Sakkara(?), in Brussels 1976, No.13, p.36 and Fazzini et al. 1989, No.8.
- 8 Louvre A.38/37, in Zeigler 1990, p.24; Smith 1949, pl.4.c; Smith 1981, fig.57, p.68 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.70-71, p.210.
- 9 Cairo CG.1427/JE.28504, in Borchardt 1937 I, p.109, pl.25; Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.21; Vandier 1952 I.2, fig.468, p.711; Schäfer 1974, pl.1, 15; Fechheimer 1914, pl.101-102; Terrace & Fischer 1970, No.4, p.33-36; Corteggiani 1986, No.12, p.35; Smith 1981, fig.48, p.62; Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.18; also CG.1429, in Borchardt 1937 I, p.110, pl.26; Vandier 1952 I.2, fig.469, p.712 and Schäfer 1974, pl.14.
- 10 Louvre A.39, in Zeigler 1990, p.23; Vandier 1952 I.2, fig.661, p.982 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.68, p.209.
- 11 Leiden Inv.AST.18, in Schneider & Raven 1981, No.22, p.46; Hart 1991, fig.34, p.99; Fechheimer 1914, pl.14-15; Smith 1949, pl.3.c and Vandier 1952 I.2, fig.660, p.983.
- 12 BM.EA.171, in Spencer 1980, No.1, p.13, pl.1; Aldred 1980, fig.20, p.55; Smith 1949, pl.3.d; Smith 1981, fig.56, p.67; James & Davies 1983, fig.15, p.16 and Vandier 1952 I.2, fig.659, p.983.
- 13 Leiden Inv.AST.19, in Schneider & Raven 1981, No.21, p.46 and Vandier 1952 I.2, fig.658, p.982.
- 14 Cairo JE.49158, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.16; Smith 1949, pl.2.c; Smith 1981, fig.36, p.53; Corteggiani 1986, No.10, p.32-34; Malek 1986, p.55; Abbate 1972, p.19 pl.6; Aldred 1980, fig.17, p.52; Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.16-17; Hart 1991, fig.31, p.95 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.67, p.209; also Corson 1980, p.32-33, pl.IJ for reconstruction sketch.
- 15 Smith 1981, "although the statue is in general treated in simple masses, the detailed carving of the strands of hair in the wig is a feature which we noticed in...statuette[s] and reliefs of Dynasty II", p.53.
- 16 Although surface detail lacking due to unfinished state, in Aldred 1965, fig.63, p.70 and Hart 1991, p.85, pl.27.
- 17 Aldred 1965, fig.68, p.75; Aldred 1980, fig.14, p.48; Smith 1981, fig.37, p.54 and Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.14-15.
- 18 MMA.11.150.30, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.37, p.59-60.
- 19 Turin Inv.Suppl.12341, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1989, fig.299, p.198; Curto 1984, p.57 and Garolla 1988, p.64.

- 20 Cairo CG.3, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.27; Borchardt 1911 I, p.3-5, pl.1; Corteggiani 1986, No.13, p.38-41; Aldred 1965, fig.105, p.109; Aldred 1980, fig.21, p.57; Abbate 1972, p.35, pl.16; Smith 1981, fig.78, p.85; Malek 1986, p.113; Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.22, 23, 25 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.81, p.212.
- 21 Hildesheim RPM.1962, in Kayser 1973, fig.15-16; Vandier 1958 III, pl.XLI1-3; Aldred 1980, fig.30, p.69; Aldred 1965, fig.80, p.88; Smith 1949, pl.6.d; Smith 1981, fig.101, p.107; Westendorf 1968, p.38; Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1989, fig.165, p.107.
- 22 eg. Louvre A.44, limestone dyad of local official, c.2575 BC, in Vandier 1958 III, pl.XVIII.3.
- 23 Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.32 (although no evidence for skull-caps); eg. Cairo JE.46216, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.32; see also Malek 1986, p.58; Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.40-41; Smith 1949, p.23; also Boston MFA.14.717, in Boston 1988, No.13, p.82 and Boston MFA.14.718 in Aldred 1965, fig.106, p.110; Aldred 1980, fig.29, p.68 and Reisner 1942, pl.52.a, 53.a-b, 54.a, 55.b, 56.b, etc.
- 24 From Giza mastaba G.7140, in Simpson 1978, fig.34, pl.XXV-XXVI; Smith 1949, pl.43.b; Smith 1981, fig.106, p.109 and Donadoni 1955, pl.43.
- 25 Boston MFA.27.442, in Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.21; Wilson 1951, fig.8.b; Aldred 1965, fig.108, p.110; Aldred 1980, fig.33, p.71; Westendorf 1968, p.39; Smith 1949, pl.14-15.a; Smith 1981, fig.111, p.115 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.83, p.212.
- 26 Simpson 1978, fig.26, 2nd row, figure on left.
- 27 Cairo JE.54845/Ox.Ash.1910.665.a, in Petrie 1892, pl.XV and Harpur 1986, fig.3, p.27; Cairo T.19:11:24:3G/T.19:11:24:3F in Petrie 1892, pl.IX-X, and Harpur 1986, fig.6-7, p.31; BM.EA.1242, in Petrie 1892, pl.XIII; James & Davies 1983, fig.18, p.21; Smith 1949, pl.33.a, and Harpur 1986, fig.12, p.39; also Louvre E.11430, damaged crownpiece, compare with Petrie 1892, pl.XI, and Harpur 1986, fig.11, p.37.
- 28 Simpson 1978, fig.33, pl.XXIII-XXIV; Smith 1949, pl.43.a; Smith 1981, fig.105, p.108; Donadoni 1955, pl.44; Aldred 1965, fig.116, p.115; Aldred 1971, pl.15 and Aldred 1980, fig.25, p.64.
- 29 Berlin Inv.No.1105, in Priese ed. 1991, No.14, p.24-25.
- 30 MMA.58.44.2.
- 31 Cairo in Smith 1981, fig.65, p.75.
- 32 Ox.Ash.E.1891.595, in Petrie 1892, p.20, 38, pl.XVI.
- 33 MMA.21.1.1, reused by Amenemhat I at Lisht.
- 34 Berlin Inv.No.1106, in Fay 1982, p.10-11; also Smith 1949, pl.4.b.
- 35 BM.EA.1181, in James & Davies 1983, fig.70, p.64; James 1985, fig.76, p.65; Francis ed. 1971, fig.75, p.77; Vandier 1958 III, pl.XXVII.4, and Price 1970, p.59.
- 36 Berkley Museum of Anthropology 6-19825, Giza tomb G.1201, in Reisner 1942, pl.17.a; Smith 1949, pl.32.b; Vandier 1952 I.2, fig.506, p.763 and Fazzini 1975, Cat.17, p.28.
- 37 Louvre E.10776; for reconstruction see Corson 1980, p.32-33, pl.LD.
- 38 MMA.21.1.1, reused by Amenemhat I at Lisht.
- 39 Fakhry 1961 II, part I, fig.64, p.81, fig.99, p.102, fig.100, 138, p.102, 127; notice distinct crown piece typical of early OK.
- 40 Cairo JE.38568, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.24.
- 41 Boston MFA. 11.1738, in Smith 1981, fig.108, p.112; Aldred 1965, fig.110, p.111; Aldred 1980, fig.35, p.74 and Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.44-45.

- 42 Cairo Ex.No.157, in Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.43.
- 43 Boston MFA, in Vandersleyen 1976, p.223-224, pl.131.b.
- 44 Cairo JE.40705, in Vandier 1958 III, pl.V.6-7; Smith 1981, fig.113, p.117 and Vandersleyen 1976, p.223-224, pl.131.a.
- 45 Boston MFA.09.203, in Aldred 1965, fig.114, p.114 and Vandier 1958 III, p.100, note 4, pl.V.4-5 (although both believe it to represent Shepseskaf).
- 46 UC.14282, in Murray 1963, pl.LIV,1.
- 47 Boston MFA.06.1882, from Giza tomb G.2009, in Smith 1949, p.69, pl.24.e; Boston 1988, No.17, p.89 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.XXVI,2.
- 48 Moussa & Altenmüller 1971, p.31, pl.26; Harpur 1987, p.132, states that representations of tomb owner include corpulent men shown bareheaded, whilst some wear wigs.
- 49 Brooklyn Acc.No.37.25.E, Sakkara Tomb D.43, in Brooklyn 1952, No.14; Smith 1949, pl.48.a; Smith 1981, fig.130, p.136; Fazzini et al. 1989, No.13; Fazzini 1975, Cat.20, p.32 and Brussels 1976, No.15, p.26, 38.
- 50 MMA.13.183.3, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.51, p.92.
- 51 Moussa & Altenmüller 1977, pl.72-73, 90 and Smith 1981, fig.131, p.137.
- 52 Cairo CG.83, in Borchardt 1911 I, p.66-67, pl.19; Smith 1949, p.80; Vandier 1958 III, pl.XLVI,2 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.110, p.218.
- 53 Cairo JE.51280, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.39; Aldred 1980, fig.37, p.76-77; Vandier 1958 III, pl.XLVIII,5; Smith 1981, fig.133, p.138; Terrace & Fischer 1970, No.12, p.65-68 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.122, p.220.
- 54 Louvre A.40, c.2400 BC.
- 55 MMA.26.2.4, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.65, p.110, 112; for rather elaborate reconstruction sketch see Corson 1980, p.36-37, pl.3.A.
- 56 Louvre E.3023, in Zeigler 1990, p.26; Vandier 1958 III, pl.XVIII,4-5; Smith 1949, pl.18.a; Aldred 1965, fig.125, p.123 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.107-109, p.217-218.
- 57 Cairo CG.145, in Borchardt 1911 I, p.106-107, pl.32 and Brussels 1960, Cat.12, p.22.
- 58 Cairo CG.18/JE.10064, in Borchardt 1911 I, p.19, pl.5; Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.46; Terrace & Fischer 1970, p.60; Vandier 1958 III, pl.XVIII,3; Aldred 1980, fig.56, p.98; Smith 1949, pl.18.b; Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.61-63 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.96, p.215.
- 59 Kansas City Art Gallery 51-1, in Aldred 1965, fig.128, p.125; Aldred 1980, fig.59, p.100; Vandier 1958 III, pl.XXXV,6, and Smith 1981, fig.135, p.139; also Brooklyn Acc.No.51.1, in Brooklyn 1952, No.22; Brooklyn 1956, pl.1.B; Fazzini et al. 1989, No.14; Smith 1981, fig.1958, fig.136, p.140; Aldred 1980, fig.60, p.100; Westendorf 1968, p.52 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.XXXV,8.
- 60 eg. Cairo CG.112, in Borchardt 1911 I, p.87, pl.32; Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.53; also Cairo CG.113, in Brussels 1960, Cat.17.a, fig.99.
- 61 eg. Cairo JE.66624, in Aldred 1980, fig.66, p.105; also MMA.20.2.1, in Hayes 1953, fig.68, p.115.
- 62 MMA.08.201.1, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.54, p.96.
- 63 MMA.08.201.1, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.57, p.100-101; notice unusually detailed style of overseer of harvesters, uneven vertical striations possibly indicative of tousled hair.
- 64 MMA.08.201.1, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.56, p.99; see also MMA.15.3.1163 for marines from royal temple relief, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.45, p.69.

- 65 Cairo CG.1534, in Borchardt 1937 I, p.232-235, pl.48 and Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.59, and Corteggiani 1986, No.23, p.54-55.
- 66 Cairo CG.1533, Sakkara mastaba D.47, in Borchardt 1937 I, p.231-232, pl.47 and Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.61.
- 67 BM.EA.718, in Stead 1986, fig.79, p.59.
- 68 Cairo CG.34, in Corteggiani 1986, No.18, "a balding scalp attests to the fact that he is no longer young", p.48-49; Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.40; Borchardt 1911 I, p.32-33, pl.9; Vandier 1958 III, pl.XVI.1-2; Aldred 1980, fig.126, p.124; Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.54-55; Vandersleyen 1976, pl.137.a; Hart 1991, fig.81, p.179; Smith 1949, pl.18.c; Smith 1981, fig.115, p.121 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.79, p.212.
- 69 eg. overseer of sculptors Niankhptah and boatmen/fishermen of Ptahhotep, in Malek 1986, p.114; fishermen of Nefer, in Moussa & Altenmüller 1971, p.20; boatmen and herders of Ti, in Mekhitarian 1978, p.11 and Vandersleyen 1976, pl.252.a-b, p.288-289; boatmen from lost Sakkara tomb, Cairo JE.30191, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.60 and Terrace & Fischer 1970, No.11, p.61-64; bearer from lost Sakkara tomb, Brooklyn Acc.No.49.62; see also comments of Harpur 1987, p.145, 149, 166.
- 70 Cairo JE.10177/CG.32, in Borchardt 1911 I, p.31, pl.8; Fechheimer 1914, pl.39-40; Vandier 1958 III, pl.XVI.5; Rachelwitz 1960, pl.40; Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.42 state this identification to be "perfectly plausible and very seductive", also suggested in Vandersleyen 1976, p.226, pl.137.b.
- 71 Turin Inv.Suppl.1255, in Curto 1984, p.69; Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1989, fig.295-297, p.196-197; see also Fischer 1959, fig.4.c, for comparable diminished crownpiece.
- 72 eg. Berlin Inv.No.20038, painted relief of bird-hunt from sun temple of Niuserre, in Priese ed. 1991, No.23, p.37-38.
- 73 eg. painted scenes of manual workers from Sakkara tomb of Neferherentah, bird catchers, in Smith 1981, fig.127, p.135; gardeners, in Strouhal 1992, fig.102-103, p.100.
- 74 Harpur 1987, p.171.
- 75 eg. Berlin Inv.No.1/70, in Fay 1982, p.14-15; also tomb reliefs of Idut, in Macramallah 1935, pl.XV, XIX-XX and Aldred 1980, fig.45, p.86 and similar reliefs of Ptahhotep in Murray 1905 I, pl.XI and Davies 1901 II, pl.XXIII.
- 76 eg. tomb reliefs of Ptahhotep, in Davies 1901 II, pl.XXVII; Aldred 1980, fig.44, p.85 and Malek 1986, p.101.
- 77 Paget & Pirie 1898, p.27, pl.XXXV; Davies 1900 I, p.9, pl.XXX; Harpur 1987, p.91; Wreszinski 1936 III, pl.2; Klebs 1915, p.19, pl.8.II and Schoske et al. 1990, fig.15, p.21.
- 78 Brooklyn Acc.No.53.222, in Brooklyn 1956, pl.1.A and Fazzini et al. 1989, No.14, and Brooklyn Acc.No.50.77, in Fazzini et al. 1989, No.14.
- 79 MMA.26.2.6, Sakkara.
- 80 Cairo CG.35/JE.30273, in Borchardt 1911 I, p.33-34, pl.9; Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.44; Vandier 1958 III, pl.XLVI.3 and Corteggiani 1986, No.21, p.53 (note unusual metal 'ear ornaments' at sides of style).
- 81 eg. fragmentary head, Cairo CG.6265, in Hassan 1932, pl.XXIV; Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.52, p.303 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.XLVII.5. See also Hassan 1932, pl.VIII-IX, XXI-XXII.
- 82 BM.EA.1239, in James & Davies 1983, fig.20, p.23.
- 83 Cairo CG.20/JE.10065, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.49; Borchardt 1911 I, p.20-21, pl.5; Vandier 1958 III, pl.XLIV.5; Fechheimer 1914, pl.34; Smith 1949, pl.18.e; Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.66-67; Westendorf 1968, p.53 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.93, p.215; for copy at Sakkara, see Aldred 1965, fig.99, p.105.

- 84 Cairo JE.44174, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.54.
- 85 Cairo JE.66619, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.50 and Vandier 1958 III, p.74.
- 86 Cairo JE.66617, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.51 and Vandier 1958 III, p.78, pl.XXVI.4.
- 87 Berlin Inv.No.12547, in Fay 1982, p.16-17; Fechheimer 1914, pl.28-29; Vandier 1958 III, pl.XXV.6 and Wenig 1969, pl.11; notice possible hair-line beneath front of style, although since area damaged this is not conclusive.
- 88 Berlin Inv.No.4/78, in Fay 1982, p.18-19.
- 89 Brooklyn Acc.No.37.17.E, Sakkara(?) in Brooklyn 1952, No.15; Fazzini et al. 1989, No.12; Fazzini 1975, Cat.25, p.35; Vandier 1958 III, pl.XXV.5; Brussels 1976, No.16, p.39; Aldred 1965, fig.112, p.112; Aldred 1980, fig.63, p.103 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.128, p.221.
- 90 Brooklyn Acc.No.49.215, in Brooklyn 1952, No.16; Vandier 1958 III, pl.XXXI.1; Robins 1993, fig.71, p.165 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.131, p.221; compare with shaven figure MMA.52.19, in Metropolitan 1984, p.8; Scott 1980, fig.4, and Vandier 1958 III, pl.XXIX.4.
- 91 Northampton Museum Y.2610, in James 1963, "He wears the usual tight-fitting wig with rows of curls, carefully cut, which still bear considerable traces of black paint", p.5, pl.I-II and Aldred 1965, fig.124, p.122; thanks to Mrs.R.Thomas for information; for other individual, see Louvre A.102 in Amiet et al. 1981, fig.130, p.221, also A.103/104, and James 1963, p.5-12 for their separate identities.
- 92 Cairo CG.89, Sakkara mastaba B.12, in Borchardt 1911 I, p.70-71, pl.20.
- 93 Boston MFA.12.1484, in Simpson 1980, p.24-25, pl.XLIX and Aldred 1980, fig.61, p.101.
- 94 Boston MFA.06.1876, Giza tomb G.2004, in Boston 1988, No.15, p.87 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.123, p.220.
- 95 Cairo JE.44.173, in Corteggiani 1986, No.24, p.56 and Brussels 1960, Cat.14, fig.10.
- 96 Berlin Inv.No.23720, in Fay 1982, p.12-13; Vandier 1958 III, pl.XXXVII.8 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.88, p.214.
- 97 For only other comparable male examples see Cairo CG.26, figure of Iti, in Borchardt 1911 I, p.27, pl.7, and Cairo CG.49, in Borchardt 1911 I, p.44-45, pl.13, this slightly later version, which although still quite solid in appearance, does flare out at sides following trend in male styles without covering the sides of the face in similar fashion to MMA.41.2.11, head of an unnamed official, in Hayes 1953 II, fig.62, p.109.
- 98 MMA.26.2.2 in Hayes 1953 I, fig.64, p.110-111.
- 99 Cairo CG.19/JE.10063, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, Nos.45; see also Borchardt 1911 I, p.20, pl.5; Vandier 1958 III, pl.XVIII.2; Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.61, 64-65; Terrace & Fischer 1970, No.10, p.57-60; Fechheimer 1914, pl.32-33 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.95, p.215.
- 100 Boston MFA.12.1504, in Simpson 1980, p.25, pl.L; Smith 1949, pl.21.c. and Vandier 1958 III, pl.XLIV.6.
- 101 Cairo CG.133, in Borchardt 1911 I, p.99-100, pl.30; Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.48. and Vandier 1958 III, pl.XXXII.3.
- 102 Louvre A.41.
- 103 Louvre A.105.
- 104 Cairo CG.119, in Borchardt 1911 I, p.91, pl.26; Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.47; Vandier 1958 III, pl.XXI.6; Aldred 1980, fig.65, p.105 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.121, p.220.
- 105 Boston MFA.13.3161, in Wilson 1951, fig.8.c.
- 106 MMA.41.2.11, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.62, p.109 and MMA.47.105.1 in Hayes 1953 I, fig.63, p.110.
- 107 MMA.25.9, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.61, p.108 and Corson 1980, p.32-33, pl.IE.

- 108 Cairo CG.36/JE.30272, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.43; also Borchardt 1911 I, p.34, pl.9; Aldred 1965, fig.43, p.55; Aldred 1980, fig.58, p.99; Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.58-59; Vandier 1958 III, pl.XLVI.1; Hart 1991, fig.51, p.129 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.106, p.217.
- 109 Cairo CG.78, in Borchardt 1911 I, p.63-64, pl.18; Vandier 1958 III, pl.XXIII.3 and Brussels 1960, No.13, fig.14.
- 110 Cairo JE.66626/CG.6267, in Hassan 1932, pl.XXVII-XXVIII, XXXII; Corteggiani 1986, No.22, p.53 and Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.52, p.303.
- 111 MMA.13.183.3, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.50, 52, 53, p.91, 93, 95.
- 112 MMA.08.201.2, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.58, p.102.
- 113 Moussa & Altenmüller 1971, p.19, pl.2.
- 114 Moussa & Altenmüller 1971, p.38, pl.37.
- 115 eg. MMA.18.2.4, in contrast to tripartite of Koptos nome god, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.46, p.71; Vandier 1958 III, pl.VI.2; Aldred 1965, fig.119, p.119; Lurker 1980, p.88; Smith 1949, pl.17.b and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.90, p.214.
- 116 Borchardt 1913 II, pl. 33, 35, 37-38.
- 117 Berlin Inv.No.21783, in Borchardt 1913 II, p.31, pl.17; Aldred 1965, fig.132, p.127 and Aldred 1980, fig.41, p.83.
- 118 Berlin Inv.No.16100, in Schäfer 1974, pl.20 and Fehheimer 1914, pl.120.
- 119 Cairo JE.98171, in Saleh and Sourouzian 1987, No.38; also lecture comments by Dr.Saleh, Manchester University, 12/7/87.
- 120 Cairo JE.72221, in Lange & Hirmer 1957, p.307, pl.79, also Amiet et al. 1981, fig.102, p.216.
- 121 Turin N.Cat.3147, in Curto 1984, opp. p.77 and Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1989, fig.194, p.123.
- 122 Baines & Malek 1984, p.72, Qubbet el-Hawa, late VIth dyn.
- 123 Blackman 1953 V, tomb A.1, pl.V-VI, X, XII, XIV.
- 124 Blackman 1953 V, tomb A.2, pl.XV-XVI, XIX, XXXI.
- 125 Blackman 1953 V, tomb D.1, pl.XLV.
- 126 eg. agricultural workers in Aldred 1965, fig.134, p.128-129; boatmen in Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.76.
- 127 For Mereruka and sons see Smith 1949, pl.56.a, and Smith 1981, fig.129, p.136; for Mereruka and wife (discussed below), see Wreszinski III 1936, p.9- 10, pl.5 and Manniche 1987(ii), fig.27, p.39.
- 128 Aldred 1965, fig.117, p.116; Aldred 1980, fig.49, p.90; Kanawati 1987, pl.11.b and Hart 1991, p.188, pl.83.
- 129 Cairo CG.1536/1537, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.62 and Corteggiani 1986, No.28, p.61-62 (alongside cropped heads of fellow workers).
- 130 James 1953, pl.XVII, XX-XXII.
- 131 Aldred 1965, fig.97, p.103; Aldred 1980, fig.40, p.82 and Smith 1949, pl.54.c.
- 132 Brooklyn Acc.No.37.22.E, in Brooklyn 1952, fig.18.
- 133 Boston MFA.27.444, in Fischer 1976, fig.14, p.49-50.
- 134 Fischer 1959, fig.4, p.239.
- 135 Cairo JE.53150, Giza, in Amiet et al. 1981, fig.94, p.215.
- 136 MMA.26.9.2, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.66, p.113; compare similar relief depictions on his false door, MMA.26.9.1, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.60, p.105.

- 137 Cairo JE.46992, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.64 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.149; BM.EA.55722, in James & Davies 1983, fig.22, p.24; Copenhagen NCG.AEIN.1560, in Koefoed-Petersen 1950, No.11, p.12, pl.13 and Janssen & Janssen 1990, fig.37, p.96; all three together in Vandier 1958 III, pl.XLV.1-3.
- 138 Amsterdam APM.Inv.3933, unprovenanced.
- 139 Cairo JE.87805, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.56.
- 140 Cairo JE.87804, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.56.
- 141 Turin Inv.Suppl.1192, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1989, fig.199, p.126.
- 142 Cairo CG.241/JE.30810, in Borchardt 1911 I, p.157, pl.51; Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.65; Vandier 1958 III, pl.XXXVI,1. and Corteggiani 1986, p.60.
- 143 Cairo CG.60/JE.30796, in Borchardt 1911 I, p.52-53, pl.15; Vandier 1958 III, pl.XLII.1, and Corteggiani 1986, No.27, p.60.
- 144 Nb. not to be confused with plain crownpiece found in earlier OK reliefs, see Fischer 1959, p.239, note 16.
- 145 Cairo CG.221, Akhmim, in Borchardt 1911 I, p.147, pl.46.
- 146 MMA.26.2.8/26.2.9, Sakkara.
- 147 MMA.27.9.3/27.9.5; see Corson 1980, p.32-33, pl.I.G for reconstruction.
- 148 Louvre E.10357, labelled 'bois de ficus, 2350-2200 BC'; see Corson 1980, p.32-33, pl.I.L for reconstruction.
- 149 Cairo CG.224, from Luxor, in Borchardt 1911 I, p.148-149, pl.46; Cairo CG.226, Luxor(?), in Borchardt 1911 I, p.149, pl.47; Cairo CG.232, Luxor, in Borchardt 1911 I, p.152-153, pl.48, and Baltimore Art Gallery 22.22 in Vandier 1958 III, Pl.LXXXVII.10; for striated fringe only see Cairo CG.126, in Borchardt 1911 I, p.95-96, pl.28 and Copenhagen NCG.AEIN.3, in Koefoed-Petersen 1950, No.7, p.10, pl.9.b; MMA.59.50.1; see also MMA.26.2.10, for possible example of similar style on damaged farm worker figure of Tjeteti, in Breasted 1948, Type 1.2, p.6, pl.I.
- 150 Berlin Inv.No.1/83, in Fay 1982, p.20-21.
- 151 Lange & Hirmer 1957, p.306, pl.75.
- 152 Cairo No.239, in Murray 1905 I, p.19, pl.XIX and Lange & Hirmer 1957, p.306, pl.73.
- 153 Boston MFA.21.961, in Wreszinski 1936 III, p.39-41 and Smith 1949, pl.57.c.
- 154 Luxor J.183, in Luxor 1978, No.13, p.18. and Saleh 1977, fig.4.
- 155 Saleh 1977, pl.14 and Manniche 1987, fig.15, p.18.
- 156 Blackman 1953 V, pl.VI, IX-XI, XIII.
- 157 Simpson 1976, fig.35, p.22, pl.XIX.a, and Kanawati 1987, fig.6.b.
- 158 Harpur 1987, p.132.
- 159 Boston MFA.27.444, in Fischer 1976, p.49-50.
- 160 Cairo CG.1537, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.62; Corteggiani 1986, No.28, p.61-62; Smith 1949, pl.56.b, and Malek 1986, p.90-91.
- 161 Saleh 1977, fig.57, p.23, although now severely damaged.
- 162 Blackman 1953 V, Meir tomb D.1, pl.XLVI.
- 163 Blackman 1924 IV, pl.IX; pl.XVI, XXVI show detailed style of 8-10 horizontal rows.

- 164 Simpson 1980, pl.XXVI.c, XXVII.
- 165 Bolton No.56.98, Dendera, in Bolton 1966, No.4, p.5.
- 166 Boston MFA.27.1130, in Simpson 1976, fig.18.b, 25, pl.IX.a.
- 167 James 1953, pl.XLIII and pl.V.2 for elaborately plaited style.
- 168 Cairo CG.45, in Smith 1949, p.79-80; also Borchardt 1911 I, p.41-42, pl.12; Vandier 1958 III, pl.XLII.11 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.145, p.225.
- 169 Brooklyn Acc.No.39.119, in Brooklyn 1952, No.19; Aldred 1980, fig.53, p.95; Smith 1981, fig.140, p.145 and Hart 1991, p.215, pl.99.
- 170 Cairo JE.50616, in Jéquier 1927, referring to figure as "coiffé du serre tête", p.60, pl.V; also Smith 1981, p.144, note 6; Aldred 1980, p.96; Vandier 1958 III, p.100, pl.IX.2 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.138, p.222.

WOMEN

IIIrd dynasty

The most common style worn by the relatively small number of women portrayed at this time is the tripartite style ¹ in which the length of straight hair is divided into three sections, one falling over each shoulder and a third, which can be slightly longer, left to hang down at the back.

An early relief example of the tripartite style is found on figures of Hathorneferhotep on her Sakkara false door scenes, the style itself intricately detailed with each long braid individually carved and ending in small horizontal striations at its base, the natural hair-line visible above the forehead indicating that the hair is false ² (fig.151).

The relatively few sculpted figures of women similarly feature the tripartite style, a thick, centrally-parted creation of individual braids found on the life-size limestone figure of Neset ³ (fig.152). The carefully delineated hair ends correspond to the horizontal striations on the base of Hathorneferhotep's style, this feature clearly visible in sculpted form as a slight overlap at the ends of the layers of braids. A very similar figure in granite represents the Princess Radjedef, again wearing the braided tripartite style with layered ends, here set back slightly on the head to reveal a prominent forehead, the back section of the style being considerably longer than the front ⁴. A third such figure "bears a close resemblance to the Turin princess [Radjedef] in the treatment of the wig and face, and in attitude to the statue of Neset...there is a similarity of technique, particularly in...the careful delineation of the strands of hair in the wig (with diagonal cross-lines like the Turin wig)" ⁵.

The hair is very thick in all three cases, and in profile especially the similarities with the aforementioned figure of Djoser are clear. In a fragmentary relief scene from Heliopolis however, it is interesting to note that Djoser's female relatives are all depicted with short styles, Djoser himself shown seated with three tiny female figures by his feet, two of whom represent princesses whilst the third and central figure is Queen Hetephernebt, arms crossed beneath a tight robe, and wearing a short round style set back on the head ⁶. This is identified as "a head-dress of the unusual type worn by certain queens of Dynasty IV" ⁷, which actually makes its first appearance in the Archaic period (fig.81) (discussed above).

IVth dynasty

The tripartite style is again the most common form of coiffure for both sculpted and relief figures, the exquisite painted relief work on the stela of Princess Nefertiabet featuring a striated black tripartite style with the bulk of the front sections significantly reduced by this time ⁸ (fig.153). This less bulky form of tripartite is also found in the Sakkara relief figures of Nyankhudot, priestess of Hathor ⁹, the Giza relief figures of queens Hetepheres II ¹⁰ and Meresankh III ¹¹ and Nofretkaw, wife of Khufukhaf ¹² (fig.95). Further examples worn by Royal Acquaintance Nofret in her Medum tomb scenes also have layers of overlapping braids at the ends of the style ¹³, a feature found in greater detail on the styles of the female estate bearers in the Medum tomb scenes of Nefermaat ¹⁴.

Female estate bearers from the Dahshur funerary temple reliefs of Snofru wear the tripartite style alongside an innovative form in which all the hair is set in a single piece at the back, this 'swept back' style created by the bearers' posture as they extend their arms to carry offerings¹⁵ as found repeatedly in later examples on figures adopting similar poses.

The tripartite style is again predominant in the case of sculpted figures, a large limestone figure of Queen Henutsen(?), mother of Chephren, wearing a centrally-parted striated style originally coloured black¹⁶ (fig.154). The contrasting plain style of a dyad figure of Khamerernebtly II with husband Mycerinus has a hair-line extending across the forehead and down in front of the ears in tab form to reveal the use of a wig over her own short hair beneath¹⁷ (fig.155), whereas on four further group figures of the king neither the goddess Hathor nor the accompanying nome figures have any such hair-line beneath their tripartite styles¹⁸ (fig.19).

A combination of striated detail and plain hair-line may be found on a contemporary calcite figure of a lady¹⁹, traces of paint on the wig suggesting it was originally painted black. In the case of a similar limestone figure of Ninofretmin her black style is further embellished with small horizontal notches to suggest braiding (fig.156), the rather shorter length anticipating the imminent vogue for shorter styles²⁰. Another such example in painted limestone, conversely featuring a plain black style and striated hair-line beneath, has drawn parallels with the aforementioned figures of Khamerernebtly and Nofret²¹.

The figure of Nofret provides a fine example of the short 'bobbed' style, an alternative coiffure which is almost as popular as the tripartite style in sculpted form although it is hardly ever represented in two dimensions²². Nofret's own centrally parted hair textured with light striations is clearly visible beneath her bulky short wig of individual braids²³ (fig.157), both features also noted on the head of an unnamed woman from Sakkara²⁴ and the Royal Acquaintance Heknu, her plain hair-line visible beneath an equally plain wig²⁵ (fig.158). Other sculpted examples of the short bobbed style are worn by Katep's wife Hetepheres²⁶ and an unnamed woman on a dyad figure²⁷ (fig.93), the bobbed style also adopted by royalty as worn by Queen Khentitanka as she kneels beside her husband Djedefre²⁸.

An unusual variation on this male/female couple arrangement is a dyad of the two queens Hetepheres II, daughter of Cheops, and her daughter Meresankh III, wife of Chephren²⁹ (fig.159). The older woman wears the bobbed style which here flares out towards the shoulders, whilst the plain hair-line beneath reveals the same cropped hair as worn by her daughter, although in the case of the younger woman coloured black. This portrayal of Meresankh is replicated in her tomb scenes at Giza³⁰ (fig.160) and is possibly indicative of her religious duties as priestess of Hathor and Thoth. Elsewhere in her tomb she wears other styles, including the shoulder length style³¹ which in two-dimensional form is almost always reserved for male figures, despite its popularity in the statuary of both sexes. Indeed, of the ten rock-cut female figures from her tomb, four believed to represent Meresankh are "identical in size and wigs"³² which are set in the flared bobbed style, as are two more rock-cut dyads of both queens³³. The elder queen Hetepheres again wears the

bobbed style on two of the three rock-cut figures thought to portray her next to the four of her daughter³⁴.

In a further scene a crop-headed Meresankh, dressed in the male attire of mortuary priest, stands beside her mother Hetepheres who in turn wears a tight costume with pointed shoulders and an extremely unusual blonde form of the short round style decorated with thin red horizontal lines³⁵ (fig.160). This yellow hair of Hetepheres has led to speculation as to the family's ethnic origins, Reisner initially suggesting her to be of Libyan blood although later stating that "any evidence for the Libyan origin...rests only on the 'red' or 'yellow' hair of Hetepheres", and that it was "long ago pointed out that the red lines across the yellow surface of her headdress must be interpreted as conventional drawing lines...and...it is unsafe to give ethnic interpretation to the yellow colouring"³⁶.

Although it might at first appear that the queen is shown with her own hair, closer inspection reveals a definite plain yellow hair-line as found on their aforementioned dyad statue, the short round-style wig set back on the head in similar fashion to earlier Archaic (fig.81) and IIIrd dynasty examples³⁷. That this is not a mistake of the artist in failing to draw the red lines across the full extent of the hair it would be useful to compare the scene with that in the tomb of Khufukhaf in which the prince's mother Henutsen not only wears the tight dress with peaked shoulders but an identical hairstyle to that of Hetepheres, perfectly described as "a bag wig or hair dress set back on the head as if the forepart were shaved"³⁸. A reconstructed fragmentary scene from the Giza tomb of Cheops' son Kawab similarly shows the mother of both Kawab and Hetepheres, Meretyotes, in this same set-back coiffure and distinct costume³⁹.

The shaven/cropped head is not an unusual feature amongst women at this time, as noted from the aforementioned figures of Meresankh III⁴⁰, Khufukhaf's wife Nofretkaw⁴¹ (fig.96) and the Royal Acquaintance Henutsen on a block fragment of the official Seneb⁴². Such two dimensional examples find sculpted parallels in the form of reserve heads, depicted with only a faint hair-line regardless of gender⁴³. Some of the best examples include those of the Princess Merytyetes⁴⁴ and an unnamed royal lady, both demonstrating that such heads do not suffer aesthetically from an absence of hair⁴⁵.

Vth dynasty

The tripartite style and cropped head are depicted in both sculpted and relief form, whereas two-dimensional forms of the bobbed shoulder-length style are virtually non-existent, a rare exception described as "a wig of shoulder-length hair"⁴⁶ worn by Khensu as she kneels beside husband Nefer in their Sakkara tomb scenes.

Sculpted forms of the style are however far more common than the tripartite style at this time, the granite dyad of Nofretka and her husband depicting both figures in identical bobbed styles with no differentiation between them⁴⁷ (fig.131). A more traditional arrangement is represented by the painted limestone group of Penmeru, his short round style clearly distinct from the centrally-parted, striated bobbed style of his wife⁴⁸. This same striated bob is worn by Kaemhesit's wife Thenenet, the plain hair-line beneath indicating that her style is false⁴⁹, and the same style of wig is worn by Senetites, Priestess of Hathor and Neith and wife of Seneb. Their dyad figure has even been redated on account of "a number of

stylistic details", including the plain, unfussy treatment of Senetite's hair-line to "suggest a date late in the Fourth Dynasty or early in the Fifth" ⁵⁰.

Other limestone dyad figures portray the woman on a small scale kneeling beside the leg of her husband, and here again the bobbed style features prominently. The wife of Irukaptah ⁵¹ is shown with a form which is rather rigid in appearance as it flares out stiffly towards the shoulders, in tandem with the trend for contemporary male styles which also flare out in this way. This characteristic is also noted in the case of the style of Nikauhathor ⁵², which also exhibits the new form of hair-line which appears during the second half of the dynasty, specifically in association with the bobbed style. The plain line which rises in the centre to form the central parting is now largely replaced by a straight hair-line decorated with horizontal striations ⁵³ (fig.161), several limestone figures of the King's daughter Meryesankh having horizontally striated hair-lines beneath their bobbed styles, the hair-line of the smaller figure further embellished with tiny, tile-like curls ⁵⁴ (fig.162). Occasionally vertical striations are employed, as in the case of Meretites, Overseer of the Royal Hairdressers/Wigmakers ⁵⁵ (fig.163).

The bobbed style is also found in contemporary wooden sculpture, one of the finest examples portraying the unnamed wife(?) of Kaaper, her style described as "a wide-spreading wig of medium length...This kind of wig, with parallel strands of hair ending in small curls, and parted in the center, is widely used in representations of women during the Old Kingdom" ⁵⁶ (fig.164). However, these 'small curls', more probably meant to represent the overlapping strands of hair as encountered in earlier representations of the tripartite style, are not commonly featured, and furthermore the absence of a hair-line in this case would preclude the use of the term 'wig'. Another striated bobbed style, again without hair-line, is found on the engaging acacia wood figure of an unnamed woman ⁵⁷ whilst one of the wooden figures of the unnamed priestess of Hathor and wife of Mitry features the bobbed style, complete with a highly decorated hair-line of cross-hatched detail in a combination of the usual horizontal or vertical striations ⁵⁸ (fig.165).

By the later Vth dynasty the horizontally striated hair-line is further embellished by the addition of a row of small circles across the bottom to form an elaborate scalloped edge, indicating that the natural hair beneath has been set into small curls laid flat against the forehead. Examples include both dyad figures of Nykaineby ⁵⁹ (fig.125, fig.166), the sisters Iymeret and Hathorwer ⁶⁰, Sitmerit ⁶¹ (fig.167) and Iti ⁶² (fig.168), wives of two men named Sekhemka, and the unnamed wife of Ptahkemni ⁶³ (fig.130).

Another development of the late Vth dynasty is the way in which the surface of the style becomes increasingly detailed, simple striations being replaced by more intricately carved braids, which in certain cases can give a rather 'string-like' appearance ⁶⁴ (fig.124). However, it will also be noticed that in such examples where the style is so elaborately portrayed, any hair-lines are generally simple, as in the earlier tradition, possibly due to the desire by the artist not to over-elaborate and thus blur the distinction between the natural and the false hair.

Female manual workers also wear the bobbed style whilst engaged in a variety of activities. The striated style of a rather robust brewer figurine ⁶⁵ is replicated in a Sakkara relief of two such women performing the same task ⁶⁶, a sculpted figure of a baker wearing the bobbed style ⁶⁷ (fig.169) again replicated in relief ⁶⁸ (fig.170). Both the sculpted figure of the baker and her companion figure grinding corn ⁶⁹ (fig.169) wear styles almost identical to that of the aforementioned wife(?) of Kaaper (fig.164), all featuring a double row of overlapping layers at the ends of the hair. The working figures also wear white headcloths over their styles to protect them from the effects of heat and dust, whilst Iti, servant of Chancellor Werini, has "her head bound with a cloth to keep chaff out of her hair" ⁷⁰, her rather longer headcloth secured by a headband which can also be worn alone in order to keep the style in place whilst working ⁷¹ (fig.171).

At the other extreme the whole of the hair could be bound up and hidden in an enveloping cloth as noted from the figure of the corn-grinder Ishat ⁷² and an unnamed woman ⁷³, both figures anticipating the later enveloping 'afnet' headcloth worn by goddesses and the so-called 'bag wig' style which becomes popular for men during the Late Period.

The tripartite style is still relatively common in two dimensions, although sculpted representations have waned with the increased popularity of the bobbed style. The few sculpted examples include the style of Imeretef ⁷⁴ (fig.123), the rather truncated style of Hathor priestess Thenteti ⁷⁵ (fig.129) and one of the wooden figures of Mity's unnamed wife who wears "an elegantly striated wig which falls in three sections over the shoulders and back. Its central part is carefully concealed by a delicately tressed lock" ⁷⁶, the central parting clearly marked by what appears to be a thin strand of hair laid at right angles to the rest of the striations (fig.172). The ends of the three sections of hair are again incised with horizontal banding, as are those of Inet in her false door reliefs ⁷⁷. Similar false door reliefs portray both Ihat, Priestess of Hathor and her mother-in-law Hetepheres with deeply striated tripartite styles ⁷⁸ (fig.173), which are also worn by Iymeret, Priestess of Hathor ⁷⁹ and Sekhemhathor, Priestess of Hathor and Neith, the latter retaining most of its original black colour ⁸⁰.

In an interesting relief from the Sakkara cult temple of Unas the king is suckled by a female figure described as an "unknown goddess" who wears a striated tripartite style ⁸¹ (fig.174). The appearance of the natural hair beneath what must presumably be a wig would however seem to indicate the mortal nature of the figure, who is most likely the queen mother in a pose found in sculpted form in the next dynasty ⁸².

The aforementioned tomb scenes of Nefer are especially useful for this study, containing as they do a wide range of coiffures including a large number of tripartite styles, worn by Nefer's mother-in-law Mertiotes ⁸³, sister-in-law Khentkawes ⁸⁴ and wife Khensu. Although the style of the latter has been described as "one lock of the long wig is laid over her breast" ⁸⁵ this is in fact the standard way in which the tripartite style is represented in two dimensions, with both lappets being understood.

Women engaged in manual work continue to be portrayed with the tripartite style alongside the cropped head and

occasional shoulder-length style, one Sakkara tomb relief scene depicting a woman with a tripartite style actually steering a cargo ship before nursing her child ⁸⁶. The bearer figures of Vizier Ptahhotep are depicted in a variety of striated and plain tripartite styles ⁸⁷, and striated versions are also worn by the estate personifications in scenes from the Abusir mortuary complex of Sahure, the erect figures wearing standard tripartite styles whilst those bending have swept back forms which, due to their posture, fall in one piece down the back ⁸⁸, as do those of female figures carrying bolts of cloth in a Giza tomb scene ⁸⁹.

The fashion for cropped hair is reflected in a particularly fine relief scene from the tomb of Archive Scribe Wehemka which features the lightly striated scalp of his wife Hetepib ⁹⁰, further examples of the cropped head noticed on figures in the Sakkara mastaba scenes of Akhethotep ⁹¹ (fig.175). Nefer's wife Khensu is shown with her own cropped black hair as she kneels beside her husband ⁹², with entertainment scenes in the tomb depicting lively dancers with their "hair clipped short" ⁹³ in exactly the same way as that of the tomb owner's wife. Similar scenes are to be found in a number of other tombs, including those of Nenkhefeka ⁹⁴, Ti ⁹⁵ and Werirniptah ⁹⁶ (fig.114), in which cropped haired dancers perform to the accompaniment of similarly coiffured groups of male and female singers and musicians, including the harpist Hekenu seated with her chironomist Iti on the false door scenes of Priestess Ihat ⁹⁷ (fig.176).

Female manual workers engaged in the usual tasks of baking, brewing and farming are also portrayed with cropped heads in both statuary ⁹⁸ and relief ⁹⁹ (fig.177), two winnowers from the tomb of Kahif shown with the addition of small pigtailed at the back of otherwise cropped heads ¹⁰⁰. A similar elaboration on the plain cropped head is the so-called 'ball head-dress' ¹⁰¹ which has been described as "a tight-fitting cap with a long narrow protrusion from the top...a ball at the end was usual for Old Kingdom dancers' caps" ¹⁰². However, this so-called cap or head-dress is simply the cropped head with a section of hair left to grow long at the back and comparable to the late Old Kingdom form of child's sidelock. This single tress, weighted with a ball or disk to accentuate movement, is best described as the 'ball hairstyle', and is popular with dancers as noted in a number of tomb scenes ¹⁰³ and in sculpted form, complete with insertions of real hair weighted with beads ¹⁰⁴.

VIth dynasty

As with contemporary male examples, the basic styles are increasingly subject to varying degrees of elaboration and diversity of detail.

The cropped head is becoming increasingly popular amongst all classes, and is noted in the case of servants ¹⁰⁵ (fig.178) and dancers, alongside the aforementioned ball hairstyle ¹⁰⁶, with royal and noblewomen adopting this most severe of styles often to the exclusion of longer forms which are now worn by their menfolk. Hetyah favours a cropped head in sharp contrast to the long shoulder-length style of her husband Pepiankh 'the Middle' in their tomb scenes at Meir ¹⁰⁷, a phenomenon which is also noted in the tomb scenes of long-haired nobleman Khenti (TT.405) whose wife Meretites,

priestess of Hathor, has her hair cropped (fig.147) in identical fashion to her male and female attendants ¹⁰⁸.

In other tomb scenes both husband and wife are shown with identically cropped heads, as in the case of an unnamed Royal Ornament shown beside husband Pepiankh (Heny the Black) ¹⁰⁹ and the seated couple Pepi and his wife Sresres(?), the Royal Acquaintance ¹¹⁰. The latter pair are shown in intimate fashion facing each other upon a bed, Sresres playing the harp in a scene almost identical to a more familiar version in the tomb of Mereruka in which the tomb owner is serenaded by wife Seshseshat, daughter of Teti, and again the hair of both is cropped short ¹¹¹. Seshseshat is also shown in this style as she stands beside her husband ¹¹², and wears a distinctly short style with curled decoration as she sits in her carrying chair, the curls suggested by tiny circles which could either be a very short round wig or Seshseshat's own hair allowed to grow slightly ¹¹³.

This short round style is most often set in horizontal rows of tile-like curls however, and is regularly worn by relief figures of women in the late Old Kingdom ¹¹⁴, including Gefi, wife of Qar ¹¹⁵, Hetep, wife of Tjetu (alongside rows of similarly coiffured male and female offering bearers) ¹¹⁶ and two female mourners representing Isis and Nephthys in the Giza tomb scenes of Qar whilst other female mourners have plain cropped heads ¹¹⁷.

The tripartite style is still represented in both relief and statuary, a calcite dyad of Ankhnesmeryre with the young Pepi II featuring tabs of natural hair beneath the queen's striated tripartite style ¹¹⁸, a feature also visible beneath the tripartite style of an unnamed queen ¹¹⁹. Somewhat longer versions of this style are found in contemporary reliefs, the wife of Meni wearing a long striated tripartite again with hair tabs ¹²⁰, and a similarly lengthy style worn by Iyeretnub, priestess of Hathor and wife of Kuemsnewy ¹²¹. A striated tripartite style is also worn by Seshemnefer's mother Nefer in her son's Giza false door scenes, in one case the style being attended to by a contrastingly crop-headed servant ¹²² (fig.856).

In a continuation of earlier practice figures shown bending or leaning forward with outstretched arms have swept-back styles which fall down in a single section at the back, as noted from the kneeling figures of the personified seasons in the Sakkara tomb of vizier Khentika ¹²³.

The shorter bobbed style remains a favourite in statuary, with examples continuing to feature an increasing amount of surface detail. This is best observed in cases where the natural hair-line is shown in plain form to contrast with the ornate false styles set over them, as with the figures of Royal Acquaintance Satmeret ¹²⁴ (fig.179), her daughter Meretites ¹²⁵ and the wife of Royal Steward Memisabu ¹²⁶, their rather individualistic styles and general appearance anticipating artistic standards of the 1st Intermediate Period.

The shift away from the more traditional forms of representation is also reflected in the increasing number of female figures wearing the shoulder-length style, which until now has been virtually non-existent in two-dimensional scenes when compared with cropped and tripartite forms. The examples all come from the tombs of the nomarchs of Meir, and

are worn by a figure identified as Pekhnefert, called Bebi, wife of Niankhpepi 'the Black' ¹²⁷, and four female bearers ¹²⁸ and two mourners impersonating Isis and Nephthys ¹²⁹ in the scenes of Pepiankh (Heny the Black).

In similar funereal context, the mourners of Idu are shown in grief-stricken state pulling at their styles which range in length from the short and shoulder-length to the tripartite ¹³⁰, with the crop and tripartite style equally apparent amongst the mourners of Mereruka ¹³¹.

- 1 Since tripartite style initially depicted on figures of élite women, Tyldesley in error when she states that "the tripartite style was originally confined to females of low status in society", 1994, p.157, and further references to this style being used as indicator of status, eg. Robins 1993, p.184, also misleading, tripartite style simply most basic way of depicting long straight hair.
- 2 Cairo CG.1386/1387, in Borchardt 1937 I, p.48, pl.11; Murray 1905 I, pl.II referring to style as "long and elaborately curled", p.4; see also Fechheimer 1914, pl.103.
- 3 Louvre A.36, in Ziegler 1990, p.24; Hart 1991, p.98, pl.35; Smith 1949, pl.4.c; Smith 1981, fig.57, p.68; Vandier 1958 I.2, fig.664, p.985 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.72-73, p.210.
- 4 Turin Inv.Cat.3065 (name variously read as Redi, Redief, Redyzet, etc), in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1989, fig.152, p.99; Curto 1984, p.60-61; Smith 1949, pl.3.a; Smith 1981, fig.55, p.67; Westendorf 1968, p.31; Basle 1953, Cat.No.47; Garolla 1988, p.25; Fechheimer 1914, pl.16 and Vandier 1952 I.2, fig.662, p.984.
- 5 Brussels MRAH, in Smith 1949, p.18, pl.4.a; also Fechheimer 1914, pl.17 and Vandier 1952 I.2, fig.663, p.984.
- 6 Turin Inv.Suppl.2761/21, in Smith 1949, fig.48, p.133-4; Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1988, fig.48, p.48 and Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1989, pl.301, p.200.
- 7 Smith 1949, p.133-134.
- 8 Louvre E.22745, Giza tomb G.1225, in Reisner 1942, pl.19.b; Zeigler 1990, p.25; Hart 1991, p.130, pl.52; Aldred 1980, fig.27, p.67; Malek 1986, p.78; Vandier 1952 I.2, fig.504, p.761 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.74, p.210.
- 9 MMA.X.179, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.48, p.89.
- 10 Cairo JE.54939, Hetepheres in tripartite followed by smaller figure of Meresankh again with cropped head, in Hildesheim 1984, No.23, p.60 and Smith 1949, pl.45.a.
- 11 Giza tomb G.7530, in Dunham & Simpson 1974, fig.3.a (with hair-line), 3.b, 7, 9, also fig.4, p.10, Meresankh's crop contrasting with Hetepheres' tripartite; see also Smith 1949, fig.64, p.169; Smith 1981, fig.100, p.106; Troy 1986, fig.48, p.74; Malek in Smith & Hall ed. 1983, fig.6, p.30 and Hart 1991, p.115; for sculpted examples of tripartite, see Dunham & Simpson 1974, p.20, pl.VI.b; Hart 1991, pl.53 and Malek 1986, p.51.
- 12 Simpson 1978, fig.34, pl.XXV-XXVI and Donadoni 1955, pl.43.
- 13 Cairo JE.54845, Temp.Reg.19:11:24:3G and Temp.Reg.19:11:24:3F, in Petrie 1892, pl.IX-X, XV; Harpur 1986, fig.6-7 and Kern 1959, p.163.
- 14 Petrie 1892, pl.XXI and Malek 1986, p.71; see Corson 1980, p.38-39, pl.4.A. for reconstruction sketch.
- 15 For tripartite see Fakhry 1961 II.1, fig.19, 21, 24; for swept-back style see fig.11-12, 14-15, 17-18, 25 and Smith 1981, fig.68-68.A, p.77.
- 16 Cairo JE.48856, Giza tomb of Henutsen, in Daressy 1910, "Ses cheveux peints en noir sont bien divisés au milieu de la tête, bouffant légèrement de part et d'autre de la ligne mediane et tombent ensuite droit jusqu'à hauteur des seins", p.44.
- 17 Boston MFA.11.1738, in Aldred 1980, fig.35, p.74; Smith 1949, pl.13.a; Smith 1981, fig.108, p.112; Vandier 1958 III, pl.V.3 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.76, p.211.
- 18 Hathor-dominated group, Boston MFA.09.200 in Aldred 1980, fig.36, p.75; Smith 1949, pl.13.c; Vandier 1958 III, pl.IV.1 and Wood 1974, pl.XXIII.2; for other groups, Cairo JE.40679/CG.149, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.33; Corteggiani 1986, No.17, p.46-48; Terrace & Fischer 1970, No.7, p.45-48; Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.47; Smith 1981, fig.110, p.115; Hildesheim 1984, No.96, p.194-195; Wood 1974, pl.XXIII.1 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.IV.3; also other two groups, Cairo JE.46499, in Vandier 1958 III, pl.IV.4; Wood 1974, pl.XXIV.1; Malek 1986, p.54 and Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.46, Cairo JE.40678 in Vandier 1958 III, pl.IV.2 and Wood 1974, pl.XXIV.2.
- 19 BM.EA.24619, in Hall 1925, p.1, pl.1, "unhesitatingly" dating it to IV dyn; see also Vandier 1958 III, pl.XV.2;

- Malek 1986, p.86; Smith 1949, pl.16.b and Fechheimer 1921, pl.10-11.
- 20 BM.EA.65430, Malek 1986, back cover and Robins 1993, fig.68, p.162.
- 21 MMA.26.7.1391, whilst argument regarding authenticity discussed in Reeves & Taylor 1992, p.114, Gardiner 1917 describes it as "a masterpiece...one of the greatest achievements of Egyptian sculpture", p.1-3, pl.I.
- 22 Rare exception being Meresankh III, Giza tomb G.7530, in Dunham & Simpson 1974, fig.11, "she wears a full wig" p.19 referring to shoulder-length style.
- 23 CG.4, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.27; Corteggiani 1986, No.13, p.38-41; Fechheimer 1914, pl.18-20; Westendorf 1968, p.35; Vandier 1958 III, pl.X.2,4- 5; Aldred 1980, fig.21, p.57; Kern 1959, pl.1; Smith 1981, fig.78, p.85; Malek 1986, p.110 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.80, p.212.
- 24 Copenhagen NCG.AEIN.1536, in Koefoed-Petersen 1950, No.5, p.9, pl.7.
- 25 Cairo CG.53, Sakkara mastaba C.5, in Borchardt 1911 I, p.46-47, pl.14.
- 26 BM.EA.1181, in James 1985, fig.76, p.65; James & Davies 1983, fig.70, p.64; Francis ed. 1971, fig.75, p.77; Price 1970, p.59; Vandier 1958 III, pl.XXVII.4 and Robins 1993, fig.70, p.165.
- 27 Louvre A.44, in Vandier 1958 III, pl.XXVIII.3.
- 28 Louvre E.12627, in Smith 1949, fig.10, p.32; Smith 1981, fig.109, p.113 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.II.1.
- 29 Boston MFA.30.1456, in Dunham & Simpson 1974, p.23, pl.XVII.a-b; Smith 1949, pl.16.c; Vandier 1958 III, pl.XIII.2; Wenig 1969, pl.8; Aldred 1980, p.77 and Hart 1991, p.109; see also Boston MFA.30.1461 for unidentified bust with same hair-line and bobbed style as Hetepheres, again found in tomb of Meresankh, in Dunham & Simpson 1974, pl.XIX.a-c and Smith 1949, fig.14.c, p.42-43.
- 30 Giza G.7530-7540, in Dunham & Simpson 1974, fig.4, 6-7, p.14, pl.VII and frontispiece; Vandersleyen 1976, p.286-287, pl.XIX; Hart 1991, fig.24, p.112- 113; Smith 1949, fig.99, p.105, pl.44.a; Smith 1981, fig.99-100, p.105-106; Malek in Smith & Hall ed. 1983, fig.8, p.31 and Wenig 1969, pl.9; in addition to cropped head Meresankh also wears leopard skin costume of mortuary priest.
- 31 Dunham & Simpson 1974, fig.11, p.19.
- 32 Dunham & Simpson 1974, p.20, pl.VI.b, after Reisner's suggestion; also Hart 1991, pl.53; Malek in Smith & Hall ed. 1983, fig.9, p.31 and Malek 1986, p.51.
- 33 Dunham & Simpson 1974, pl.XI.b-d; see also Boston MFA.30.1457 for fragmentary figure of Meresankh in bobbed style, Dunham & Simpson 1974, p.23, pl.XVII.c-e.
- 34 Dunham & Simpson 1974, p.20, pl.VI.b; Hart 1991, pl.53 and Malek 1986, p.51.
- 35 Dunham & Simpson 1974, frontispiece, fig.7, p.14, pl.VII.c; Vandersleyen 1976, p.286-287, pl.XIX; Smith 1949, pl.44.c and Wenig 1969, pl.9; in Hart 1991, fig.24, p.112-113 horizontal lines over-extended to forehead.
- 36 Reisner 1955, p.7; also Dunham & Simpson 1974, p.14, note 30.
- 37 Chiotasso et al, 1992, p.100, also refer to this particular example as wig, but only on account of its blonde colour (discussed below).
- 38 Giza G.7140, in Simpson 1978, p.11, fig.26, pl.XV.c, XVI.a; also Smith 1949, pl.44.b.
- 39 Simpson 1978, fig.13, fragments having been "ingeniously reconstructed in an arrangement which may not meet with full approval", p.3.
- 40 eg. Cairo JE.54939, Meresankh following Hetepheres, in Hildesheim 1984, No.23, p.60 and Smith 1949, pl.45.a; also Dunham & Simpson 1974, fig. 4, 6-7; Smith 1949, fig.64, p.169; Smith 1981, fig.99-100, p.105-106; Troy 1986, fig.48, p.74; Malek in Smith & Hall ed. 1983, fig.6, p.30 and Hart 1991, p.115.

- 41 Simpson 1978, fig.33, pl.XXIII-XXIV; Donadoni 1955, pl.44; Smith 1949, pl.43.a and Aldred 1980, fig.25, p.64.
- 42 Cairo CG.1740, in Borchardt 1964 II, p.166, pl.96.
- 43 For number of female reserve heads see Reisner 1942, pl.52.b, 54.b, 55.a, 56.a, etc, and Smith 1949, p.23, pl.7.a-f, 8.c-d, etc.
- 44 Cairo, in Smith 1981, fig.103, p.108; also Reisner 1942, pl.52.b and Smith 1949, pl.6.b; for tomb reliefs of Merytyetes (G.4140) in tripartite style, see Reisner 1942, pl.57.a.
- 45 Boston MFA.14.719, Giza tomb G.4440.A, in Reisner 1942, pl.54.b; Aldred 1965, fig.107, p.110; Aldred 1980, fig.28, p.68 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.XII.8.
- 46 Moussa & Altenmüller 1971, p.31, pl.26.
- 47 Berlin Inv.No.23720, in Fay 1982, p.12-13; Vandier 1958 III, pl.XXXVII.8 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.88, p.214.
- 48 Boston MFA.12.1484, in Simpson 1980, p.24-25, pl.XLIX; Aldred 1980, fig.61, p.101 and Smith 1949, pl.21.d.
- 49 Cairo JE.44.173, in Corteggiani 1986, No.24, p.56; Aldred 1987, fig.26, p.52 and Brussels 1960, Cat.14.
- 50 Cairo JE.51280, in Aldred 1980, fig.37, p.76; also Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.39; Vandier 1958 III, pl.XLVIII.5; Smith 1981, fig.38, p.138; Westendorf 1968, p.63; Malek 1986, p.38; Terrace & Fischer 1970, No.12, p.65-68 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.122, p.220.
- 51 Brooklyn Acc.No.37.17.E, in Brooklyn 1952, No.15; Fazzini et al. 1989, No.12; Fazzini 1975, Cat.25, p.35; Brussels 1976, No.16, p.39; Aldred 1965, fig.112, p.112; Aldred 1980, fig.63, p.103; Robins 1993, fig.69, p.162; Vandier 1958 III, pl.XXV.5 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.128, p.221.
- 52 Cairo CG.22, in Borchardt 1911 I, p.23-24, pl.6; Hildesheim 1984, No.2, p.14-15 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.XXXI.3.
- 53 eg. calcite figure Cairo CG.134, in Borchardt 1911 I, p.100-101, pl.30; Hildesheim 1984, No.5, p.18-19 and Brussels 1960, Cat.16; separate calcite head, MM.No.11423, unprovenanced; limestone figure, Copenhagen NCG.AEIN.1, Sakkara, in Koefoed-Petersen 1950, No.4, p.9, pl.6.
- 54 Reign of Neferefre or later, Giza tomb of Wepemneferet, larger figure Cairo JE.72215, in Hassan 1936, "she wears a heavy short plaited wig...Her real hair is visible on her forehead" p.183, pl.LXVI; smaller figure JE.72217, in Hassan 1936, "she wears a heavy short wig falling in tresses and parted in the middle...It was originally painted black", p.184-185, pl.LXVIII; thanks to Dr.M.Trad for information.
- 55 Leiden Inv.AST.9, in Schneider & Raven 1981, No.25, p.47; Vogelsang-Eastwood ed. 1994, fig.1, p.6; Fechheimer 1914, pl.21; Vandier 1958 III, pl.XXXIV.1 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.132, p.221.
- 56 Cairo CG.33, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.41; also Borchardt 1911 I, p.31-32, pl.9; Hildesheim 1984, No.20, p.50-51 and Hart 1991, p.178, pl.80.
- 57 Louvre N.2293, in Ziegler 1990, p.20; Vandier 1958 III, pl.XVII.1, 3; Westendorf 1968, p.57 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.85-86, p.213.
- 58 MMA.26.2.3, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.64, p.111 and Corson 1980, p.36-37, pl.3.I. for reconstruction.
- 59 Brooklyn Acc.No.49.215, in Brooklyn 1952, No.16; Vandier 1958 III, pl.XXXI.1; Robins 1993, fig.71, p.165 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.131, p.221; also MMA.52.19 in Metropolitan 1984, p.8-9; Scott 1980, fig.4 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.XXIX.4.
- 60 Cairo JE.66617, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.51 and Vandier 1958 III, p.78, pl.XXVI.4.
- 61 Northampton Museum Y.2610, in James 1963, p.5-12 and Aldred 1965, fig.124, p.122.
- 62 Louvre A.102 in Amiet et al. 1981, fig.130, p.221.

- 63 Boston MFA.06.1876, from Giza tomb G.2004, in Boston 1988, No.15, p.87 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.123, p.220.
- 64 eg. Berlin Inv.No.4/78, in Fay 1982, p.18-19.
- 65 Cairo JE.66624, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.52; Hildesheim 1984, No.40, p.94-95 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.1, p.231.
- 66 Cairo, in Strouhal 1992, fig.136, p.127.
- 67 Boston MFA.21.2600, from Giza tomb G.2415, in Breasted 1948, Type 7.1, p.27-28, pl.28.b. and Vandier 1958 III, pl.XXXVIII.3.
- 68 Moussa & Altenmüller 1977, pl.26.a; Fischer 1989, fig.5 and Robins 1993, fig.26, p.78.
- 69 Boston MFA.21.2601, Giza tomb G.2415, in Breasted 1948, Type 2.3, p.18, pl.16.b.
- 70 Cairo CG.110, in Aldred 1987, fig.78, p.115; also Borchardt 1911 I, p.86, pl.24; Brussels 1960, Cat.17, and Vogelsang-Eastwood 1993, fig.10:3, p.173.
- 71 eg. Cairo JE.87818, Giza, in Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.57; Hildesheim 1984, No.39, p.92-93 (dated to VI dyn) and Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1989, p.130 (here wrongly captioned as similar Florence figure); for Florence figure see Breasted 1948, No.4, p.18, pl.15.b; Smith 1949, p.96 and Agostini n.d., p.5, 7, thanks to Dr.C.Guidotti for access to this figure during museum renovation work. In cases where band worn around cropped head it would serve to absorb perspiration, eg. Sakkara relief figures, Cairo Museum, in Strouhal 1992, fig.98, p.95.
- 72 Cairo CG.114, from Sakkara mastaba D.20, in Borchardt 1911 I, p.88-89, pl.25 and Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.56.
- 73 Hildesheim RPM, in Aldred 1965, fig.129, p.126 and Breasted 1948, Type 2.10, p.19, pl.18.a; see also Boston MFA.12.1486, in Boston 1988, No.21, p.90-91 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.XXXVII.5 and Berlin Inv.No.7706 in Vandier 1958 III, pl.XXXVII.7.
- 74 Berlin Inv.No.12547, in Fay 1982, p.16-17; Wenig 1969, pl.11; Fechheimer 1914, pl.28-29; Vandier 1958 III, pl.XXV.6 and Smith 1949, p.80, note.1.
- 75 Cairo CG.89, in Borchardt 1911 I, p.70-71, pl.20.
- 76 Cairo JE.51738, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.55; also Firth 1926, p.101, pl.5.
- 77 BM.EA.1171, in Robins 1993, fig.66, p.158.
- 78 Cairo CG.1414, in Borchardt 1937 I, p.80-84, pl.19; Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.57; Wenig 1969, pl.12; for detail of Hetepheres see Malek 1986, p.98 and Fischer 1959, fig.14.a, p.249.
- 79 Cairo JE.72201, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.58; Strouhal 1992, fig.66, p.61 and Malek 1986, half-title page.
- 80 MMA.08.2012, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.58, p.102.
- 81 Cairo JE.39133, in Malek 1986, p.102-103; also Smith 1949, p.176, pl.54.b.
- 82 Unless feature added by mistake; unfortunately, almost identical scene portraying Sahure and 'goddess' damaged around hair-line preventing comparisons, Cairo JE.39533, Abusir, in Borchardt 1913 II, pl.18; Aldred 1980, fig.42, p.83 and Smith 1949, fig.124, p.283.
- 83 Moussa & Altenmüller 1971, p.24, pl.7.
- 84 Moussa & Altenmüller 1971, p.38, pl.37.
- 85 Moussa & Altenmüller 1971, p.30, pl.30.
- 86 Fischer 1989, fig.15, p.20, after Lepsius.
- 87 Murray 1905 I, pl.IX-X, XII-XIII; Davies 1901 II, pl.X-XI, XIII-XVI and Aldred 1965, fig.101, p.106.

- 88 Erect figures, Cairo JE.39534, in Borchardt 1913 II, pl.27, 31; Corteggiani 1986, No.20, p.51-52; Smith 1949, pl.53.a; Aldred 1980, fig.43, p.83; bending figures, Cairo Temp.Reg.6:2:24:9, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.37; Malek 1986, p.71 and Hart 1991, pl.75.
- 89 Fischer 1989, fig.13, after Lepsius.
- 90 Hildesheim RPM.2970, in Kayser 1964, pl.22 and Kayser 1973, fig.10-11, p.40; thanks to Dr.B.Schmitz for this reference.
- 91 Louvre E.10958, in Ziegler 1991, p.26.
- 92 Moussa & Altenmüller 1971, p.31, pl.26.
- 93 Moussa & Altenmüller 1971, p.25, pl.10.
- 94 Cairo JE.28504/CG.1533, from Sakkara tomb D.47, in Borchardt 1937 I, p.231-232, pl.47 and Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.61.
- 95 Robins 1993, fig.40, p.109, after Epron.
- 96 BM.EA.718, in Stead 1986, fig.79, p.59.
- 97 Cairo CG.1414, in Borchardt 1937 I, p.80-84, pl.19; Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.57; Malek 1986, p.99; Strouhal 1992, fig.65, p.61 and Manniche 1991, fig.73, p.121.
- 98 eg. female brewer Florence No.3812, in Breasted 1948, Type 1.5, p.31, pl.30.b; Vandier 1958 III, pl.XXXVIII.2 and Agostini n.d., No.11, p.5, 7; female corn grinder, Cairo CG.115 in Borchardt 1911 I, p.89, pl.25.
- 99 eg. reliefs from tomb of Kaemrehu, Cairo CG.1534, in Borchardt 1937 I, p.232-235, pl.48, and Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.59; three attendants from tomb of Nenkefetka, Cairo CG.1558, in Borchardt 1964 II, p.19-21, pl.62; Sakkara relief of winnowers, CG.1546 in Borchardt 1964 II, p.5-6, pl.55 and Strouhal 1992, fig.98, p.95.
- 100 Vogelsang-Eastwood 1993, fig.10:6, p.175, pigtails described here as tassels on a cap.
- 101 Harpur 1987, p.31 and Strouhal 1992, p.84, also 'der Kugelzopf', see Fischer 1977, p.157-176; Fischer 1989 refers to the style as "a pig-tail terminated by a disk", p.21.
- 102 Saleh 1977, p.14, fig.7, pl.31; however, no such cap is known and would surely have proved too hot to wear, especially for such a vigorous activity.
- 103 eg. scenes of Kagemni, in Harpur 1987, p.28, 31 and Fechheimer 1914, pl.134; also Ankhmahor, in Harpur 1987, p.28.
- 104 CG.248, dated to VI dyn. in Borchardt 1911 I, p.160-161, pl.53; see also Wreszinski 1923 I, 45; for similar figure in Washington Dumbarton Oaks Collection, see Breasted 1948, Type 4.12, p.95, pl.89.b-c, date given as "possibly Middle Kingdom".
- 105 eg. sculpted figure of corn grinder, Louvre E.7704, in Ziegler 1990, p.29; Breasted 1948, Type 4.1, p.24, pl.25.d and Vandier 1958 III, pl.XXXVI.6; relief figure of hairdresser, Boston MFA.27.444, Giza tomb G.2132, in Fischer 1976, p.47-49 (discussed below).
- 106 eg. dancers of Idu with cropped hair and ball hairstyle, in Simpson 1976, fig.38, p.24-25, pl.XXIV-XXVI.
- 107 Blackman 1924 IV, Meir tomb D.2, pl.IV.
- 108 Saleh 1977, pl.14 and Manniche 1987, fig.15, p.18.
- 109 Blackman 1953 V, Meir tomb A.2, pl.XXVII-XXVIII and Kanawati 1987, fig.32.
- 110 Blackman 1953 V, Meir tomb D.1, pl.XLV, LXVI.3.

- 111 Wreszinski 1936 III, p.9-10, pl.5; Smith 1949, fig.145, p.294; Manniche 1987(ii), fig.27, p.39 and Manniche 1991, fig.70, p.115.
- 112 Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.74 and Hart 1991, p.187, pl.82.
- 113 Wreszinski 1936 III, p.17, pl.11.
- 114 For reconstruction see Corson 1980, p.36-37, pl.3.N.
- 115 Simpson 1976, fig.25, pl.IX.A.
- 116 Simpson 1980, p.11, pl.XXII.a-b for Hetep and Tjetu, pl.XXIII for bearers.
- 117 Simpson 1976, p.5, fig.24, pl.VII and Smith 1949, fig.84.a.
- 118 Brooklyn Acc.No.39.119, in Brooklyn 1952, No.19; Fazzini et al. 1989, No.15; Fazzini 1975, Cat.19, p.31; Vandier 1958 III, pl.VIII.4; Smith 1981, fig.140, p.145; Aldred 1965, fig.123, p.122; Aldred 1980, fig.53, p.95; Brussels 1976, No.17, p.40 and Hart 1991, p.214, pl.99.
- 119 Cairo CG.255, in Borchardt 1911 I, p.163-164, pl.55 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.IX.1.
- 120 Munich, in Basle 1953, No.61 and Fechheimer 1914, pl.110.
- 121 MMA.26.91, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.60, p.105.
- 122 Boston MFA.27.444, Giza tomb G.2132, in Fischer 1959, p.248-249, note 39; Fischer 1976, p.47-49; Müller 1977, 332; Harpur 1987, p.573, note 112; Riefstahl 1956, p.16, note 27 and Fletcher 1994(ii), p.127.
- 123 James 1953, p.20, pl.X.
- 124 Cairo JE.87806, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.56.
- 125 Cairo JE.87807, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.56.
- 126 MMA.48.111, in Aldred 1965, fig.111, p.112; Aldred 1980, fig.64, p.103; Aldred 1987, fig.34, p.65 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.151, p.226.
- 127 Blackman 1953 V, Meir tomb A.1, rather inaccurately stating that "Her wig is long", p.13, pl.XII.
- 128 Blackman 1953 V, Meir tomb A.2, p.40, pl.XXXI, LXII.4.
- 129 Blackman 1953 V, p.50-51, pl.XLII-XLIII.
- 130 Simpson 1976, p.22, fig.35, pl.XIX.b; Smith 1949, fig.84.b; Kanawati 1987, fig.6.b and Adams 1984, fig.10, p.19; for tripartites only see Fechheimer 1914, pl.133.
- 131 Smith 1949, fig.227.b, p.345 and Boston 1988, fig.28, p.57.

CHILDREN

IIIrd dynasty

Since children are virtually absent from the historical record at this time it is not possible to trace any development in their styles.

IVth dynasty

An increasing number of private monuments depicting family groups and diverse forms of activity provide a considerable amount of evidence for children and the way in which they wore their hair.

It is most often stated that children throughout Egyptian history wore their hair cropped short or shaved off altogether except for a single lock of hair remaining at the side of the head¹. This feature is usually referred to as the 'sidelock of youth', although it would seem to have originated in the late predynastic/early dynastic period as an adult style. It has been stated that "The most typical hairstyle of Egyptian children, boys as well as girls, was a braided plait with the end rolled up in an outward facing curl. It was worn at the right side, with the rest of the skull either shaved completely, or the hair kept very short. This haircut is found at all periods but in the Old Kingdom it seems most common"², with the further comment that the "badge of childhood was the long tress of hair left hanging down over the right ear while the rest was cropped short. Sometimes it was braided into a straight or curved queue. These tresses were worn up to the age of ten or beyond. They are recorded frequently as far back as the Old Kingdom"³.

However, it is clear from the evidence that sidelocks could be worn on the right, left and even occasionally back of the head in the Old Kingdom alone, and despite further references to the "locks of hair worn by male children"⁴ such locks were worn by both sexes. It is also apparent that whilst sidelocks do occur frequently from the IVth dynasty onwards, the completely shaven or cropped head was also quite common amongst children. The young sons of Nefermaat and Atet are shown in scenes from their parents' tomb at Medum, their hair clearly shown as extremely short and black with no sign of a sidelock⁵. In reliefs from the Sakkara tomb of Treasurer Mery his daughter Djefayebshery is likewise depicted with "hair close cropped in conformity with the Egyptian fashion for the very young"⁶.

Three unnamed children from the Giza tomb scenes of Meresankh III, possibly a daughter and two sons, are again shown with only a hair-line to suggest the minimum of growth⁷, whereas Meresankh's son Khenterka has his cropped head adorned by a curled sidelock on the right side⁸ (fig.160). Khufukhaf's daughter Nefretka has a straight, braided sidelock again on the right side of her head as she faces to the right⁹, then as she faces left the lock is depicted at the back of her head¹⁰. In contrast, Mycerinus' young son Khwnera is shown with his sidelock on the left side of his head¹¹.

Although such relief depictions are relatively common, sculpted figures of children are quite rare, one of the few examples incorporated into a funerary dyad portraying the son of an unnamed couple from the court of Cheops holding his finger to

his lips and his thin sidelock situated on the right ¹² (fig.93).

Vth dynasty

An increasing number of dyads and group statues presenting the idealised family unit commonly feature children, the dyad of Khaemhet and Thenenet incorporating their small son whose head is totally cropped without a sidelock ¹³ as is that of Meretites' son Khennu ¹⁴ (fig.163). The lock is however present on the right side in the case of Kawehem, son of Sekhemka, Inspector of Scribes ¹⁵ (fig.180), the son of Irukptah, Overseer of the Granary ¹⁶, Khennu, son of Itisen ¹⁷, and the son of Shepsi and Nikauhathor ¹⁸.

The son of Chief Granary Scribe Nykare and wife Nykaineby wears a plaited curling lock again on the right ¹⁹ (fig.125), whilst his sister is represented on a second family group figure with her hair simply cropped short ²⁰. The group figure of Chief Valet and Royal Tutor Seneb shows a similar discrepancy between the styles of boy and girl, for despite their identical size and pose only the son has his hair in a sidelock (fig.181), contrary to the comment that both children have "a plaited lock of hair hanging down on one side of the head" ²¹. However, female children do wear the sidelock, as noted from the figures of Seshemnefer and his sister Nefershem, both of whom wear identical locks on the right side on the family group figure of Penmeru ²² (fig.182).

Children were occasionally sculpted as separate figures, examples showing young boys in finger-to-lip pose with both cropped hair ²³ (fig.183) and sidelock on the left side ²⁴.

Relief depictions of children also continue to show both forms of style as in the previous dynasty, although sidelocks are now increasingly common. The totally cropped head is now only occasionally depicted, mainly in the case of very young children and babies ²⁵, and children shown alongside manual workers, such as the boy helping to dry fish in the tomb scenes of Ptahhotep ²⁶, whilst at the other end of the social scale the young sons of Khufukhaf ²⁷ and Nykuhor ²⁸ are also shown with plain cropped heads. In such cases it is not that the sidelock is present on the other side of the head, obscured by the direction the figure is facing, as is made plain from reliefs where children face both directions; the lively scenes of young boys playing the 'star' game in the tomb of Ptahhotep clearly show the central figures facing right with sidelocks visible on the right side of their heads, whilst their companions facing both right and left have no such locks ²⁹. Further scenes from this tomb show other boys with locks clearly visible regardless of the way they face ³⁰, as also noted in other such scenes ³¹ (fig.184).

The sidelock continues to be shown on both the right and left sides in depictions of children of the élite. Irenptah, eldest son of the priest Hetepka, is shown facing right with sidelock on the right side ³², as is the son of the official Djadjaemankh ³³, whereas Sekhemka's son Kaa wears his sidelock on the left ³⁴, as does the son of priest Hetepherakhti ³⁵, and the son of Werbauw and Khentkawes ³⁶. In contrast, Werbauw's elder brother Nefer is shown with his young daughter whose longer plaited lock extends from the very back of her textured scalp ³⁷, a feature also noted in the case of

the daughter of Priestess Ihat on her mother's false door scenes ³⁸ (fig.173). It becomes increasingly common for the sidelocks of girls to be situated at the back of the head at this time as opposed to their former side location, although this position is still found the case of boys. These locks also tend to be somewhat longer in the case of girls, and are sometimes shown with a weight of some kind attached to the end to accentuate movement. Examples are even worn by royal children, Unas' daughter Princess Idut shown with this style throughout her Sakkara tomb in scenes of offering, boating and a possible scene of hairdressing (fig.855) (discussed below), in addition to a scene depicting a funerary statue of Idut which likewise wears the ball hairstyle ³⁹

VIth dynasty

By the late Old Kingdom the cropped head is once again as common as the sidelock in representations of children. The aforementioned squatting figure of Pepi II is shown without a sidelock despite the finger-to-lip child-like pose. Another innovative piece of sculpture shows a girl and boy playing leap-frog, and whilst the girl is clothed and the boy naked, neither has a sidelock and only the minimum of hair is suggested by their hair-lines ⁴⁰. This is replicated in relief examples, the young family of Meni all shown with cropped heads regardless of gender ⁴¹, and a kitchen boy in the tomb scenes of the nomarch Pepiankh is likewise shown without hair ⁴².

Boys playing the 'Hut Game' in Idu's tomb reliefs are also shown with cropped heads whilst their female companions are shown with characteristically long locks at the back of their heads visible from both sides. Other girls are shown dancing alongside them "in honour of Hathor", their long plaits weighted at the ends to form the ball hairstyle. This style is also adopted by girls performing 'Hathor's Dancing Game' with clappers and mirrors in the tomb of Mereruka, alongside other girls with unadorned plaits ⁴³ (fig.185).

The ball hairstyle is also worn by the daughters of the élite, including the daughter of Mereruka ⁴⁴ (fig.186), Ipi's youngest daughter ⁴⁵ (fig.187), and Peshernefert and Mertit as they play music for their father Pepiankh in his tomb scenes at Meir ⁴⁶. Furthermore, it is also adopted by male children at this time, echoing the way in which adult styles have also become interchangeable between the sexes; Meriteti, the son of Mereruka, is shown in his father's Sakkara tomb scenes wearing a long lock at the back of the head weighted by a large disc ⁴⁷ (fig.188), a style also favoured by some of the young bearers depicted nearby, in contrast to other boys who continue to wear the 'traditional' unadorned sidelock on both the right and left side in both this ⁴⁸ (fig.185, fig.189) and other contemporary tombs ⁴⁹.

- 1 Müller 1980, 273.
- 2 Janssen & Janssen 1990, p.37.
- 3 Strouhal 1992, p.25.
- 4 Smith 1949, p.148.
- 5 Petrie 1892, pl.XVII; Smith 1949, fig.225.b, p.342 and Smith 1981, fig.73, p.81.
- 6 MMA.X.179, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.48, p.89.
- 7 Dunham 1974, fig.7, pl.VII.
- 8 Dunham 1974, fig.4, 7, pl.III, VII, and Hart 1991, fig.24, p.113.
- 9 Simpson 1978, fig.29, pl.XVII.b.
- 10 Simpson 1978, fig.27-28, pl.XVI.b-XVII.
- 11 Smith 1949, fig.153, p.300.
- 12 Louvre A.44, in Vandier 1958 III, pl.XXVIII.3.
- 13 Cairo JE.44173, in Corteggiani 1986, No.24, p.56; Aldred 1987, fig.26, p.52 and Brussels 1960, No.14.
- 14 Leiden Inv.AST.9, in Schneider & Raven 1981, No.25, p.47; Vogelsang-Eastwood ed. 1994, fig.1, p.6; Fechheimer 1914, pl.21 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.XXXIV.1.
- 15 Louvre A.102, Sakkara.
- 16 Brooklyn Acc.No.37.17.E, in Brooklyn 1952, No.15; Fazzini et al. 1989, No.12; Fazzini 1975, Cat.25, p.35; Aldred 1965, fig.112, p.112; Aldred 1980, fig.63, p.103; Vandier 1958 III, pl.XXV.5; Brussels 1976, No.16, p.39 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.128, p.221.
- 17 Copenhagen Nat.Mus.Inv.No.AAb.27, in Kjersgaard 1968, No.6, p.18.
- 18 Cairo CG.22 (despite missing head lock's terminating curl still visible on right shoulder), in Borchardt 1911 I, p.23-24, pl.6; Hildesheim 1984, No.2, p.14-15 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.XXXI.3.
- 19 Brooklyn Acc.No.49.215, in Brooklyn 1952, No.16 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.XXXI.1.
- 20 MMA.52.19, in Metropolitan 1984, p.8-9; Scott 1980, fig.4 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.XXIX.4.
- 21 Cairo JE.51280, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.39; also Terrace & Fischer 1970 No.12, p.65-68; Smith 1981, fig.133, p.138; Aldred 1980, fig.37, p.76; Westendorf 1968, p.63; Strouhal 1992, fig.24, 236; Vandier 1958 III, pl.XLVIII.5; Janssen & Janssen 1990, fig.133, p.138, etc.
- 22 Boston MFA.12.1484, from Giza tomb G.2197, in Aldred 1980, fig.61, p.101; Smith 1949, pl.21.d and Simpson 1980, p.24-25, pl.XLIX.
- 23 Louvre E.322, ivory figurine, in Ziegler 1990, p.25; also Berkley Anthropology Museum, University of California 6-19768, wooden figurine from Giza tomb G.1152, in Smith 1949, pl.23.c-d; Smith 1981, fig.134, p.139; Fazzini 1975, Cat.26, p.36; Westendorf 1968, p.62, and Vandier 1958 III, pl.XXXV.3-4; similar wooden figure from Giza, Cairo CG.128, in Borchardt 1911 I, p.96-97, pl.29.
- 24 Boston MFA.06.1881, Giza G.2009, in Smith 1949, p.69, pl.24.d and Boston 1988, No.16, p.89.
- 25 eg. female baker with child in tomb of Niankhkhnum & Khnumhotep, in Moussa & Altenmüller 1977, pl.26; Fischer 1989, fig.5 and Robins 1993, fig.26, p.78.
- 26 Strouhal 1992, fig.39, p.37, and previous example (note 25).
- 27 Simpson 1978, fig.49.

- 28 MMA.08.201.2, in Metropolitan 1984, fig.5.
- 29 Davies 1900 I, pl.XXIII; Smith 1949, fig.221, p.339; Schäfer 1974, fig.220.a, p.211 and Janssen & Janssen 1990, fig.23.a, p.56.
- 30 Boys fighting, in Davies 1900 I, pl.XXIII and Strouhal 1992, fig.30, p.28; boys playing jumping games, in Schäfer 1974, fig.135.a, p.147 and Janssen & Janssen 1990, fig.24.a, p.58.
- 31 BM.EA.994, boys playing 'hut' game, in Janssen & Janssen 1990, fig.27, p.63; Stead 1986, fig.78, p.58 and Smith 1949, fig.83, p.211.
- 32 Martin 1979, p.7, pl.7.1.
- 33 Cairo CG.1564, Sakkara mastaba D.11, in Borchardt 1964 II, p.28-30, pl.64.
- 34 Murray 1903, p.8, pl.VII.
- 35 Leiden Inv.F.1904/3.1.
- 36 Moussa & Altenmüller 1971, p.38, pl.37.
- 37 Moussa & Altenmüller 1971, pl.2, where it is curiously stated that the figure is Nefer's wife, who "wears a wig ending in a plait of hair", p.19; see also Hart 1991, fig.33, p.158 and Janssen & Janssen 1990, fig.18, p.43.
- 38 Cairo CG.1414, in Borchardt 1937 I, p.80-84, pl.19; Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.57 and Wenig 1969, pl.12
- 39 Fischer 1989 states that "this style of pigtail appears throughout the representations of the princess Idut at Saqqara", p.21, note 177, see Macramallah 1935, offering scenes, pl.XI, XV; boating scenes, pl.VII; hairdressing(?) pl.XVII (as tentatively suggested by Harpur 1987, p.112); statue, pl.IX, also in Malek 1986, p.115 and Strouhal 1992, fig.191, p.175. .
- 40 Chicago Or.Inst.10639, in Breasted 1948, Type I.1, p.90-91, pl.86.a-b; Janssen & Janssen 1990, fig.25, p.59; Schäfer 1974, fig.321, p.319; Smith 1949, pl.27 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.XL.3-4.
- 41 Munich, in Fechheimer 1914, pl.110 and Basle 1960, Cat.61, p.35.
- 42 Meir tomb A.2, in Blackman 1953 V, p.38, pl.XXX and Janssen & Janssen 1990, fig.21, p.51.
- 43 Simpson 1976, fig.38, p.24-25, pl.XXIV-XXVI and Smith 1949, fig.82, p.211 (also included in OK Women section).
- 44 Strouhal 1992, fig.27, p.26-27 and Malek 1986, p.100; see Schäfer 1974, fig.220.b for unweighted examples.
- 45 Cairo CG.1536, Sakkara, in Borchardt 1937 I, p.237-238, pl.50 and Smith 1949, pl.56.b.
- 46 Meir tomb D.2, in Blackman 1924 IV, pl.IX-X; Fischer 1989, fig.6 and Robins 1993, fig.34, p.96.
- 47 Wreszinski 1936 III, p.17, pl.11; Smith 1949, fig.146, p.295 and Kayser 1965, pl.21.
- 48 Aldred 1987, fig.79, p.114-115; Wreszinski 1936 III, pl.22 and Malek 1986, p.100.
- 49 eg. reliefs of Ikhekhy, in Wreszinski 1936 III, pl.23 and Smith 1949, fig.81.c, p.210.

NON-EGYPTIANS

IIIrd dynasty

Non-Egyptians are commonly represented in smiting scenes, rock carvings from Wadi Maghara in the Sinai showing a crowned Sekhemkhet smiting a long-haired Asiatic of the region ¹. The "counterparts of [such] relief scenes of the defeat of enemies" ² are a number of bound/prostrate sculpted figures, either free-standing or part of royal statue bases and architectural elements, a black granite corbel from the Sakkara Step Pyramid complex made up of the heads of two 'northern foes', their long, straight shoulder-length styles with horizontally grooved ends held back with headbands ³. An almost identical piece with three such heads was discovered re-used at Tanis ⁴, as was a similar block of four heads with the same style although in this case elaborately decorated with a combination of vertical striations at the sides contrasting with a double row of flat notched curls above the line of their headbands ⁵ (fig.190).

IVth dynasty

Further rock-cut smiting scenes from the Wadi Maghara depict King Snofru in the process of executing an Asiatic captive, here shown with a short form of the tripartite style ⁶ very similar to the styles worn by the two fallen captives on the reverse of the aforementioned Narmer Palette (fig.61).

Vth dynasty

The reliefs from the Abusir funerary temple of Sahure provide some of the clearest depictions of non-Egyptians in the form of a procession of bound captives. Puntites are depicted with short round styles set in rows of horizontal curls in the Egyptian fashion with the further frequent addition of three long straight braids hanging over the shoulder (fig.191). Asiatics are also depicted with their usual straight, shoulder-length styles ⁷ (fig.191), and Libyans chieftains are portrayed with long straight hair set in a tripartite style with rounded ends, often with a small curl over the brow resembling a uraeus; their women are shown with regular tripartite styles, and their children have shaven/cropped heads ⁸. However, as Bates points out in his study of the Eastern Libyans, "The fashion of wearing the hair among the men of the Sa-hu-re reliefs...are not exactly paralleled in the later periods. In one of the Ne-user-re reliefs, however, is seen that dressing of the hair which in the New Empire is usually associated with the Meshwesh. The mass of hair falls behind the shoulders while a broad unplaited tress hangs from behind the ear and in front of the shoulder, over the pectoral muscles" ⁹ (fig.192).

Bound figures of captive foreigners are also found in sculpted form, including those with short round horizontally curled styles ¹⁰. A particularly fine example, possibly meant to represent an Asiatic or more specifically an Hamitic nomad, has his hair in the form of "a plain, rather thick cap descending down the sides of his head to the shoulders and, at the back, to the nape of the neck" ¹¹, a similar figure from the Western Desert portrayed with the same style further embellished with subtle horizontal ripples ¹² (fig.193).

Similarly thick shocks of hair are noted in the case of emaciated figures of famine victims in the funerary causeway reliefs

of Unas at Sakkara, in which rows of men, women and children, "not necessarily inhabitants from the Nile valley"¹³, are portrayed with thick, unkempt hair in stark contrast to their skeletal bodies (fig.194).

VIth dynasty

Sculpted figures of bound prisoners provide evidence of often very detailed styles, an example from the Sakkara funerary temple of Pepi I wearing a neat, short round style rendered in the Egyptian mode with horizontal rows of curls. Unfortunately, due to the nature of the surface damage, it is not possible to trace any longer hair at shoulder level to definitely identify the figure as a Puntite¹⁴. Separate stone heads of prisoners have also been found at the site, again exhibiting individual features and hairstyles from the plain, centrally-parted short styles to more elaborate striated versions¹⁵, with plain examples also having been found in the area around the pyramid site of Pepi II¹⁶.

- 1 Aldred 1965, fig.54, p.64 and Aldred 1987, fig.59, p.95.
- 2 Baines & Malek 1984, p.34.
- 3 Cairo JE.49613, in Aldred 1980, fig.18, p.54; Vandier 1958 III, pl.LXXXVI.4 and Evers 1929, fig.46, pl.V.
- 4 Cairo CG.396, in Borchardt 1925 II, p.14, pl.65; Malek 1986, p.94-95; Evers 1929, fig.47, pl.VI and Brussels 1960, Cat.21.
- 5 Cairo CG.1165/JE.32013, in Borchardt 1930 III, p.87, pl.164; Vandier 1958 III, pl.LXXXVI.3 and Evers 1929, fig.48, pl.VI.
- 6 Cairo JE.38568, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.24.
- 7 Berlin Inv.No.21782, in Borchardt 1913 II, pl.V-VI; Priese ed. 1991, No.25, p.40-41; Schäfer 1974, pl.25; Donadoni 1955, pl.45 and Fechheimer 1914, pl.112-113.
- 8 Borchardt 1913 II, pl.I; Bates 1914, p.134, states rather curiously that long hair of both sexes actually a headcloth.
- 9 Bates 1914, p.134, referring to Berlin Inv.No.17915/6, in Borchardt 1907, fig.31, p.48, pl.10.
- 10 Borchardt 1907, fig.24, p.42, from funerary complex of Niusserre.
- 11 MMA.47.2, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.67, p.114-116, giving VI dyn. date on stylistic grounds although V dyn. date preferable, as given by Baines & Malek, 1986, p.34 who further suggest piece originates from Sakkara mortuary temple of Djedkare Isesi; see also Vandier 1958 III, pl.XLVI.5.
- 12 MMA.64.260, Sakkara(?).
- 13 Louvre E.17381, in Malek 1986, p.121; Cairo examples in Aldred 1987, fig.81, p.121 and Smith 1981, fig.126, p.134.
- 14 Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1989, fig.203, p.129; see also Cam.Fitz.E.S.1972 for 'foreign captive', thanks to Dr.E.Vassiliki for information.
- 15 Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1989, fig.204, p.129.
- 16 Cairo JE.40047, in Brussels 1960, Cat.18.

FIRST INTERMEDIATE PERIOD: VII-XIth dynasties

MEN

VII-VIIIth dynasty

Following the demise of the Old Kingdom and the diffusion of centralised power to local levels, artistic standards formerly set by the royal workshops of Memphis are replaced by rather individualistic forms of representation. The sculpted form is rarely employed although this dearth may be supplemented by the large number of two dimensional images¹ from which it may be deduced that the short round style for men had clearly fallen out of favour, the long shoulder-length style now worn almost exclusively save for the occasional representation of the cropped/shaven head.

The cropped head is found on the fragmentary Naga ed-Dêr stela of the Royal Chancellor Ima², and is also noted on one of the figures of another chancellor, Neferyu, on his stela scenes from Dendera³. Two further figures of Neferyu wear the typical long shoulder-length style made up of many small horizontal rows of curls, the only variations on this style occurring in surface detail, which ranges from layers of horizontally sectioned hair, vertically sectioned hair, indistinct cross-hatching patterns of often crude execution, or most often a plain undetailed surface.

The horizontally layered form is a clear continuation of the VIth dynasty form, as noted from the aforementioned stela of Neferyu, and those of contemporary officials Henu⁴, Itja⁵, Kakai⁶, and Waha⁷, the stela of Pepysenbi providing a cruder version of the same⁸. The variation of vertical layers running from the crown to shoulder-level is noted in stela representations of the Treasurer of Lower Egypt Hetepneb⁹, nobleman Teby¹⁰, Indy, Count of This and Lector Priest¹¹ (fig.195), Ankhurnakhte¹² and Rudjemkebeh¹³. The Chief Priest Merery is also shown with this vertically sectioned style in his Dendera tomb scenes¹⁴ (fig.196), although here the ends of the sections clearly form a slanting underpanel of hair reaching from the ear to the shoulder, and as such anticipates the 'duplex'/'double' style found in later New Kingdom representations.

In contrast, other examples of the long shoulder-length style are decorated with much less attention to detail, the hair suggested by cursive striations¹⁵, basic cross-hatching¹⁶, or a plain surface sometimes painted black. The latter treatment is by far the most popular form of 'decoration', noted from the stela of minor official Heka¹⁷, Sole Companion Sheditef¹⁸, and a host of other figures¹⁹.

A rare three-dimensional form of coiffure is provided by the funerary mask of Shemat from el-Hagarsa, its tripartite form overlaid with lengths of twisted flax fibres coloured black²⁰.

IX-Xth dynasty

Following the ephemeral rule of the VIIth and VIIIth Memphite dynasties the nominal power base moves to Heracleopolis, the overall fragmentary state of the country still reflected in artistic standards and continued reliance on the

two-dimensional image.

The cropped head continues to be found on male figures of all classes, from Sakkara tomb reliefs of butchers ²¹ and offering bearers ²² to officials and nomarchs. The plain cropped heads of Iri and his son are summarily dealt with using black paint ²³ (fig.197), a similar plain style noted in the case of Huwti, Overseer of Temple Sandalmakers ²⁴. The nobleman Intef also has this simple crop on his false door scenes, alongside a plain form of the long shoulder-length style ²⁵, which continues to be the most popular choice of coiffure.

The plain shoulder-length style is also found in the fragmentary Sakkara tomb reliefs of the Inspector Anupemhet ²⁶, the tomb paintings of nomarch Ankhtifi of Mo'alla ²⁷, the stela of the Overseer of Temple Works Heni ²⁸, nobleman Maheru ²⁹ and Idy, Overseer of Cattle ³⁰. Examples with skilfully carved surface detail of horizontal curls are occasionally found, as noted from the stela of Lector Priest Sheditef ³¹, and nomarch Sennedjsui and son Khui who both wear similarly detailed styles in their Dendera tomb reliefs ³².

In addition to the cropped and shoulder-length styles, the short round style makes a tentative reappearance on carved stela, with varied surface detail ranging from a haphazard arrangement of diagonal and vertical lines ³³ or vertical rows ³⁴, to the traditional form of neat horizontal rows, as worn by the Dendera livestock administrator Mery ³⁵. This short neatly curled style is also featured in one of the rare examples of Xth dynasty sculpture, a wooden figure of one Wepwawetemhat from Asyut which demonstrates a "renewed technical skill which corresponds to the improvement in quality of the painting and relief...The statue was probably made in that period of Asyut's prosperity under the last Heracleopolitan kings, before it was overwhelmed by Neb-hepet-ra Mentuhotep" ³⁶.

XIth dynasty

Although often considered as the beginning of the Middle Kingdom, the XIth dynasty is rather a continuation of the Intermediate Period, with Egypt still in a state of some turbulence. Following unification however, power shifts to Thebes, the accompanying artistic style described as "a new provincial Theban element which blends the more traditional vigor with a naive simplicity...to engender a new ideal of beauty at this period" ³⁷. The return to regulated artistic standards also witnesses an increase in the depiction of standard hairstyles, a brief decline of the long shoulder-length style marking a return of the short round style, and the familiar shaven/cropped head as popular as ever.

The cropped head is noted from the figures of the high official Tjetji and his two attendants ³⁸, Ma'ety, Gatekeeper of the Royal Treasury ³⁹, and Montuhotep II's Chancellor Meru ⁴⁰. Relief depictions from the funerary complex of Montuhotep II present similarly cropped figures of attendants, the male offering bearers of Queen Nefru shown with the minimum of hair, occasionally coloured red ⁴¹ (fig.198), the minor queens Kawit and Ashayet also tended by such crop-headed figures including the officer Apait ⁴².

In contrast to these beautifully carved examples, contemporary painted scenes from the Theban tomb of Montuhotep's 'Harem Custodian' Djar (TT.366) reveal a continuation of the Intermediate provincial style, with the cropped heads of the workers simply coloured black⁴³ in very similar fashion to those in scenes from the Gebelein tomb of Ity, including butchers, sailors, farm workers, mourners and trainee soldiers⁴⁴. The cropped head is further observed on painted figures of farm workers adorning the side of a model granary from Salmiya near Tod⁴⁵.

The increase in statue production also provides examples of the cropped head in the round, stone examples including one of the two limestone figures of the Steward Meri, complete with stubble detail⁴⁶ (fig.199), and a calcite figure of Chancellor Meseheti⁴⁷. Similar figures in wood are relatively common, the finely carved figures of the Chancellor Nakhti⁴⁸ (fig.200), scribe Hetepi⁴⁹ and Royal Seal-bearer Meseheti⁵⁰ being notable examples. On a smaller but no less informative level are miniature wooden tomb models, the exquisite figures of Chancellor Meketre's household numbering many men of various social classes with clearly shaven heads, including sailors, carpenters, butchers, bakers (fig.201), brewers, bearers and scribes, in addition to Meketre and his sons⁵¹.

Other figures in the Chancellor's household with short black styles are all manual workers, fishermen, granary workers, carpenters and sailors, the cattle herders portrayed with slightly longer styles⁵². Similar funerary models from the tomb of Mesehti include a troop of pikemen with thick short styles truncated at chin level⁵³. The second of Steward Meri's statues features the short round vertically curled style which hides the ears⁵⁴ (fig.202), and is almost identical to that of the Theban official Iker⁵⁵ (fig.203), both styles coloured light blue. Further examples of this truncated short round curled style of almost helmet-like appearance are worn by Montuhotep II's Chancellor and General, Antef⁵⁶, the official Henu⁵⁷ (fig.204), Minhotep of Asyut⁵⁸, and the large wooden figure of an unnamed Asyut prince⁵⁹, another of Chancellor Nakhti's wooden figures having a plain black version of the same⁶⁰.

These sculpted examples are duplicated in the contemporary painted reliefs of Montuhotep himself from Deir el-Bahari, the king wearing a short round style of many thin horizontal layers here exposing the ears, again severely truncated at the base, and coloured light blue (fig.205) as in the case of Meri and Iker⁶¹. Other examples within this basic short round category reveal a wide variety of lengths, shapes and surface detail; neither a cropped head nor quite the long shoulder-length style (but often coming close to both), it is clear this particular style does not conform to rigid guidelines at this time.

The very shortest form may be noted from the stela of an unnamed Sole Companion from Sheikh Farag, its tile-like arrangement of horizontal layers clearly visible⁶² and also found on the stela figure of Chancellor Henny⁶³; a vertically layered arrangement is used for the styles of Intef⁶⁴ and Police Chief Kai⁶⁵, in all four examples the ear being visible. Other figures have a simple undetailed form, as in the case of both manual workers⁶⁶ and officials, including the black-haired father and son Amenemhat and Intef on their colourful funerary stela⁶⁷; whilst Intef's style is of the shortest

form, curving neatly in to the back of the neck, that of his father is somewhat longer and truncated just above the shoulder. This mid-length 'transitional' style is distinct from the traditional long shoulder-length style however, since it curves round toward the back of the neck with the hair following the rounded contour of the head in keeping with the short round style, whilst the long style flares out in a straight diagonal line, from the crown toward the end of the shoulder.

This mid-length transitional style usually lacks surface detail, an exception being the unusual cross-hatched example of the Theban Minoker ⁶⁸, although it often has the addition of a stepped edge bordering the side of the face running from ear-level down. Whilst examples are known from Vth dynasty representations of manual workers ⁶⁹, it seems that this stepped-edge style is now worn by officials and noblemen, as in the case of priest Montuhotep and his father Neferpert ⁷⁰, the official Dedu ⁷¹, and the sons of Vizier Dagey ⁷².

Although the traditional long shoulder-length style is now restricted to a small number of two-dimensional scenes, it is significant that it is no longer confined to élite figures and is now also to be found on figures of manual workers. The plain black version is found in the Gebelein tomb of Iti, worn by both Iti and his cattleherders, butchers, sailors and soldiers alongside their crop-headed colleagues ⁷³, the style again worn by Iti and his brother on Iti's funerary stela although here carved with small horizontal rows of curls ⁷⁴, a similarly detailed shoulder-length style worn by Iser, Chancellor of Lower Egypt ⁷⁵ and Montuhotep II ⁷⁶. The vertically curled form is also favoured by both this king ⁷⁷ and Inyotef II ⁷⁸ (fig.206), and is also worn by the official Shepet ⁷⁹.

A rare sculpted example of the long shoulder-length style is worn by the seated figure of an unnamed official "from the royal cemetery of the early Eleventh Dynasty at Thebes" ⁸⁰. Clearly anticipating the fuller, more rounded qualities of styles worn by Middle Kingdom dignitaries and officials, it has no centre parting and is decorated with striations running across the head and down each side to the shoulders.

Styles which fall below shoulder level are extremely rare, a fragmentary scene from Montuhotep II's Hathor temple at Gebelein depicting part of a figure with "a long wig...seen above the rear shoulder and between the rear arm and body. This is not of a type usually worn by the king, suggesting that the figure should be identified as a male deity" ⁸¹, although this is not necessarily the case and long hair is occasionally used for figures of the king. Sculpted forms of the long style are also rare, although funerary items now tend to use the tripartite style to represent the hair; male mummy masks, canopic jar stoppers and shabti figures are given long stylised hair decorated in many different ways and varieties of colours, some of the earliest examples including the gilded cartonnage mask of Estate Manager Wah ⁸² and canopic jar stoppers of the Overseer of Scribes Kuy ⁸³.

- 1 For difficulty of accurately dating Intermediate period scenes and reliance on stylistic detail, see Dunham 1937, p.119-124.
- 2 Boston MFA.12.1475, in Dunham 1937, No.1, crop described as "close-fitting wig", p.12-13, pl.II.1
- 3 MMA.12.183.8, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.82, p.139-140.
- 4 Cairo JE.45968, in Dunham 1937, No.55, p.67-68, pl.XVII.1.
- 5 Dunham 1937, No.73, p.85-86, pl.XXVI.1.
- 6 Chicago Or.Inst.16955, in Dunham 1937, No.83, p.101-102, pl.XXXI.
- 7 Chicago Or.Inst.16956, in Dunham 1937, No.84, p.102-104, pl.XXXII.
- 8 Dunham 1937, No.65, p.77-78, pl.XXII.1.
- 9 Private Collection, in Basle 1953, No.66 and Sotheby's 1989, No.94, p.9.
- 10 Dunham 1937, No.69, p.80-82, pl.XXIV.1.
- 11 MMA.25.2.3, in Dunham 1937, No.78, p.92-94, pl.XXVIII.2; Hayes 1953 I, fig.83, p.141, and Robins ed. 1990, fig.6.1, p.39.
- 12 BM.EA.1738, unprovenanced.
- 13 Chicago Or.Inst.16951, in Dunham 1937, No.79, p.94-96, pl.XXIX.1.
- 14 MMA.98.4.2, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.81, p.138-139 and MM.No.3301.
- 15 Boston MFA.12.1480, in Dunham 1937, No.6, p.18-19, pl.IV.2.
- 16 Cairo JE.43754, in Dunham 1937, No.59, p.71-72, pl.XIX.1.
- 17 Berlin Inv.No.536/69, in Fay 1982, p.32-33.
- 18 Boston MFA.12.1477, in Dunham 1937, No.3, p.15-16, pl.III.1.
- 19 See further Naga ed-Dêr stelae in Dunham 1937, No.2, 15, 16, 23, 30, 36, 40, 54, 56, 60, 61, 63, 64, 66, 71, 72, 77, 81, 82.
- 20 Kanawati 1993, Hag.89.C.3, p.17-18, 64, pl.31.
- 21 MMA.10.175.72, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.88, p.146.
- 22 MMA.10.175.71, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.87, p.145.
- 23 Louvre E.27211 in Zeigler 1990, p.28.
- 24 Dunham 1937, No.75, p.88-89, pl.XXVII.1.
- 25 Dunham 1937, No.74, p.87-88, pl.XXVI.2.
- 26 MMA.10.175.71, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.187, p.145.
- 27 Baines & Malek 1984, p.82 and Kanawati 1987, pl.14.
- 28 Dunham 1937, No.70, p.82-83, pl.XXIV.2.
- 29 Dunham 1937, No.76, p.89-91, pl.XXVII.2.
- 30 Chicago Or.Inst.16958, in Dunham 1937, No.86, p.105-107, pl.XXXIII.2.
- 31 Cairo 19:11:24:2, in Dunham 1937, No.62, p.74-75, pl.XX.2.
- 32 Bolton 56.98.37, stela fragment of Sennedjsui, Bolton 56.98.36, architrave fragment of Khui, in Bourriau 1988,

- 33 Cleveland 14.543, in Cleveland n.d, p.6.
- 34 Cairo CG.1651, stela of '...merer' (name partly lost), in Gauthier Laurent 1938, B, p.675, and Schoske et al. 1990, fig.16, p.22.
- 35 Edinburgh RMS.No.1898.382.3, in Aldred 1969, No.1, p.33; Aldred 1987, fig.82, p.122, and Westendorf 1969, p.67.
- 36 Boston MFA.04.1780, Asyut tomb 14, in Smith 1981, fig.148, p.156 and Boston 1988, No.32, p.100.
- 37 Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.68-69.
- 38 BM.EA.614, in James 1979, fig.12, p.51; James & Davies 1983, fig.23, p.25, and Aldred 1969, No.2, p.33.
- 39 MMA.14.2.7, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.91, p.153 and Robins ed. 1990, fig.6.5, p.41.
- 40 Turin N.Cat.1447, in Curto 1984, p.86; Klebs 1922 II, fig.14, p.22 and Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1988, fig.137, p.105.
- 41 MMA.26.3.353.gh, for red example; see also MMA.26.3.353.ab, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.95, p.159, for further cropped figures.
- 42 Sarcophagus scenes of Kawit, Cairo JE.47397, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.68; Aldred 1980, fig.69, p.110; Aldred 1987, fig.86, p.128; Corteggiani 1986, No.32, p.67-68 and Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.83; shrine scenes of Kawit showing Apait, in Naville 1907 I, pl.XVII.G-II; sarcophagus scenes of Ashayet, Cairo JE.47267 in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.69; Aldred 1969, No.9, p.35; Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.83 and Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.66-67.
- 43 Winlock 1932(iii), fig.26-31, p.32, referring to this scene's "monstrous ugliness"; see also Donadoni 1955, pl.57-58; Smith 1981, fig.147, p.155 and Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.68.
- 44 Turin Inv.Suppl.14354, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1989, fig.307-308, p.203, fig.314, p.209, fig.320, p.213; Smith 1981, fig.146, p.155 and Strouhal 1992, fig.100, p.98, fig.139, p.129.
- 45 Norwich Castle Museum 37.21(1), in Bourriau 1988, No.91, p.104-105.
- 46 BM.EA.37895 in James 1979, fig.76, p.201; Aldred 1969, No.4, p.34 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.LVII.4.
- 47 Cairo, in Aldred 1969, No.3, p.34.
- 48 Louvre E.11937, largest of Nakhti's wooden figures, from Asyut tomb No.7, in Delange 1987, p.151-153; Zeigler 1990, p.39; Aldred 1969, No.5, p.34 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.LIII.4. Also Louvre E.12002 in Delange 1987, p.154-155 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.LIII.6, and Louvre E.12633 in Delange 1987, p.160-161.
- 49 Louvre E.123, in Delange 1987, p.108-110.
- 50 Eton College Myers Museum No.7, Asyut tomb of Meseheti, in Bourriau 1988, No.23, p.33-34.
- 51 Sailors, eg. MMA.20.3.3, in Winlock 1955, pl.41, 43-44 and Hayes 1953 I, fig.175, p.268; MMA.20.3.2, in Winlock 1955, pl.37-38 and Breasted 1948, p.79, pl.71.c; MMA.20.3.4, in Winlock 1955, pl.45; Hayes 1953 I, fig.177, p.270 and Breasted 1948, p.77, pl.68.b; MMA.20.3.5, in Winlock 1955, pl.48 and Breasted 1948, p.76, pl.66.b; carpenters, Cairo JE.46722, in Winlock 1955, pl.28-29; Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.78; Corteggiani 1986, No.29, p.63 and Breasted 1948, p.51, pl.46.d; butchers, MMA.20.3.10, in Winlock 1955, pl.18-19, 21; Hayes 1953 I, fig.170, p.263; bakers and brewers, MMA.20.3.12, in Winlock 1955, pl.22-23; Hayes 1953 I, fig.171, p.264; bearers, eg. MMA.20.3.8, in Winlock 1955, pl.32 and Breasted 1948, Type 4.2, p.67, pl.62.b; Meketre, his sons and scribes, Cairo JE.46724, in Winlock 1955, pl.13-16; Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.76; Corteggiani 1986, No.29, p.62-63 and Breasted 1948, p.9-10, pl.6; MMA.20.3.1, in Winlock 1955, pl.38-39; MMA.20.3.4, in Winlock 1955, pl.1, 45, 49; MMA.20.3.6, in Winlock 1955, pl.51, and MMA.20.3.11, in Winlock 1955, pl.20-21.

- 52 Fishermen, Cairo JE.46715, in Winlock 1955, pl.52-53; Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.75; Breasted 1948, p.78, pl.68.a and Nims 1965, p.22; granary workers, MMA.20.3.11, in Winlock 1955, pl.20-21; carpenters, Cairo JE.46722, in Winlock 1955, pl.28-29; Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.78 and Corteggiani 1986, p.63; sailors, MMA.20.3.1, in Winlock 1955, pl.35, 43 and Hayes 1953 I, fig.175, p.268; MMA.20.3.6, in Winlock 1955, pl.51; Hayes 1953 I, fig.176, p.269 and Breasted 1948, p.84, pl.78.a; cattle herders, Cairo JE.46724, in Winlock 1955, pl.13-16; Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.76; Corteggiani 1986, No.29, p.62-63 and Breasted 1948, p.9-10, pl.6.
- 53 Cairo JE.30986/CG.258, in Borchardt 1911 I, p.164-165, pl.55-56; Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.73; Vandier 1958 III, pl.LL5 and Posener 1962, p.17.
- 54 BM.EA.37896, in James 1979, fig.76, p.201; Aldred 1969, No.4, p.34, and Vandier 1958 III, pl.LVII.5.
- 55 MMA.26.7.1393, Iker's Deir el-Bahari tomb, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.127, p.210 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.LVII.3.
- 56 Cairo JE.89858, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.70.
- 57 Leiden Inv.AM.101, in Boeser 1909 II, No.2, p.1, pl.I.2; Schneider & Raven 1981, No.34, p.57; Westendorf 1968, p.68 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.77, p.245.
- 58 Turin Inv.Suppl.8788 in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1989, fig.153, p.100.
- 59 Turin Inv.Suppl.8650, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1989, fig.206, p.130.
- 60 Louvre E.12028 in Delange 1987, p.158-159 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.LIII.5.
- 61 Edinburgh RMS.No.1906.349, in Aldred 1969, No.15, p.37-38; Westendorf 1968, p.70 and Price 1970, p.64; see also Naville 1907 I, pl.XILD, XIII.F and Naville 1913 III, pl.XII.1-2.
- 62 Boston MFA.25.629, in Dunham 1939, No.12, p.24-26, pl.VII.2, giving Reisner's date of XII dyn. "but maybe earlier", probably late XIth dyn. on stylistic grounds.
- 63 Boston MFA.25.625 in Dunham 1937, No.8, p.20-21, pl.V.2.
- 64 BM.EA.52881, in Reeves & Taylor 1992, p.100.
- 65 Berlin Inv.No.22820, in Priese ed. 1991, No.34, p.53.
- 66 eg. papyrus bearer from Montuhotep II's Deir el Bahari funerary complex, Geneva, Musée d'Art et Histoire No.4583, in Basle 1953, Cat.89; Aldred 1969, No.14, p.37, and Aldred 1980, fig.71, p.112.
- 67 Cairo JE.45626, Tomb R.4, Asasif, Thebes, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.79; Klebs 1922 II, fig.23, p.34; Posener 1962, p.19 and Nims 1965, p.22.
- 68 MMA.20.2.29, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.183, p.280.
- 69 eg. Sakkara tomb scenes of Neferherenptah, in Smith 1981, fig.127, p.135 and Strouhal 1992, fig.102-103, p.100.
- 70 Cam.Fitz.E.9.1922, in Bourriau 1988, No.10, p.21-22.
- 71 MMA.16.10.333, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.219, p.331.
- 72 MMA.12.180.243, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.99, p.163.
- 73 Turin Inv.Suppl.14354, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1989, fig.308, p.203, fig.310, p.205, fig.314, p.207, fig.319, p.212; Donadoni-Roveri 1988 ed. fig.124, p.95.
- 74 Turin Inv.Suppl.13114, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1988, fig.125, p.96.
- 75 Chicago Or.Inst.16952, in Dunham 1937, No.80, p.96-98, pl.XXIX.2.
- 76 Berkley Museum of Anthropology 6-19870, Deir el-Ballas, in Fazzini 1975, Cat.34, p.49.
- 77 Cairo JE.46068, Dendera shrine relief, in Aldred 1980, fig.70, p.111.

- 78 MMA.13.182.3, tomb stela, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.90, p.152 and Robins ed. 1990, fig.6.3, p.40.
- 79 Boston MFA.25.628, in Dunham 1938, No.11, p.23-24, pl.VII.1.
- 80 MMA.30.8.76, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.131, p.214.
- 81 Turin Inv.Suppl.12184, in Robins ed. 1990, No.13, p.72 (although use of term 'wig' when referring to a god surely inappropriate).
- 82 MMA.20.3.203, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.196, p.304.
- 83 MMA.11.150.18.b, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.210, p.322.

VII-VIIIth dynasty

In a continuation of late Old Kingdom trends, styles are largely restricted to the crop and tripartite forms, albeit subject to varying degrees of elaboration. The shoulder-length bobbed style has all but disappeared, two rare examples from a family burial at el-Hagarsa adorning the cartonnage masks of Inetsenes and Khewit, that of the former overlaid with lengths of twisted flax for added texture ¹. The virtual absence of such three-dimensional examples, however, necessitates the reliance on relief and painted forms to trace the development of the two basic styles.

The cropped head is found on a number of stelae, as worn by the Sole Royal Ornament Ibu ² and the 'Honoured Prophetess of Hathor', Mery, as she sits beside her long-haired husband ³. The Priestess of Hathor Hemira has some patchy surface detail on her cropped head as portrayed on her false door scenes from Busiris, whilst in further scenes she wears both the ball hairstyle and a long straight swept-back style ⁴.

Also described as a "long wig without lappet" ⁵, the swept-back style shows the hair falling in one piece down the back and along the side of the arm, often not visible in the space between the inner side of the arm and the body. Examples are found on stelae depictions of Hemet ⁶, Sole Royal Ornament Meritifi ⁷, Priestess of Hathor Benit ⁸, and Royal Relative Ankhnespepi ⁹ amongst others ¹⁰, all of whom have plain forms without surface detail. A rare example of a detailed swept-back style with deep vertical striations is worn by the Royal Ornament and Priestess of Hathor Kemit ¹¹, whilst the Sole Royal Ornament Inetites, wife of the Treasurer of Lower Egypt Hetepneb, wears a distinctly unusual variant on the detailed swept-back style, the hair falling in one piece over her shoulder rather than down her back, its layers of vertical curls and general shape very similar to the shoulder-length style worn by her husband ¹².

The traditional tripartite style continues to be the most popular style depicted, with intricately carved versions complete with small horizontal rows of curls generally associated with male styles. Such elaborately detailed forms are worn by Mutmuti, wife of Count Indy of This ¹³ (fig.195), the Priestesses of Hathor Henutsen ¹⁴, Benit ¹⁵ and SetnetInheret ¹⁶, Royal Ornament Huwyt ¹⁷ and the wife of Ankhunakhte ¹⁸, although it is the plain tripartite style which is most commonly featured ¹⁹ (fig.207).

IX-Xth dynasty

Relief and painted scenes show only the long tripartite and occasional swept-back styles, the cropped/shaven head no longer found. This may be linked to the increasing importance of hair in a funerary context, as highlighted by the development of 'hairdressing scenes' as part of funerary decoration ²⁰. These scenes generally consist of a central female figure sitting before a mirror whilst her hair is dressed by one or more attendants. and it would seem that such scenes are a natural development from earlier First Intermediate Period funerary stelae which place a mirror before the woman ²¹.

In her painted coffin scene the Sole Royal Ornament and Priestess of Hathor Intefes is seated holding a mirror whilst her black hair is set in the tripartite style (fig.857), the back section curving round to follow the contour of her outstretched arm; the tripartite style of a servant presenting a cup is unusually depicted with both lappets visible, one over each shoulder²². A contemporary coffin from Gebelein carries a similar scene, in which the Sole Royal Ornament and Priestess of Hathor Mut, wife of Henwy, again sits with a mirror as her tripartite style is attended by a crouching hairdresser (fig.858), the latter's raised arms causing her own hair to fall into the swept back style²³. This is also noted from the style of an unnamed crouching servant who attends the style of Inetites in a scene from the Mo'alla tomb of Sobekhotep (fig.860), although surface damage obscures the precise nature of Inetites' own style which would appear to be in the form of a long single lock²⁴.

Contemporary stelae generally feature the plain unadorned tripartite style²⁵, in addition to more ornate versions embellished with either small horizontal rows of curls²⁶ or equally small vertical sections as noted from the style of Baba, wife of the Dendera official Mery²⁷, and those of sisters Hetepi and Bebi likewise carved in the local Dendera style²⁸. An interesting stela scene of an unnamed couple shows the lady with a diagonally striated fall of hair swept back, whilst the front lappet of contrasting vertical striations hangs down over the chest; her approaching daughters wear undetailed swept-back styles, the same style most likely worn by the damaged figure of their mother's hairdresser with upraised arms²⁹ (fig.859).

Rare sculpted figures of women in the form of servant statues/offering bearers are also shown with the tripartite style³⁰, along with a more innovative coiffure in which the hair is severely truncated at chin level to form a very short bobbed style, the retention in some cases of a long section of hair at the back drawing an immediate parallel with the ball hairstyle, this new form best described as the 'bob and plait' style³¹.

XIth dynasty

The tripartite style is the most commonly portrayed form of coiffure, although a range of shorter styles are also quite popular, a significant proportion of women adopting the traditional short round style generally associated with men (as noted in the VIth dynasty)³² (fig.204).

The completely shaven head is however largely absent, the few examples to be found inside a model granary containing thirteen female figures preparing grain alongside male counterparts, none of whom have any trace of hair³³.

Contemporary servant statues of single female figures are occasionally shown with chin-length bobbed styles³⁴ (fig.208) or more rounded short forms³⁵, in addition to the new bob and plait style which is especially popular amongst servant figures from the Asyut necropolis³⁶ (fig.208). The long plait which hangs down the back may be further extended by the use of black paint to form a thin braid which in some case is adorned by a small bead or weight³⁷.

Further examples interpreted as either funerary statuettes or concubine figures portray naked women with cropped styles, the figure of Pakhetemhat(?) wearing a minimal plain black style ³⁸ (fig.209) whilst a second figure has a similarly short style dressed in numerous horizontal rows of tiny curls ³⁹ (fig.210). A third, larger figure again has a short curled style, the curls being small and circular set flat against the head (fig.211), and "au sujet de la datation, un indice précis est fourni par un relief du temple de Montuhotep II...qui représente une femme portant une coiffure bouclée analogue a celle de l'effigie étudiée, ce qui, s'ajoutant au style général, permet de dater E.22909 au début du Moyen Empire" [XIth dynasty] ⁴⁰.

These scenes from Montuhotep's funerary complex convey a huge amount of information regarding styles at this time, with five of Montuhotep's eight wives ⁴¹ represented in highly detailed funerary scenes in their tomb chapels and sarcophagi scenes. The carved sarcophagi of two of the women in particular are especially fine, that of Kawit depicting the best known scene of hairdressing from the whole of ancient Egypt ⁴² (fig.864). As with earlier examples, Kawit sits holding a mirror, whilst her hairdresser carefully resets one of the small ringlet-type locks which make up her mistress' short round curled style. On the other side of the sarcophagus Kawit again wears the short round style decorated alternatively with small circular curls set flat against the head ⁴³ (fig.212), both scenes providing two dimensional examples of the styles worn by the two aforementioned wooden figurines. Since this particular style of flat curls is only found in the reliefs of Kawit, it is tempting to suggest that she is the unidentified Priestess of Hathor whom Montuhotep embraces in a fragmentary relief scene ⁴⁴.

The other finely carved limestone sarcophagus of Great Royal Wife Ashayet portrays the lady in the short round curled style set with rows of horizontal curls much smaller and more numerous than those of Kawit ⁴⁵ (fig.213). Elsewhere on the exterior she wears an undetailed form of the style ⁴⁶, and on the painted scenes the style is coloured both black and then white ⁴⁷. Another horizontally curled version, coloured blue, is found on her tomb chapel reliefs ⁴⁸ (fig.214), and is almost identical to the style worn by another wife Sadhe on the east side of her tomb chapel scenes ⁴⁹.

Similar tomb reliefs of a fourth wife, Kemsit, portray her with the short round curled style coloured black, and although this has been described as "her natural hair...short and tightly curled" ⁵⁰ it could equally well represent a wig. In paintings from the east wall of her tomb she is seated whilst a servant attends to her plain black round style ⁵¹ (fig.865), whilst on the west wall scene she has a long black tripartite style ⁵², and although only fragments of her sarcophagus survive, the pieces show her to be wearing some form of blue dotted style or headdress ⁵³.

In addition to Montuhotep's wives, the short round curled style is also worn by his mother Queen Ioh, Priestess of Hathor ⁵⁴. Her daughter Nefru III is the chief wife of her own brother the king, although in contrast to the aforementioned royal women she is nowhere referred to as a Hathor priestess ⁵⁵. Furthermore, she is the only royal woman who is never portrayed in the short round style, preferring the almost waist-length tripartite style which is found in her fragmentary tomb reliefs ⁵⁶ (fig.861-862). Her long style is shown being dressed by her hairdresser Henut (fig.861), whilst her other

hairdresser Inu holds out a false braid for Henut to insert into the queen's style ⁵⁷ (fig.862). A further fragment from the tomb shows Nefru(?) wearing a long striated style, the front of which is held back by a hairpin, in what is presumably another hairdressing scene centred around the queen ⁵⁸ (fig.863).

It is important to note that the tripartite style is not indicative of status, being worn by both the queen and all her servants, including the hairdressers Henut and Inu (fig.861-862), rows of 'maidens' ⁵⁹ (fig.215), sunshade bearers ⁶⁰, offering bearers ⁶¹, and dancers, their long black styles further adorned by an addition of large silver beads ⁶². The female attendants of the other royal women also wear the long tripartite style in contrast to their short haired royal mistresses, as noted from the servants in the aforementioned sarcophagus scenes of Kawit (fig.864) and Ashayet. A tomb relief fragment of Kemsit shows one of her servants with the tripartite style holding perfume ⁶³, whilst other similarly coifed servants attend Kemsit in both her usual short-haired guise (fig.865) and as she also adopts the tripartite style, the latter scene regarded by Naville as "probably a mistake. Instead of being black, Kemsit here is yellow, and her hair and dress are those of an attendant" ⁶⁴; in mistakenly assuming that the tripartite is indicative of status, he is forced to assume that the artist is mistaken.

It is quite evident that the tripartite style is favoured by the majority of women in general, to judge from the portrayal of wives, mothers, daughters and servants on the funerary stelae of the official classes. Identical plain black styles are worn by Amenemhat's wife Iyi and daughter-in-law Hapy ⁶⁵, by Nebseny's wife Henenu ⁶⁶ and Sitsobek, wife of Dedu ⁶⁷. Similarly undetailed tripartite styles are also worn by Nebti, mother of Chancellor Meru (in this example unusually coloured pale yellow) ⁶⁸, and women in the family of Priest Montuhotep, including wife Sent, mother Hathoremhat, his two sisters, two daughters, the nurse and four servants, all of whom wear exactly the same style ⁶⁹. A striated form complete with intricate plaited detail is worn by Beschet, mother of Kai ⁷⁰, and Iti's wife Nefru has a striated version on their funerary stela ⁷¹ whilst in their 'rustic' Gebelein tomb paintings her style is plain black ⁷² and identical to those of nearby mourners ⁷³.

In the same provincially decorated tomb of Djar (TT.366), four kitchen workers leaning over their work have hair which sticks out horizontally in one piece at the back (fig.216), a seated companion shown with the more familiar swept back style ⁷⁴. Another curiously rendered style is found on the sides of a model granary, the tripartite styles of the women carrying grain showing the back section of hair hanging down over the chest, alongside the front section to unusual effect, a further servant figure shown with a long black braid reaching to waist level, although this may be another foiled attempt by the artist to accurately depict the tripartite style ⁷⁵.

The majority of sculpted figures from this period also wear the tripartite style, including the funerary statuette of Ashayet found in her coffin ⁷⁶ and the nude wooden figure of Idu from Asyut ⁷⁷, the treatment of her lightly striated style similar to that of Nefermesut on a painted limestone dyad from Dendera ⁷⁸. Other examples of the style are worn by servant statues,

those of Meketre including weavers ⁷⁹ and offering bearers ⁸⁰, the styles of two larger bearer figures now a green-grey shade ⁸¹ (fig.217).

Another category of tomb model is the naked female fertility figurine, examples of which are found in houses, shrines and burials. Made of a variety of materials their hair is almost always accentuated in some way ⁸², their naked state coupled with emphasised sexual attributes naturally linking them to the sphere of fertility and rebirth. Examples from this period include small faience figurines, "the blue colour symbolic of eternal resurrection and renewal" ⁸³, contrasting with their long black tripartite styles whilst other examples have a number of holes drilled around the head into which were attached braids of real hair ⁸⁴. Contemporary wooden 'paddle dolls' seem to have fulfilled the same function despite a much more crude appearance, their largely undetailed bodies supporting abundant hair carefully fashioned from lengths of mud pellets (fig.218), beads (fig.219) or twisted string (fig.220) designed to move freely about in contrast to their static wooden bodies ⁸⁵.

- 1 Kanawati 1993, Hag.89.C6 (Inetsenes), p.21, 65, pl.34 and Hag.89.C2 (Khewit), p.16-17, pl.30.
- 2 Boston MFA.12.1476, Naga ed-Dêr, in Dunham 1937, No.2, p.14-15, pl.II.2.
- 3 Boston MFA.25.676, in Dunham 1937, No.20, p.33-35, pl.XI.2.
- 4 Cam.Fitz.E.6.1909, in Fischer 1989, fig.17, "perhaps to be dated to the Eighth Dynasty", p.21 and in Fischer 1977 "probably Tenth Dynasty", p.157-176.
- 5 Dunham 1937, p.16, etc.
- 6 Berlin Inv.No.536/69, in Fay 1982, p.32-33.
- 7 Boston MFA.12.1479, in Dunham 1937, No.5, p.17-18, pl.IV.1 and Boston 1988, No.37, p.103-105.
- 8 Berkley Museum of Anthropology 6-1903, Naga ed-Dêr tomb 3804, in Dunham 1937, No.71, p.83-84, pl.XXV.1 and Fazzini 1975, Cat.30, p.38.
- 9 Cairo JE.37737, in Dunham 1937, No.53, p.65-66, pl.XVI.1.
- 10 See Dunham 1937, No.3-4, 16, 23, 64, 77.
- 11 Boston MFA.25.675, in Dunham 1937, No.19, p.32-33, pl.XI.1.
- 12 Private Collection, in Basle 1953, No.66 and Sotheby's 1989, No.94, p.9.
- 13 MMA.25.2.3, in Dunham 1937, No.78, p.92-94, pl.XXVIII.2; Hayes 1953 I, fig.83, p.141 and Robins ed. 1990, fig.6.1, p.39.
- 14 Chicago Or.Inst.16956, in Dunham 1937, No.84, p.102-104, pl.XXXII.
- 15 Chicago Or.Inst.16955, in Dunham 1937, No.83, p.101-102, pl.XXXI.
- 16 Berkeley Museum of Anthropology 6-19881, in Dunham 1937, No.31, p.44-45, pl.XV and Fazzini 1975, Cat.31, p.39.
- 17 Chicago Or.Inst.16951, in Dunham 1937, No.79, p.94-96, pl.XXIX.1.
- 18 BM.EA.1738, unprovenanced.
- 19 eg. Amsterdam APM.Inv.3400, stela of Ikoe, Hawawish; see also Dunham 1937, No.1, 10, 15, 56, 58, 60, 73, 81 for Naga ed-Dêr examples.
- 20 Although rather different hairdressing scenes first featured in late OK funerary scenes of Ptahhotep, Sanwehem and Idut (discussed below).
- 21 eg. Naga ed-Dêr stelae of early Ist IP featuring mirrors, see Dunham 1937, No.1-3, 5, 19, 31, 58 (No.31/Berkeley Museum of Anthropology 6-19881, in Fazzini 1975, Cat.31, p.39).
- 22 Berlin Inv.No.13774, in Wreszinski 1923 I, 85.a-c; Gauthier-Laurent 1938, A.1, p.674, 693, pl.1.A; Klebs 1922, p.33 and Donadoni 1955, pl.59.
- 23 Berlin Inv.No.13772, in Wreszinski 1923 I, 86.a-b; Gauthier-Laurent 1938, A.2, p.674-675, 693 and Klebs 1922, p.3.
- 24 Vandier 1950, p.287-288, pl.XLIII.
- 25 eg. MMA.10.175.71, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.87, p.145 and Dunham 1937, No.22, 70, 76 & 86.
- 26 Cairo Temp.Reg.19:11:24:2, in Dunham 1937, No.62, p.74-75, pl.XX.2.
- 27 Edinburgh RMS.No.1898.382.3, in Aldred 1969, No.1, p.33; Aldred 1987, fig.82, p.122 and Westendorf 1969, p.67.

- 28 Bolton 56.98.37, relief fragments from Dendera mastaba of Sennedjsui, in Bourriau 1988, No.1, p.12-13.
- 29 Stela of '...merer', Cairo CG.1651, in Gauthier-Laurent 1938, B, fig.2, 11, p.675-676.
- 30 Copenhagen NCG.AEIN.524, from IX dyn. Sakkara tomb of Gemniemhat, in Breasted 1948, No.2, p.62, pl.52.a.
- 31 Philadelphia University Museum E.14621, from X dyn. Sedment tomb of Khentkheti, in Breasted 1948, No.5, p.62, pl.55.a.
- 32 eg. Leiden Inv.AM.101, funerary dyad of Inetites and husband Henu identically coifed in helmet-like short round curled style, in Boeser 1909 II, No.2, p.1, pl.I.2; Schneider & Raven 1981, No.34, p.57; Westendorf 1968, p.68 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.77, p.245.
- 33 BM.EA.40915, from Deir el-Bahari XI dyn. Tomb No.3, in Naville 1907 I, p.44, pl.IX; Breasted 1948, No.3, p.38 and Aldred 1987, fig.84, p.124.
- 34 eg. Louvre E.11990, from Asyut tomb of Wepwawetemhet (No.14), in Breasted 1948, D.11, p.64, pl.57 and Paris Musée Guimet Eg.3070, in Breasted 1948, D.2, p.63, pl.55.b.
- 35 Louvre E.10781, from Asyut, in Zeigler 1990, p.30; Vandier 1958 III, pl.LI.3; Breasted 1948, D.17, p.64, pl.59.b-60 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.7, p.232; also Boston MFA.05.231, from Deir el-Bahari XI dyn. Tomb No.5, in Naville 1907 I, p.46, pl.IX and Breasted 1948, D.4, pl.56.a, "the headdress is rather short and...green", p.63.
- 36 Cairo JE.36290/JE.36291, from Asyut tomb of Nakhti, in Breasted 1948, D.8-9, p.63; Hildesheim 1984, No.41-42, p.96-97, and Vandier 1958 III, pl.L.2-3; also from same tomb, Louvre E.11992, in Breasted 1948, D.10, p.64, pl.57; see also Boston MFA.04.1774, from Asyut tomb No.6, in Breasted 1948, D.5, p.63, pl.54.a and Boston 1988, No.36, p.102-103; Turin Inv.Suppl.8794/Suppl.14786, from Asyut tomb of Minhotep, in Robins ed. 1990, No.24-25, p.59, 75-76 and Louvre E.11991/E.12001, from Asyut, in Breasted 1948, D.12-13, p.64, pl.57.
- 37 Louvre E.12029, from Asyut tomb of Nakhti, in Breasted 1948, D.14, p.64, pl.59.a and Vandier 1958 III, pl.L.1, both with rear views.
- 38 Louvre E.20567, early MK [XI dyn.], Antinoe tomb of Pakhetemhat, in Delange 1987, p.188-189.
- 39 Louvre E.12003, "Femme aux pouces cassés", from Asyut tomb No.13, in Delange 1987, p.156-157; Vandier 1958 III, pl.LIV.3 and Breasted 1948, No.4.5, p.94, pl.88.a; see also similar wooden figures of women, Berkley Museum of Anthropology 6-15215, Naga ed-Dêr, in Fazzini 1975, Cat.28, p.37 and MMA.58.125.3, unprovenanced.
- 40 Louvre E.22909, Asyut, in Delange 1987, p.200-201 (although this date not conclusive since such flat curls not restricted to XI dyn.).
- 41 Nefru III, also full sister of Montuhotep II, referred to as 'King's Wife', 'Wife of the King whom he loves' and 'King's Daughter' (hmt nsw, hmt nsw mrt.f, s3t nsw); another wife Temet has titles 'King's Wife', 'King's Wife whom He loves' and 'King's Mother' (hmt nsw, hmt nsw mrt.f, mwt nsw blty), as mother of Montuhotep III. Another five women, Ashayet, Kawit, Sadhe, Henhenit and Kemsit termed 'Wife of the King whom he loves' (hmt nsw mrt.f), Ashayet further referred to as 'Great Wife of the King' (hmt nsw wrt). These five also all designated 'Sole Royal Ornament' (hkrt nsw w'tt), and 'Priestess of Hathor' (hmt-ntr Hwt-Hr), and sixth untitled female named Mayt perhaps a daughter. For excellent study of all these womens' titles see Troy 1986, p.156-157; however, Robins mistaken when stating title hmt nsw only attested for Ashayet, Sadhe and Kemsit, in Robins ed. 1990, p.44, note 11; although Saleh and Sourouzian refer to these "princesses, all of whom were priestesses of Hathor", 1987, No.68-69, Riefstahl has stated "The designation...as 'princesses' seems hardly exact, for there is no evidence that they were related to the royal family. In their full titulary and in scenes with the king, they are called 'royal wives', but nowhere else...They probably were, or were destined to be, secondary wives or concubines of Neb-hepet-Re. The title 'sole royal ornament', which they all bear...is certainly merely an honorific court title", 1956, p.13, note 18. However, it is significant that only Ashayet rather than Nefru or Temet is given title of 'Great Wife of the King', and use of term 'concubine' seems more than inappropriate.

- 42 Cairo JE.47397, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.68.b; Naville 1907 I, p.48- 49, 53-56, pl.XIX-XX; Corteggiani 1986, No.32, p.67; Aldred 1969, No.8, p.35; Aldred 1980, fig.69, p.110; Aldred 1987, fig.86, p.128; Smith 1981, fig.155, p.164; Klebs 1922 II, fig.20, 22, p.32-33; Strouhal 1992, fig.87, p.85; Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.83; Gauthier-Laurent 1938, C., fig.3, 9, p.676, 688-689; Riefstahl 1952, fig.2, p.9, 14-15; Riefstahl 1956, p.16, pl.XIII; Posener 1962, p.114; Westendorf 1968, p.71; Garetto 1955, pl.III; Schoske 1990, fig.17, p.22 and Fletcher 1994(ii), fig.128, p.128.
- 43 Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.68.d; Naville 1907 I, p.55, pl.XIX-XX and Weigall 1925 I, opp. p.302.
- 44 Munich ÄS.1621, in Troy 1986, fig.67, p.99 and Wenig 1969, pl.23.
- 45 Cairo JE.47267, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.69.a; Winlock 1921(ii), fig.18, 22, p.43, 47 and Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.83.
- 46 Aldred 1969, No.9, p.35; Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.83 and Strouhal 1992, fig.99, p.97.
- 47 Winlock 1921(ii), fig.19, p.43 and Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.66-67.
- 48 Cairo Temp.Reg.11:11:20:17, in Naville 1907 I, p.69, pl.XVIII; Naville 1910 II, pl.XIV, XVI-XVIII and Hildesheim 1984, No.21, p.54-55.
- 49 Naville 1907 I, p.32, pl.XVII.D and Naville 1910 II, pl.XI-XIII.
- 50 BM.EA.1450 (1907.10-15.460) in Bourriau 1988, No.3, p.14-16; Naville 1907 I, pl.XVII.C; Naville 1910 II, pl.XX and Robins ed. 1990, fig.6.6, p.41; also BM.EA.1450(1907 10-15 497), in Naville 1907 I, pl.XIIA; Bourriau 1988, No.4, p.16-17 and Robins ed. 1990, fig.6.7, p.42.
- 51 Naville 1907 I, p.49; Naville 1913 III, p.9, pl.II-III; Gauthier-Laurent 1938, fig.4, p.678, 692 and Haynes 1992, p.16.
- 52 Naville 1913 III, p.9, pl.II.
- 53 BM.EA.43037, in Naville 1907 I, p.55, pl.XXIII.
- 54 BM.EA.1819, Theban relief fragment, in Royal Academy 1962, Cat.37, p.16 and Troy 1986, fig.47, p.74.
- 55 Despite comment of Riefstahl that "the queens were all priestesses of Hathor", 1952, p.15.
- 56 See also Nefru's wax shabtis, MMA.25.3.244.a/25.3.243.a/25.3.244.bc and Cairo JE.49092 in Winlock 1924, fig.9, p.12 and Hayes 1953 I, fig.215, p.327.
- 57 Nefru and Henut fragment, Brooklyn Acc.No.54.49, in Riefstahl 1956, p.10-17, pl.IX-X; Brooklyn 1974, p.32-33; Fazzini 1975, p.48 and Fazzini et al. 1989, No.17; Inu fragment, Brooklyn Acc.No.51.231, in Riefstahl 1952, fig.1, p.7-16; Riefstahl 1956, p.10-17, pl.VIII, X; Brooklyn 1952, No.25; Brussels 1976, No.24-25, p.52-53 and Fazzini 1975, Cat.32-33.b, p.48.
- 58 MMA.26.3.353.wv, in Riefstahl 1956, p.17, pl.XIV.c.
- 59 MMA.26.3.353, in Winlock 1924, fig.10, p.13 and Hayes 1953 I, p.160.
- 60 MMA.26.3.353.g; also Yale University Art Gallery, in Smith 1981, fig.154, p.163.
- 61 Brooklyn Acc.No.53.178, in Riefstahl 1956, p.14, pl.XI.
- 62 Private Collection, in Riefstahl 1956, p.14, pl.XII, XIV.a and Aldred 1971, p.42, pl.23.
- 63 Louvre E.11157.a, in Naville 1910 II, pl.XX, and referred to in Riefstahl 1956, p.15.
- 64 Naville 1913 III, p.9, pl.II.
- 65 Cairo JE.45626, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.79; Klebs 1922 II, fig.23, p.34; Nims 1965, p.22 and Posener 1962, p.19.

- 66 MMA.26.3.237, from Thebes, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.218, p.330.
- 67 MMA.16.10.333, from Thebes, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.219, p.331.
- 68 Turin N.Cat.1447, from Abydos, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1988, fig.137-138, p.104-105; Klebs 1922 II, fig.14, p.22 and Curto 1984, p.86.
- 69 Cam.Fitz.E.9.1922, from Abydos, in Bourriau 1988, No.10, p.21-22.
- 70 Berlin Inv.No.22820, in Priese ed. 1991, No.34, p.53, and Gauthier-Laurent 1938, fig.12, p.692; see also Cairo CG.20664, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.294 and Gauthier-Laurent 1938, fig.10, p.690, the latter misinterpreting presence of plaited detail around forehead as part of wig mount.
- 71 Turin Inv.Suppl.13114, Gebelein, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1988, fig.125, p.96.
- 72 Turin Inv.Suppl.14354.n, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1988, fig.124, p.95.
- 73 Turin Inv.Suppl.14354, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1988, fig.307, p.203 and Smith 1981, fig.146, p.155.
- 74 Winlock 1932(iii), fig.26, p.26 and Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.68-69.
- 75 Norwich Castle Museum 37.21(i), in Bourriau 1988, No.91, p.104-105, pl.1.2.
- 76 Cairo CG.36538, in Winlock 1921(ii), fig.26, p.50; Aldred 1969, No.6, p.35 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.XCV.3.
- 77 Boston MFA.04.1777, Asyut family tomb No.6, in Breasted 1948, Type 4.4, p.94, pl.87.a-b.
- 78 Ox.Ash.E.1971, in Bourriau 1988, No.9, p.20-21.
- 79 Cairo JE.46723, in Winlock 1955, pl.25-27; Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.77 and Corteggiani 1986, p.62.
- 80 MMA.20.3.8, in Winlock 1955, pl.32 and Breasted 1948, Type 4.2, p.67, pl.62.b.
- 81 Cairo JE.46725, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.74 and Westendorf 1968, p.77; MMA.20.3.7, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.174, p.267 and Metropolitan 1984, fig.8, p.10; both figures in Winlock 1955, pl.30; Aldred 1969, No.7, p.35; Aldred 1980, fig.74, p.116; Breasted 1948, D.15-16, p.64, pl.58.b and Vandier 1958 III, pl.LL1-2; for similar bearer figures in tripartites, see BM.EA.30716, in Breasted 1948, D.3, p.63, pl.53.a and Cleveland 42.14, from Meir, in Breasted 1948, D.1, p.63, pl.54.b.
- 82 Bourriau 1988, p.126.
- 83 Cairo JE.47710, TT.316, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.80; Hildesheim 1984, No.65, p.139, and Vandier 1958 III, pl.LXXXII.2, 5 (confusing it with Louvre E.10942 which has holes in place of long style, as referred to in following note).
- 84 Berlin Inv.No.9583, in Breasted 1948, Type 4.11, p.95, pl.90.b; Cairo and MMA. examples in Aldred 1969, No.31, p.42; also Louvre E.10942/E.11263.
- 85 Cairo JE.56274, Asasif tomb No.816, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.81; Corteggiani 1986, No.31, p.66, and Nims 1965, p.172; Leiden Cat.I.493, in Fletcher 1994(ii), fig.215, p.130; Louvre E.27125, all three with faces of mud and beads; see also Edinburgh RMS.No.1911.284, hair made of 30 strings of black beads interspersed with blue beads and straw knots to represent gold hair rings, in Bourriau 1988, No.121, p.126-127; MMA.31.3.35, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.135, p.219 and Winlock 1932(iii), fig.35-37, p.36; other examples include Berlin Inv.No.6907 (beaded hair), in Breasted 1948, p.95, pl.92.b; also Brooklyn Acc.No.37.104.L (hair partly lost), 37.100.L, 37.101.L, 37.102.L, 37.105.L (all with hair now lost), in Breasted 1948, Type 5.1-8, p.95, pl.91-92; Liverpool Merseyside County Museum 55.82.15, with separate 'wig' of plain twisted string set on linen cap base, thanks to Dr.P.Bienkowski for access.

CHILDREN

Children are rarely depicted during this period, the few examples being mainly found on tomb stelae of VIIIth-Xth dynasty date. In a Naga ed-Dér stela scene the Royal Ornament Ibu holds the hand of 'her beloved son Ankhenefitef', his hair cropped short ¹ as is that of the son of the Sole Companion Sheditef ² and Chancellor Tjeby's son ³. An unusual example on the stela of Sole Companion Wadj depicts his small son with a shoulder-length style whilst his daughter has the same swept-back style as her mother ⁴.

The traditional sidelock is only rarely found, in scenes of children at play in the nomarchs' tombs at Beni Hassan; although the boys have their hair cropped short, the girls are all shown with a variation on the earlier ball hairstyle, in this case the single tress at the back of the head supplemented by two further tresses growing from behind each ear, all three tresses weighted by small beads ⁵. However, textual evidence would seem to support the continued fashion for the sidelock amongst male children at this time, an inscription from the Xth dynasty tomb of Khety II of Hieracleopolis stating that "he advanced my seat as a youth" (d33w), Breasted noting that the literal translation of d33w is 'hairy one', ie. one who wears the sidelock ⁶.

NON-EGYPTIANS

There is very little information regarding non-Egyptians during the VIIth-Xth dynasty period, a rare exception being the painted funerary stela of Nubian mercenary Sennu from Gebelein in which his black hair is set in a short rounded style with slightly wavy edges to suggest its curly nature ⁷.

The XIth dynasty reliefs of Montuhotep II do however provide a considerable amount of information regarding non-Egyptians in the later Intermediate Period, a carved scene from Gebelein showing the king in the white crown about to smite a fallen Libyan held by his long straight swept-back hair ⁸. Further relief scenes from the king's Deir el-Bahari funerary complex depict slain Asiatic (Aamu) enemies with red shoulder-length hair ⁹ (fig.221), a figure identified as "possibly a Libyan" ¹⁰ given long straight hair, and a Nubian tribute bearer shown with a short, well-rounded style set in small horizontal rows of curls ¹¹.

It is often stated that at least one of Montuhotep's wives was Nubian, following Naville's initial assumptions that "Aashait may have been an Ethiopian; Kemsit seems to have been a negress" ¹². Indeed, Kemsit's aforementioned tomb paintings show her with black skin and a short round black style (fig.865), although close inspection of further relief fragments show her skin coloured deep pink and hair set in the short round horizontally curled style as worn by most of the other royal women ¹³, and in another of her tomb paintings she has the same yellow skin and long black tripartite style as her two attendants ¹⁴. However, it is likely that Nubians were a common feature at court, with several small wooden statuettes found near Montuhotep's temple representing women with black skin, bright costume and cropped black hair ¹⁵. In addition to these female figures, the wooden funerary models of Mesehti include a company of Nubian archers similarly

clad in bright kilts with thick hair set in the short round style with occasional added detail in the form of horizontal rows of curls (fig.222), Aldred noting that they "wear a thick shock of hair as a protective helmet" ¹⁶.

- 1 Boston MFA.12.1476, in Dunham 1937, No.2, p.14, pl.II.2.
- 2 Boston MFA.12.1477, in Dunham 1937, No.3, p.15-16, pl.III.1.
- 3 Naga ed-Dêr No.3765, in Dunham 1937, No.69, p.80-82, pl.XXIV.1; also stela Boston MFA.12.1480 for son of unnamed official with cropped head, in Dunham 1937, No.6, p.18-19, pl.IV.2.
- 4 Boston MFA.12.1479, in Dunham 1937, No.5, p.17-18, pl.IV.1.
- 5 Tomb of Bakt, No.15, in Newberry 1893-4, p.47, pl.IV; Amiet et al. 1981, fig.96, p.248 and Schäfer 1974, fig.244, p.228; tomb of Bakt's son Khety, No.17, in Newberry 1893-4, p.57, pl.XIII.
- 6 Griffith 1889, pl.15 and Breasted 1906, p.190, note f.
- 7 Boston MFA, in Smith 1981, fig.145, p.153 and Baines & Malek 1984, p.35.
- 8 Fechheimer 1914, pl.135 and Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.82, p.311.
- 9 BM.EA.732 in Naville 1907 I, p.25, pl.XIV.D and Strouhal 1992, fig.214, p.201; see also Berlin Inv.No.17891.
- 10 BM.EA.1405(1907.10-15 373), in Naville 1907 I, p.41 and Naville 1913 III, pl.XIII.2.
- 11 Ox.Ash, in Naville 1913 III, p.23, pl.XIII.5.
- 12 Naville 1907 I, p.31, 55-56, p.32 and Hayes 1953, p.220 for Ashayet; also Naville 1913 III, p.9; Hayes 1953 I, p.220; Bourriau 1988, p.15-16 and Haynes 1992, p.16 for Kemsit.
- 13 Painted scene in Naville 1913 III, p.9, pl.II-III and Gauthier-Laurent 1938, fig.4, p.678, 692; relief fragments, BM.EA.1450(1907 10-15 460), in Naville 1907 pl.XVII.C and Naville 1910 II, pl.XX; Bourriau 1988, No.3, p.14-16 and Robins ed. 1990, fig.6.6, p.41; BM.EA.1450(1907 10-15 497), in Naville 1907 I, pl.XII.a; Bourriau 1988, No.4, p.16-17 and Robins ed. 1990, fig.6.7, p.42.
- 14 Naville 1913 III, pl.II, although in assuming her to be Nubian Naville refers to this as "probably a mistake", p.9.
- 15 MMA.26.3.232, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.136, p.220.
- 16 Cairo JE.30969/CG.257, in Aldred 1987, fig.83, p.123; also Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.72; Vandier 1958 III, pl.LI.4; Westendorf 1968, p.72 and Posener 1962, p.17.

MIDDLE KINGDOM: XII-XIIIth dynasties ¹

MEN

Following the relatively barren Intermediate Period the Middle Kingdom marks a return to the wide scale production of a great amount of high quality statuary, relief and painting ². The many thousands of representations of the human figure allows for a cohesive chronology of the various styles depicted, in which there is great development in men's styles alongside a continuation of traditional forms.

The shaven/cropped head continues to be featured in depictions of men from all social classes from manual workers to dignitaries. Sculpted examples of the freshly shaven head with no trace of hair include the Viziers Montuhotep ³ and Sobekemsaf ⁴, officials Dedunub son of Senebet ⁵, Mesehi ⁶, and Renefsenebdag ⁷, "a Middle Kingdom dignitary" ⁸, "a middle-aged official" ⁹, an unnamed steward ¹⁰ and a tiny figure of an official carved on the top of an ivory hair-pin ¹¹. The addition of a visible hair-line is found on the figures of Impy ¹² (fig.223), unnamed officials in ivory ¹³, basalt ¹⁴ and wood ¹⁵, a cloaked figure within a naos ¹⁶ and Nakhtneter of Beni Hassan, whose "skull may originally have been painted black to represent the natural hair" ¹⁷ as in the case of Khnumnakht in contrast to the dotted, stubbly head of his brother Nekhtankh ¹⁸.

The shaven/cropped head is equally well represented in two dimensions, Ukhhotep, son of Ukhhotep, portrayed in his Meir tomb paintings with "his head...shaved and painted red like the rest of his body" ¹⁹. Ukhhotep, son of Senbi, is also shown shaven and "clad in sacerdotal vestments" ²⁰, although when hunting with his similarly shaven father, he chooses to embellish his severe style with an ostrich feather ²¹. The nomarch Khnumhotep of Beni Hassan nets wild birds, his hair cropped equally short ²² as is that of the nomarch Djehutihotep ²³ and the Prince and Overseer of Priests Sobeknakht ²⁴ in their respective tomb scenes at Bersheh and el Kab. In stela scenes plain forms are noted on the figures of SaInheret ²⁵, Nakhte ²⁶, Montuhotep ²⁷ and Senwosret ²⁸, Priest Amenysonb ²⁹ and sons of the goldsmith Nakht ³⁰. The cropped head can also be embellished with cross-hatching ³¹, dots ³², small circles ³³ and zig-zag patterns ³⁴ to suggest the texture of stubble and short, newly-grown hair. The use of plain black colour is quite common, with red also used in a number of examples, including the aforementioned figure of Ukhhotep, Wehemky, son of Merit ³⁵ (fig.224), various male officials and family members of the Vizier Senwosret ³⁶, and the official Khnumnakht ³⁷.

Manual workers of the time are also found with shaven and cropped styles as noted from the funerary model of an offering bearer of Djehutinakht ³⁸ and a similar figure carrying a goat on his shoulders ³⁹. Entertainers with the same style include the figure of a harpist from Naga ed-Dér ⁴⁰, and various figures of dwarves including Itasenebti ⁴¹, a faience figurine with dotted stubble detail ⁴² and a dancing pygmy with only three small tufts on the front of an otherwise shaven scalp ⁴³. Figures of manual workers with cropped heads in relief and painted scenes include the soldiers and weapon bearers of Djehutihotep ⁴⁴ (fig.225), the offering bearers of Senbi ⁴⁵, wrestlers ⁴⁶, dancers and musicians ⁴⁷, in addition to craftsmen

⁴⁸, agricultural workers ⁴⁹, butchers ⁵⁰, bakers and brewers ⁵¹.

An important development at this time is the appearance of the priest's sidelock on an otherwise shaven head, an early example to be found on the relief figure of a funerary priest in the limestone shrine of Sesostris I at Karnak, his thin plaited lock with curled end falling diagonally from the left side of the crown to end below the ear at chin level (fig.226). Although sidelocks are very occasionally found on adult figures in the predynastic and early dynastic age ⁵², this example at Karnak is one of the first examples of the sidelock worn by a priest.

Despite a considerable loss of popularity to longer styles of hairdressing, the traditional short round style does still occur, again worn by figures ranging from royalty to manual workers in both statuary and relief, although sculpted examples are only found at the very beginning and very end of the period. Early forms are worn by Sesostris I ⁵³ (fig.227), Montuhotep, Overseer of the Hundred ⁵⁴, General Itefib ⁵⁵, Hepdjefa of Asyut ⁵⁶, an unnamed wooden figure ⁵⁷ and an unnamed example in serpentine ⁵⁸, all of these individuals wearing the classic Old Kingdom form of the style set in horizontal layers of curls.

The form could also be adapted somewhat, as noted from the slightly flared quality of the short style worn by an unnamed scribe in ivory ⁵⁹, the short, rather wide coiffure of a fragmentary wooden figure ⁶⁰, and the somewhat 'over-rounded' style of the official Sesostris, its surface engraved with small irregular circles ⁶¹. Wooden figures of offering bearers also wear the short round curled style, a particularly fine example contrasting the short, evenly curled style of two bearers with their crop-headed companion ⁶². Two other funerary groups from the tomb of Shepremy each comprise of three such bearer figures, three wearing the classic curled form with all-over detail, the other three with the partially-curved style first encountered in the VIth dynasty, and also found on the figure of an unnamed official from Dahshur ⁶³.

The short round style is better attested in relief and painting, a detailed black example worn by Amenemhat I in his Lisht temple scenes ⁶⁴ with further fine examples worn by province administrators, counts and palace companions depicted as offering bearers of their king Sesostris I in his funerary scenes at Lisht ⁶⁵ (fig.228). The aforementioned nomarch Senbi wears the short round style set with horizontal rows of 'n'-shaped detail whilst out hunting in a skiff ⁶⁶.

The horizontally curled style is also found on the stelae of officials and functionaries, including Sirenutet ⁶⁷ (fig.229), Sensobek ⁶⁸ (fig.230) and a number of others ⁶⁹, a rather unusual interpretation worn by the soldier Seniankh made up of horizontal layers of circles ⁷⁰, whilst the style of Ibunfer uses horizontal lines only to differentiate between the layers ⁷¹. Vertical rows of curls are also used, noted from the finely carved examples of Steward Inyotef ⁷² and Nebitef ⁷³, although the majority of examples are quite plain, the only embellishment being the occasional application of black paint.

In his stela scenes Amenemhat Nebuy, Steward of Temple Estates, has a plain style truncated at the back of the neck ⁷⁴, as noted in the case of Ibu ⁷⁵ and others ⁷⁶, including various figures of manual workers such as a fig-gatherer of

Khnumhotep⁷⁷; an extreme example of this fashion can be found on the stela of an official in which the short round style is truncated at ear level to reveal cropped hair beneath⁷⁸.

Other forms of the basic round style can either be rather short and only slightly more substantial than the cropped head⁷⁹, or the hair can hang down to lightly touch the shoulder as it curves inward toward the neck in a transition between the short round and longer styles, as noted in the case of Nitptah⁸⁰ (fig.231) and others⁸¹.

As in earlier times, the smooth outline of the style can occasionally be shown as a wavy line to emphasise the curly nature of the hair, as demonstrated by the style of the official Senebnakht⁸² and one of Djehutihotep's labourers unloading grain⁸³. Alternatively the section of hair from the ear down to the base of the style may be rippled or stepped, as in the case of official Amenyanh⁸⁴ and one of Djehutihotep's weapon bearers⁸⁵.

However, it is clear that longer hair is now very much in vogue, the most popular style at this time being the long shoulder-length style. Although represented in painting and relief in exactly the same form as Old Kingdom examples, sculpted forms reveal an obvious difference when compared to their earlier counterparts, the bulk and thickness of hair now greatly increased. Again in contrast to earlier examples the style's slightly longer length is set either straight across the back of the shoulders or falls down over the chest in two diagonal pointed sections.

In the earliest form of the style the hair is set behind the ears to end in a horizontal edge across the back of the shoulders, and with no indication of a central parting it can give the impression of a headcloth or so-called bag wig (*khat*), especially if surface detail is lacking⁸⁶. There are many sculpted examples of this plain shoulder-length, *khat*-like style, including those of the seated figures of Treasurers SiHathor⁸⁷ and Hetep⁸⁸, the Chief Accountant SenusretSenebefni⁸⁹ (fig.232), Iabu, Hall Keeper of Priests⁹⁰, the Butler Ser⁹¹, official Ta⁹², the archer Neferhotep⁹³ (fig.233), and one Khusobek⁹⁴, standing examples including the Royal Herald Ankhenmer⁹⁵, officials Senebtifi⁹⁶ and Sehetepibnebi⁹⁷, and High Priests of Ptah, Nebpu and Sehetepibreankhnedjem⁹⁸.

The majority of examples however feature surface detail generally in the form of horizontal striations running across the head and down each side⁹⁹, this being one of the styles favoured by the Meir nomarch Ukhhotep¹⁰⁰ (fig.234), and also worn by Chief Prophet Amenemhetankh¹⁰¹, the official Ankhrekhu¹⁰² (fig.235), Chancellor Khentykhetiwer¹⁰³ and High Priest of Ptah Senwosretankh, Hayes describing his "broad, full wig, reaching the shoulders"¹⁰⁴; further examples include the Head of the Treasury Iay¹⁰⁵, the official Ameny¹⁰⁶ and a large number of unnamed officials and dignitaries¹⁰⁷ (fig.236).

Variations of surface detail involve the use of striations running out from the crown rather than across it, the relatively few examples including the styles of Khnumhotep, son of Maaty¹⁰⁸, Royal Herald Menthuao¹⁰⁹, Shesmuhotep, Overseer of the Palace Interior¹¹⁰ and an unnamed official¹¹¹, the figure of Sobeksa from Illahun wearing an unusual variation with

striations down each side to leave the top section plain ¹¹².

Almost all such examples have the hair tucked behind the ears to expose them fully, whereas the innovative style worn by Kheti, Steward of Lower Egypt, partly hides the top of the ears; although the style is most definitely of the long shoulder-length variety complete with striated detail, a slight flaring towards the shoulders reminiscent of late Old Kingdom examples reveals a slight underpanel of hair between the ears and shoulder in a clear anticipation of the later New Kingdom 'double style' ¹¹³ (fig.237).

The second and most popular form of the shoulder-length style again has the hair tucked behind the ears, but instead of being set across the back of the shoulders it falls down on to the chest in two pointed sections which rise diagonally up toward the edge of each shoulder. This 'pointed end style', also referred to as the 'shawl-like wig' ¹¹⁴, can again be either plain or decorated with a variety of surface detail.

Plain forms of the pointed end style are worn by Chancellor Gebu ¹¹⁵, the officials Senpu ¹¹⁶ and Wadjiru ¹¹⁷, and Priest Idy ¹¹⁸, all seated upon the ground, those more formally seated including the Steward Sikahika ¹¹⁹ (fig.238) Treasurer Ka ¹²⁰, Prince Wahka ¹²¹, Herald of the Vizier Sesostris ¹²², Priest Sobekhotep ¹²³, official Djehutyankh ¹²⁴ and a further unnamed figure ¹²⁵ (fig.239).

Decorated forms of the style again generally rely upon the usual horizontal or vertical striations, although extremely detailed carving of individual braids is also found. Examples with striations running horizontally across the head and down each side include the styles of Vizier Neferkare Imerou ¹²⁶, Chief of Police Nebit ¹²⁷ (fig.240), Overseer of Priests Senusret ¹²⁸, Overseer of the Treasury Iykhenefer ¹²⁹, the official Sesostris ¹³⁰ and an unnamed vizier ¹³¹ and official ¹³². Striations radiating out from the crown and down each side are noted in the case of court official Amenemhat ¹³³, a second figure of the Overseer of Priests Ukhotep of Asyut ¹³⁴, and an official from Aswan ¹³⁵. More detailed examples delineate individual braids with twisted ends, as noted from the style of the official Amenemhat ¹³⁶ (fig.241), Steward Sehetepibreankh ¹³⁷ (fig.242), the soldier Khnemu ¹³⁸ and two unnamed officials ¹³⁹, in some cases the stone surface even carved in slightly undulating fashion to suggest the waves of the hair, as demonstrated by the styles of an unnamed official ¹⁴⁰ (fig.243), the Steward Khertihotep ¹⁴¹ (fig.244), Huny ¹⁴² (fig.245) and Intef (fig.246). In the case of the latter figure "the style of the wig helps us to date him. The waved, shawl-like wig with sides sloping to points becomes fashionable during the later half of the Twelfth Dynasty and continues to enjoy popularity into the Thirteenth" ¹⁴³, examples of the pointed end style, whether plain or decorated, all dating to the mid-XIIth to XIIIth dynasty ¹⁴⁴, whereas the khat-like style is found rather earlier and originates in the XIth dynasty.

As stated, these various sculpted forms of the long shoulder-length style are very different from their Old Kingdom counterparts, whilst in painted/relief examples there seems to be little noticeable change. Plain uncoloured forms are worn by a wide cross-section of society including Stewards Montwosre ¹⁴⁵ and Amenemhat Nebuy ¹⁴⁶, the officials Ameny ¹⁴⁷,

Sehetepibre ¹⁴⁸ and others ¹⁴⁹, in addition to the High Priest of Ptah Senwosretankh ¹⁵⁰, the lector priest and sem priest Ukhhotep of Meir ¹⁵¹, priests from the Bersheh tomb of Djehutihotep ¹⁵² as well as his herdsmen ¹⁵³ and reapers ¹⁵⁴, and fishermen from the tomb of Senbi ¹⁵⁵. Black forms are worn by the nomarchs Djehutinakht on his painted coffin scenes ¹⁵⁶ and Prince Sirenput in his Aswan tomb paintings ¹⁵⁷, examples also found on the stelae of Antef ¹⁵⁸, Nitptah ¹⁵⁹ (fig.231) and Itefankh ¹⁶⁰; the stela of Vizier Senwosret depicts a cattle herder with this same black style, his clearly balding forehead indicating that this is his own hair ¹⁶¹.

The additional use of striations to decorate this shoulder-length style is noted from the style of Royal Treasurer SaIsis on his funerary stela ¹⁶² (fig.247) and on those of Rehuerdjersen and his brother, the Lector Priest Hekayotef ¹⁶³, Ptahsnefru ¹⁶⁴ and others ¹⁶⁵. In some representations the striated sections are layered to give a stepped effect at the side of the face ¹⁶⁶, the style of one official featuring small terminating braids framing the face before following the line of the shoulder ¹⁶⁷, as found in contemporary sculpture. The pointed-end shoulder-length style so common in statuary is rarely depicted in two dimensions, one of the few examples being the striated form worn by the cattle-herders and bird-catchers from the tomb of Djehutihotep at Bersheh ¹⁶⁸.

Besides the use of striations, the traditional curled layer decoration is also employed in either horizontal or vertical rows, examples of the former worn by the nomarch Djehutihotep (here again with a stepped edge) ¹⁶⁹, the Chief Goldsmith Nakht ¹⁷⁰ (fig.248), the official RepuPtah ¹⁷¹, Sculptor Userwer ¹⁷², Chief Steward Sobeknakht ¹⁷³ and a number of other dignitaries and officials ¹⁷⁴, whereas vertical rows of curls decorate the long styles of Abkaw ¹⁷⁵, Antefoker ¹⁷⁶ (fig.249) and similar, unnamed official ¹⁷⁷ (fig.250) amongst others ¹⁷⁸.

In the Middle Kingdom the tripartite style experiences a significant growth in popularity amongst men, and although relief examples are rather less common than sculpted forms ¹⁷⁹, examples are worn by the Overseer Imeny ¹⁸⁰ and an unnamed man at prayer ¹⁸¹ (fig.251).

Plain sculpted forms are worn by Montuhotep, Overseer of the House ¹⁸² (fig.252) the official Inyotef ¹⁸³ (fig.253) and an unnamed official ¹⁸⁴ (fig.254) with striated forms noted from the bust of an unnamed man (the detail around the crown area only) ¹⁸⁵ (fig.255), an unnamed official ¹⁸⁶ and the naked ka figure of King Auibre Hor, the ends of the front lappets embellished with thin strips of gold leaf ¹⁸⁷ (fig.256). Such banding also begins to occur on the stylised hair of anthropoid coffins and funerary masks, such as the highly elaborate version on the coffin of Steward Hapiankhtifi of Meir (fig.257), Hayes noting that his "elaborate headdress is striped black and gold, and the black bands are overlaid with rows of small lozenge-shaped ornaments of black faience...which produce the effect of thick wavy locks of hair" ¹⁸⁸. Other coffins are comparatively plain, a black tripartite featured on the coffin of Steward Khnumhotep of Rifeh ¹⁸⁹, whilst his namesake from Meir ¹⁹⁰ and Treasurer Ukhhotep both have blue styles, the latter with an addition of "fine black lines suggesting the locks of hair" ¹⁹¹. Canopic jar stoppers with human heads show a similar diversity of colouring and detail, from the plain

black of Inpuhotep's style ¹⁹² to a striated limestone example from Lisht ¹⁹³, and a startlingly coloured alternately striped example in blue, red and yellow ¹⁹⁴ (fig.258).

A most unusual style is that worn by a granite bust of Amenemhat III from the Fayuum (fig.259-260), the king shown in priestly costume with "the magnificent head...framed in an enormous archaic-type wig whose heavy plaits rest on the shoulders and the back of the neck" ¹⁹⁵, the conclusion being that he is presenting himself as "the primordial sovereign in his sacerdotal function", with the style interpreted as a religious necessity. An alternative, if rather curious, suggestion is that the "heavy plaited wig appears to be of Libyan inspiration...[and] may therefore represent the king in a guise of special significance to the predominantly Libyan character of his Faiyumi subjects" ¹⁹⁶. This is refuted by Terrace and Fischer who link the style to the shoulder-length styles of Old and Middle Kingdom sem priests, its huge proportions compared with "the style of Middle Kingdom wigs such as those worn by Queen Nofret and...contemporary offering bearers" ¹⁹⁷.

The offering bearers in question are actually representative of the king in the guise of 'a Nile god' on a dyad known as 'The Offering Bearers of Tanis' ¹⁹⁸ (fig.261-262), the two figures themselves virtually identical to a granite head and shoulders of a similar male figure ¹⁹⁹. The style duplicated on all three figures is quite similar to that worn by the king as priest, with thick braided locks 'laid' over the head to hang down at each side and fall on to the chest and back (fig.261), although whereas the shorter king's style incorporates locks which are thick around the head, becoming distinctly thinner around the sides and back, the braids of the Nile god figures are of a consistent thickness, laid horizontally over the head to leave a separate section of braids across the forehead, whilst a back view reveals the braids fall vertically (fig.262). Furthermore, and most unusually for a male style, a section of this back portion of hair is taken up from the crown area to form a separate plaited braid which hangs down the back to extend beyond the rest of the hair, recalling the additional braids worn by priestesses of Hathor. In searching for a prototype for these highly unusual styles, "one must go back to the Archaic period" ²⁰⁰, the number of Archaic parallels with similarly massive yet intricate styles ²⁰¹ (fig.72) originally resulting in all the Amenemhat pieces being dated to the Early Dynastic Period ²⁰².

- 1 For purposes of this study MK refers to XII-XIII dynasties taken together, with more specific dates where known given in footnotes.
- 2 Many of styles found on MK stelae in Cairo Museum, Lange & Schäfer 1925 IV, pl.LX- LXVIII particularly useful for study of styles at this time.
- 3 Louvre A.123, c.Sesostris I-Amenemhat II, Karnak, in Delange 1987, p.59- 62.
- 4 Vienna ·Kunsthistorisches Museum No.5801, XIII dyn, in Smith 1981, fig.213, p.217; Vandier 1958 III, pl.LXXXVIII.5; Aldred 1969, No.81, p.55 and Basle 1953, No.80.
- 5 BM.EA.58080, XIII dyn, Khizam, in Bourriau 1988, No.47, p.60.
- 6 Edinburgh RMS.No.1952.158, XIII dyn, in Bourriau 1988, No.51, p.65-66.
- 7 Berlin Inv.No.10115, XII dyn, in Priese ed. 1991, No.40, p.62-63.
- 8 Brooklyn Acc.No.37.363.E, XII dyn, Aswan(?), in Brooklyn 1952, No.29 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.XCIII.1.
- 9 Eton College Myers Museum No.10, XII dyn, in Bourriau 1988, No.35, p.47.
- 10 Louvre E.27153, XII dyn, in Delange 1987, p.211-213; Zeigler 1990, p.40 and Smith 1981, fig.178, p.184.
- 11 Cairo CG.44410, XIIth dyn, Thebes, figure H.3.9cm, in Bénédite 1911, p.17- 18, pl.IX.
- 12 Louvre E.17365, early XII dyn, Memphis, in Delange 1987, p.180-181 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.LXXVIII.2.
- 13 Baltimore Art Gallery, XII dyn, in Smith 1981, fig.177, p.184.
- 14 Louvre E.22747, XII dyn, Karnak, in Delange 1987, p.192-193.
- 15 Copenhagen NCG.AEIN.1344, in Koefoed-Petersen 1950, No.22, p.17, pl.23.
- 16 Louvre E.10914, XII dyn, in Delange 1987, p.130.
- 17 BM.EA.65440, Amenemhat II-Sesostris II, from Beni Hassan tomb 720, in Bourriau 1988, No.27, p.36-37.
- 18 MM.No.4736/4737, XII dyn, Rifeh, in Murray 1910, p.15-16, pl.21.7-8; David ed. 1978, p.175, and David ed. 1979, p.153-154.
- 19 Meir tomb C.1, Sesostris II, in Blackman 1953 VI, p.33, pl.XVII.
- 20 Meir tomb B.2, Sesostris I, in Blackman 1915 II, p.27, pl.XVI.
- 21 Meir tomb B.1, Amenemhat I, in Blackman 1914 I, p.30-32, pl.VI-VII; on account of minimal hair length feather probably attached by means of thin band (not shown).
- 22 Beni Hassan tomb No.3, early XII dyn, in Smith 1981, fig.198, p.201 and Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.70.
- 23 Bersheh tomb No.2, Sesostris II-Sesostris III, in Newberry 1892 I, p.31- 32, pl.XX; also p.13, pl.VII when seated to watch hunting; pl.XII-XIII, XX, XXXIII-XXXIV when sedentary/standing formally.
- 24 El-Kab tomb No.10, XIII dyn, in Tylor 1896, pl.V, VIII and Gauthier- Laurent 1938, fig.5-6.
- 25 Boston MFA.25.659, XII dyn, Naga ed-Der, in Dunham 1937, No.13, p.26-27, pl.VIII.1.
- 26 MMA.11.1551, XII dyn, Thebes, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.220, p.332.
- 27 Liverpool Merseyside County Museum No.49.56, late XII dyn, in Bourriau 1988, No.36, p.47-48.
- 28 Louvre C.174, XII dyn, in Zeigler 1990, p.37.
- 29 Liverpool Uni.Mus.E.30, XIII dyn, Abydos, in Kitchen 1961, p.10-18, pl.II-III and Bourriau 1988, No.48, p.60-63; thanks to Prof.Shore and Miss.P.Winker for access and information.

- 30 Cairo CG.20515, Sesostris I, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.105, 1925 IV pl.XXXV, and Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.91. See also Cairo CG.20535, stela of Antef, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.139, 1925 IV, pl.XXXIX, and Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.91; also Cairo CG.20473, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.68-70; Cairo CG.20433, Rizagât, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.31 and Cairo CG.20231, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1902 I, p.250-252, 1925 IV, pl.XVIII.
- 31 eg. Cairo CG.20392, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1902 I, p.388, 1925 IV, pl.XXVIII, LXIII.76; Cairo CG.20138, Abydos stela of Iker, in Lange & Schäfer 1902 I, p.161, 1925 IV, pl.XII, LXIII.77 and Cairo CG.20009, Dra Abu el-Naga (cross-hatching on upper scalp only), in Lange & Schäfer 1902 I, p.8, 1925 IV, pl.LXIII.78.
- 32 eg. Cairo CG.20549 (with black dots), Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.177, 1925 IV, pl.LXIII.80 andro CG.20706 (with red dots), Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.332, 1925 IV, pl.LIII, LXIII.79.
- 33 eg. Cairo CG.20092, in Lange & Schäfer 1902 I, p.112, 1925 IV, pl.IX, LXIII.82; Cairo CG.20138, in Lange & Schäfer 1902 I, p.161, 1925 IV, pl.XII, LXIII.77; Cairo CG.20440, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.37, 1925 IV, pl.XXXI, LXIII.83 andro CG.20755 (with added feather and headband) in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.389, 1925 IV, pl.LXIII.85.
- 34 Cairo CG.20360, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1902 I, p.367, 1925 IV, pl.XXVII, LXIII.81.
- 35 BM.EA.558, XII dyn, unprovenanced.
- 36 Louvre C.16/17/18, XIII dyn, Abydos, detail in Zeigler 1990, p.34.
- 37 Cairo CG.20518, Shunet el-Zebib, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, described as "gelbrothes Haar", p.113-114, pl.XXXV.
- 38 Boston MFA.21.326, XII dyn, Bersheh, in Breasted 1948, Type 4, No.3, p.67, pl.63; Vandier 1958 III, pl.LII.4; Aldred 1969, No.38, p.44-45 and Aldred 1980, fig.76, p.117.
- 39 Berlin Inv.No.VÄGM.10-80, XII dyn, in Fay 1982, p.130-131.
- 40 Cairo JE.44419, XII dyn, in Corteggiani 1986, No.41, p.78-79.
- 41 Louvre E.14696, XII dyn, in Delange 1987, p.170-172.
- 42 Cam.Fitz.E.60.1984, late XII-XIII dyn, in Bourriau 1988, No.114, p.121-122.
- 43 MMA.34.1.130, c.Sesostris I, Lisht, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.139, p.223 and Breasted 1948, Type 3, No.2, p.89, note 27, latter believing figure is a pygmy "because the hair is Negroid"; other three figures, Cairo JE.63858, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.90.
- 44 BM.EA.1147, XII dyn, in Newberry 1892 I, pl.XXIV, XXIX; James 1979, fig.87, p.225; James 1985, fig.77, p.67 and Reeves & Taylor 1992, p.29.
- 45 Blackman 1914 I, p.25, pl.II-III.
- 46 Blackman 1914 I, p.23-26, pl.II-III.
- 47 Blackman 1914 I, p.25, pl.III.
- 48 Blackman 1914 I, p.30, pl.V.
- 49 Blackman 1914 I, p.26-30, pl.III-IV; also reverse of stela of Amenysonb, Liverpool Uni.Mus.E.30, XIII dyn, Abydos, in Kitchen 1961, p.10-18, pl.III and Bourriau 1988, No.48, p.60-63.
- 50 Blackman 1914 I, p.32-34, pl.IX-XI.
- 51 eg. reverse of stela of Amenysonb, Liverpool Uni.Mus.E.30, XIII dyn, Abydos, in Kitchen 1961, p.10-18, pl.III and Bourriau 1988, No.48, p.60-63.
- 52 eg. soldier on predyn. palette fragment, Berlin Inv.No.15084, in Schäfer 1974, pl.3 and royal scribe on III(?) dyn.

- relief, Turin Inv.Suppl.12341, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1989, fig.299, p.198; Curto 1984, p.57 and Garolla 1988, p.64.
- 53 Cairo CG.42004, Karnak, in Legrain 1906 I, p.3-4, pl.II; also reliefs of king in shrine at Karnak Open Air Museum.
- 54 MMA.22.1.200, Amenemhat I, Lisht, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.123, p.206 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.XCI.5.
- 55 Cam.Fitz.E.219.1932, early XII dyn, in Bourriau 1988, No.26, p.35-36.
- 56 Louvre E.20179, early XII dyn, in Delange 1987, p.186.
- 57 Edinburgh RMS.No.1965.6, late XIII dyn, in Bourriau 1988, No.56, p.70-71 and Aldred 1987, fig.16, p.37.
- 58 Turin Inv.Cat.3045, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1989, fig.212, p.134.
- 59 Kofler Truniger Collection K.370 B1, in Müller 1964, No.A.95, p.61-62.
- 60 Louvre N.867, late XII-XIII dyn, in Delange 1987, p.94-95.
- 61 Berlin Inv.No.VÄGM 10-80, XII dyn, in Fay 1982, "while the first two wear curled wigs, the third appears to be satisfied with his own hair cut short", p.131, although all three could have own hair cut to different lengths.
- 62 Cairo CG.511/512, in Borchardt 1925 II, p.76-77, pl.86-87; in CG.511 one of three men in partially-curved style, CG.512 has two of three men wearing it; see also de Morgan 1903, pl.III for CG.511, and pl.IV for three further examples from same tomb.
- 63 Cairo CG.505, in Borchardt 1925 II, p.73-74, pl.86.
- 64 MMA.08.200.5, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.103, p.172.
- 65 MMA.09.180.13.ab, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.114, p.186 and Smith 1981, fig.168, p.177; compare with Djehutihotep's bearers in Newberry 1892 I, pl.XX, XXIII.
- 66 Blackman 1914 I, pl.II; Djehutihotep also wears short round style whilst hunting in skiff, in Newberry 1892 I, pl.VIII, then shown as shaven when seated to watch hunt, p.13, pl.VII.
- 67 BM.EA.585, XII dyn. stela, unprovenanced.
- 68 BM.EA.580, XII dyn. stela, unprovenanced.
- 69 eg. Cairo CG.20504, Akhmim(?), in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.94-95, 1925 IV, pl.XXXIV, LXII.57; Cairo CG.20394, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1902 I, p.390-391, 1925 IV, pl.LXII.52; Cairo CG.20123, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1902 I, p.145-147, 1925 IV, pl.LXII.58; Cairo CG.20566, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.202, 1925 IV, pl.XLV, LXIII.60; Cairo CG.20508, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.98, 1925 IV, pl.LXIII.66 and Cairo CG.20750 (reaching shoulders), Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.384-385, 1925 IV, pl.LVIII, LXIII.64.
- 70 Boston MFA.13.3844, Amenemhat III Year 30, Naga ed-Der, in Dunham 1937, No.7, p.19-20, pl.V.1.
- 71 Cairo CG.20190, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1902 I, p.219, 1925 IV, pl.XVI, LXIII.69.
- 72 Cairo CG.20561, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.194-196, 1925 IV, pl.XVI, LXII.56; Corteggiani 1986, No.35, p.72-73 and Hildesheim 1984, No.3, p.16-17.
- 73 Cairo CG.20256, in Lange & Schäfer 1902 I, p.275, 1925 IV, pl.XIX, LXII.59.
- 74 Cam.Fitz.E.207.1900, late XII dyn, in Bourriau 1988, No.39, p.50-51.
- 75 Cairo CG.20599, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.239, 1925 IV, pl.LXII.48.
- 76 eg. Cairo CG.20335, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1902 I, p.347, 1925 IV, pl.XXV, LXII.50 and Cairo CG.20212 (black style), Abydos stela of Sobekhotep, in Lange & Schäfer 1902 I, p.235, 1925 IV, pl.XVII, LXII.65.
- 77 Smith 1981, fig.197, p.201; Aldred 1980, fig.79, p.120 and James 1985, fig.19, p.20.

- 78 Cairo CG.20103, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1902 I, p.125, 1925 IV, pl.LXIII.72.
- 79 eg. Cairo CG.20172, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1902 I, p.203, 1925 IV, pl.XV, LXII.53; Cairo CG.20751, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.385-386, 1925 IV, pl.LVIII, LXII.54 and Cairo CG.20531, Abydos, Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.133-135, 1925 IV, pl.XXXVIII, LXIII.63.
- 80 Cairo JE.45625, Thebes Asasif tomb R.6, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.85 (giving 1780 BC.) and Hildesheim 1984, No.19, p.48-49 (giving 1950 BC.).
- 81 eg. Cairo CG.20473, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.68-70, 1925 IV, pl.LXIII.55; Cairo CG.20729, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.359-360, 1925 IV, pl.LV, LXIII.55; Cairo CG.20285, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1902 I, p.300-301, 1925 IV, pl.XXII, LXIII.62; Cairo CG.20475, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.54-56, 1925 IV, pl.LXIII.62; Cairo CG.20473, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.68-70, 1925 IV, pl.LXIII.67 and Cairo CG.20235, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1902 I, p.255-256, 1925 IV, pl.XIX, LXIII.68.
- 82 Cairo CG.20343, in Lange & Schäfer 1902 I, p.354, 1925 IV, pl.XXV, LXIII.61.
- 83 Smith 1981, fig.196, p.199; see also wavy outline of styles of workmen pulling colossus in Bersheh tomb of Djehutihotep, in Newberry 1892 I, p.20-21, pl.XV.
- 84 Cairo CG.20458, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.56-58, 1925 IV, pl.LXIII.75; also Cairo CG.20363, in Lange & Schäfer 1902 I, p.369, 1925 IV, pl.LXIII.70.
- 85 BM.EA.1147, XII dyn, in James 1979, p.225 and James 1985, fig.77, p.67.
- 86 For similar NK style interpreted as kerchief see Vogelsang-Eastwood 1993, fig.10:5, p.175 and Vogelsang-Eastwood ed. 1994, fig.144, p.85; Bourriau also refers to official with "a broad wig or headcloth", 1988, p.57.
- 87 BM.EA.570, Amenemhat II, Abydos, in Aldred 1969, No.37, p.44; Aldred 1980, fig.97, p.134 and James 1979, fig.77, p.202.
- 88 Cairo, from Sakkara, in Aldred 1969, No.36, p.43.
- 89 Brooklyn Acc.No.39.602, XII dyn, in Brooklyn 1952, No.24; Fazzini et al. 1989, No.22; Fazzini 1975, Cat.41, p.54; Aldred 1969, No.75, p.53; Vandier 1958 III, pl.LXXX.6; Brussels 1976, No.22, p.50; Reeves & Taylor 1992, p.19 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.75, p.244.
- 90 Louvre E.10974, late XII-XIII dyn, in Delange 1987, p.131-132.
- 91 Louvre A.76, XIII dyn, Abydos, in Delange 1987, p.86-87.
- 92 Louvre E.10985, XIII dyn, Fayuum, in Delange 1987, p.133-135.
- 93 Cairo JE.47709, XII dyn, Deir el-Bahari (blue shade discussed below).
- 94 Edinburgh RMS.No.1959.24, early XII dyn, in Bourriau 1988, No.18, "Khusobek wears a bag wig", p.28.
- 95 Liverpool Merseyside County Museum 1966.178, XIII dyn, Asyut, in Bourriau 1988, No.55, p.69-70.
- 96 BM.EA.24385, late XII-XIII dyn, in James & Davies 1983, fig.28, p.26.
- 97 UC.15515, XII dyn, in Page 1976, No.22, p.19-20.
- 98 Louvre A.47, Sesostris III, Memphis, in Delange 1987, p.81-83.
- 99 For reconstruction sketch see Corson 1980, p.34-35, pl.2.K.
- 100 Cairo CG.459/JE.30965, XII dyn, in Borchardt 1925 II, p.51-52, pl.76; Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.100; Vandier 1958 III, pl.LXXXV.2; Terrace & Fischer 1970, No.16, p.81-84; Aldred 1980, fig.94, p.131 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.85, p.246.

- 101 Louvre E.11053, Amenemhat III, Fayuum, in Delange 1987, p.69-71; Vandier 1958 III, pl.LXXIII.2 and Aldred 1969, No.68, p.51.
- 102 BM.EA.1785, XII dyn, unprovenanced, in James & Davies 1983, p.24 (not illustrated).
- 103 Louvre A.80, XII dyn, Abydos, in Delange 1987, p.91-93.
- 104 MMA.33.1.2, Sesostris I, Lisht, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.124, p.207; Lansing 1933, fig.14, p.207 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.XCI.
- 105 Louvre N.870, Sesostris III(?), in Delange 1987, p.96-99.
- 106 BM.EA.777, mid-XII dyn, in Aldred 1965, No.35, p.43, and James & Davies 1983, p.43 (not illustrated).
- 107 eg. Berlin Inv.No.4435, XII dyn, in Fay 1982, p.34-35; Vandier 1958 III, p.243, 251, pl.LXXXIV.5 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.82, p.245; MMA. 07.228.180, XII dyn, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.128, p.211; MMA.30.8.73, XII dyn, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.126, p.209, and Vandier 1958 III, pl.LXXVIII.4; Louvre E.22754, Amenemhat III, in Delange 1987, p.194-195; Louvre E.22771, Sesostris III, in Delange 1987, p.199; Louvre E.22758, in Delange 1987, p.197; Louvre E.22759, in Delange 1987, p.198 and Cam.Fitz.EGA.3298.1943, XIII dyn, in Bourriau 1988, No.44, p.57.
- 108 MMA.29.100.151, XII dyn, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.130, p.213.
- 109 BM.EA.100, in Aldred 1969, No.65, p.51.
- 110 MM.No.6135, Amenemhat IV/early XIII dyn, Haraga tomb No.66, in Bourriau 1988, No.43, p.56-57.
- 111 Louvre E.10757, XII dyn, in Delange 1987, p.128.
- 112 Cairo CG.405, in Borchardt 1925 II, p.17-18, pl.66.
- 113 Cairo CG.480, XII dyn, Abydos, in Borchardt 1925 II, p.62, pl.80; Aldred 1969, No.34, p.43; Vandier 1958 III, p.252, note 8, pl.LXXX.7 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.74, p.244.
- 114 eg. Fay 1982, p.29, Hayes 1953 I referring to "shawl-shaped wig", p.208.
- 115 Copenhagen NCG.AEIN.27, XIII dyn, Karnak, in Koefoed-Petersen 1950, No.25, p.18, pl.26 and Aldred 1980, fig.98, p.134.
- 116 Louvre E.27253, XIII dyn, in Zeigler 1990, p.34 and Delange 1987, p.214-216.
- 117 Louvre E.11196, XIII dyn, Fayuum, in Delange 1987, p.138-139.
- 118 Louvre E.17332, XIII dyn, Abydos, in Delange 1987, p.178-179.
- 119 Cairo JE.43928, late XII-XIII dyn, Karnak, in Aldred 1987, fig.95, p.137; Terrace & Fischer 1970, No.18, p.89-92 and Corteggiani 1986, No.38, p.75-76.
- 120 Turin Cat.3064, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1989, fig.210, p.132, Robins ed. 1990, No.44, giving a date during reign of Amenemhat III on account of "clothing, hair and...character of the face", p.86.
- 121 Turin Inv.Suppl.4265, XII dyn, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1988, fig.160, p.119 and Donadoni-Roveri 1989, fig.209, "details of the costume, such as the hairstyle...reflect the fashions of the time", p.132.
- 122 Louvre A.48, XIII dyn, Abydos, in Delange 1987, p.84-85.
- 123 Cairo JE.34094, Fayuum, in Vandier 1958 III, pl.LXXXV.3 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.87, p.246.
- 124 Cairo CG.42206, in Legrain 1914 III, p.15, pl.XIII.
- 125 UC.8711, XIII dyn, in Page 1976, No.47, p.44 and Bourriau 1988, No.46, p.59-60.
- 126 Louvre A.125, XIII dyn, Karnak, in Delange 1987, p.66-68; Zeigler 1990, p.37 and Vandier 1958 III,

- pl.LXXXIII.1.
- 127 Louvre E.14330, XIII dyn, Edfu, in Delange 1987, p.72-75 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.XCIV.3.
- 128 Durham Oriental Museum N.501, XII dyn, Lisht(?), in Bourriau 1988, No.19, p.28-29.
- 129 Cairo CG.20038, in Lange & Schäfer 1902 I, p.46-48, 1925 IV, pl.IV.
- 130 Louvre N.1606, late XIII dyn-IIInd IP, in Delange 1987, p.104-105 and Vandier 1958 III, p.241.
- 131 Cairo CG.42207, late XII dyn, Karnak, in Legrain 1925 III, p.17-20, pl.14, Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.106, referring to "The wide wig which leaves the ears uncovered...typical of high officials of this dynasty" [and the next].
- 132 Brooklyn Acc.No.41.83, late XII dyn, in Aldred 1969, No.66, p.51, and Vandier 1958 III, pl.LXXXIX.3.
- 133 BM.EA.50.8, XII dyn, in Aldred 1980, fig.96, p.134.
- 134 Boston MFA.1973.87, XII dyn, Meir, in Boston 1988, No.48, p.121.
- 135 Aswan Museum, XII dyn, chapel of Heka-ib, in Smith 1981, fig.183, p.188 and Vandersleyen 1976, p.236, pl.157.a.
- 136 BM.EA.462, unprovenanced.
- 137 MMA.24.1.45, Sesostris III, Lisht, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.125, referring to his "wavy, shawl-shaped wig", p.208; also Vandier 1958 III, pl.LXXVII.1 and Corson 1980, p.32-33, pl.IK for reconstruction sketch, including close-up detail of curled ends, and p.34-35, pl.2.J. for side view of same style.
- 138 Cam.Fitz.E.500.1932, Asyut (?), Amenemhat III-early XIII dyn, in Bourriau 1988, No.42, "The ringlets, bound together in pairs, of which the wig is composed are carefully shown", p.55.
- 139 Louvre E.14217, XII dyn, in Vandier 1958 III, pl.LXXXVI.6, and Delange 1987, "cette coiffure s'apparente à celle Sehetepibreankh [MMA.24.1.45, above] ou à celle du buste du British Museum", p.168-169, ie. BM.EA.98, XII dyn, in James & Davies 1983, fig.26, p.27.
- 140 Brooklyn Acc.No.62.77.1, XII dyn, unprovenanced, in Fazzini et al. 1989, No.24
- 141 Berlin Inv.No.15700, late XII-early XIII dyn, Siut(?), in Priese ed. 1991, No.39, p.60-61; Aldred 1969, No.67, p.51; Aldred 1980, fig.99, p.135; Fechheimer 1914, pl.46-48; Westendorf 1968, p.84, and Vandier 1958 III, pl.LXXXVIII.2.
- 142 Leiden Inv.F.1938/1.25, XII dyn, in Amiet et al. 1981, fig.67, p.243.
- 143 Berlin Inv.No.12485, XIII dyn, in Fay 1982, p.28-29; also Amiet et al. 1981, fig.63, p.242.
- 144 Delange 1987, noting that the "perruque retombant en points sur les clavicules, ornée de mèches ondulantes qui se terminent en boucles...[est] non attestée au début de la XIIe dynastie", p.93.
- 145 MMA.12.184, XII dyn, Abydos, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.195, p.298 and Metropolitan 1984, fig.13, p.17.
- 146 Cam.Fitz.E.295, XII dyn, Abydos, in Bourriau 1988, No.39, p.50.
- 147 Cairo CG.20455, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.49-51.
- 148 Cairo CG.20670, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.298-299.
- 149 eg. Cairo CG.20105, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1902 I, p.128-129, 1925 IV, pl.XI, LX.1; CG.20500, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.91-92, 1925 IV, pl.XXXIV, LX.2; CG.20620, Abydos stela of Djehuty, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.260, 1925 IV, pl.LX.3; CG.20457, Abydos stela of Nakhti, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.54-56, 1925 IV, pl.LX.4; CG.20456, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.51-54, 1925 IV, pl.XXXII, LX.5; CG.20546, Abydos stela of Ameny, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.171-173, 1925 IV, pl.LX.16; CG.20436, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.33-35, 1925 IV, pl.LXI.17; CG.20455, Abydos stela of Ameny, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II,

- p.49-51, 1925 IV, pl.LXI.18; CG.20185, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1902 I, p.214-215, 1925 IV, pl.XVI, LXI.32; CG.20239, Abydos stela of Senwosret, in Lange & Schäfer 1902 I, p.261-262, 1925 IV, pl.XIX, LXI.33 and CG.20423, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.17-18, 1925 IV, pl.XXX, LXI.34, etc.
- 150 Lansing 1933, fig.15, p.15.
- 151 Blackman 1953 VI, pl.XVII, top register on right.
- 152 Newberry 1892 I, p.40, pl.XXXIV.
- 153 Newberry 1892, pl.XVIII
- 154 Newberry 1892, pl.XXV.
- 155 Blackman 1914 I, pl.III, XX.
- 156 Boston MFA, XII dyn, Bersheh, in Aldred 1969, No.48, p.47; Smith 1981, fig.191, p.194 and Westendorf 1968, p.76.
- 157 Lange & Hirmer 1957, p.312-313, pl.100.
- 158 Cairo CG.20535, XII dyn, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.139-142, 1925 IV, pl.XXXIX and Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.92.
- 159 Cairo JE.45625, late XII dyn(?), Thebes, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.85 and Hildesheim 1984, No.19, p.48-49.
- 160 Cairo CG.20467, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.63-64, 1925 IV, pl.XXXII, LXII.40.
- 161 Louvre C.16, late XIII dyn, Abydos.
- 162 Leiden Inv.AP.65, XII dyn, Abydos, in Boeser 1909 II, No.10, p.5, pl.IX.
- 163 MMA.12.182.1, Amenemhat I, Abydos, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.221, p.333.
- 164 Cairo CG.20446, Abydos (note plain tabs of hair below wig), in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.42, 1925 IV, pl.XXXI, LXI.21.
- 165 eg. Cairo CG.20140, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1902 I, p.165-166, 1925 IV, pl.XIII, LX.7; CG.20440, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.37, 1925 IV, pl.XXXI, LX.6; CG.20288, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1902 I, p.303, 1925 IV, pl.XXII, LXI.36; CG.20127, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1902 I, p.150-151, 1925 IV, pl.XI, LXII.37; CG.20606, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.244-245, 1925 IV, pl.XLVIII, LXII.38 and CG.20063, Abydos (note very rough cross striations), in Lange & Schäfer 1902 I, p.77-79, 1925 IV, pl.VI, LX.8.
- 166 Cairo CG.20163, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1902 I, p.193, 1925 IV, pl.XIV, LXII.43.
- 167 Cairo CG.20090, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1902 I, p.109, 1925 IV, pl.IX, LXII.45; see also Cairo CG.20440, Abydos, for braids resting on shoulders only, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.37-38, 1925 IV, pl.XXXI, LX.6.
- 168 Newberry 1892 I, p.26, pl.XVII.
- 169 Newberry 1892 I, pl.X, with stepped edges; see also Blackman 1918(ii), pl.XVIII.
- 170 Cairo CG.20515, XII dyn, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.105-108, 1925 IV, pl.XXXV and Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.91.
- 171 Turin Inv.Cat.1630, late XII-XIII dyn, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1988, fig.148, p.111.
- 172 BM.EA.579, early XII dyn, in Bourriau 1988, No.20, p.29-31.
- 173 MMA.09.180.111, Amenemhat I, Lisht, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.109, p.178.
- 174 eg. Cairo CG.20014, Abydos stela of Hetep, in Lange & Schäfer 1902 I, p.14, 1925 IV, pl.II, LX.10; CG.20708, Abydos stela of Ptahankh, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.334, 1925 IV, pl.LIII, LXLX.11; Cairo CG.20123,

- Abydos stela of Pepi, in Lange & Schäfer 1902 I, p.145-147, 1925 IV, pl.LX.11; CG.20360, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1902 I, p.367, 1925 IV, pl.XXVII, LX.12; CG.20595, Abydos stela of Wahka, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.234-235, 1925 IV, pl.LX.12; CG.20009, Dra Abu el-Naga, in Lange & Schäfer 1902 I, p.8-9, 1925 IV, pl.LX.14; CG.20470, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.65, 1925 IV, pl.XXXIII, LXI.24; CG.20476, Qurna, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.73, 1925 IV, pl.XXXIII, LXI.24; CG.20693, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.320, 1925 IV, pl.LII, LXI.25; CG.20756, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.389, 1925 IV, pl.LVIII; CG.20516, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.108-111, 1925 IV, pl.XXXV, LXII.41; CG.20153, Abydos stela of Ptahesankh (with stepped edges), in Lange & Schäfer 1902 I, p.180, 1925 IV, pl.XIV, LXII.47. For basic cross-hatching pattern, see Cairo CG.20011, Dra Abu el-Naga stela of Henwy, in Lange & Schäfer 1902 I, p.10-11, 1925 IV, pl.II, LXLX.15, and CG.20501, Nagada, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.92, 1925 IV, pl.XXXIV, LXLXI.30.
- 175 Turin Inv.Cat.1534 (with tabs of natural hair by ears), in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1988, fig.144-145, p.109.
- 176 Leiden Inv.AP.7, XII dyn, Abydos, in Boeser 1909 II, No.3, p.2, pl.II; Schneider & Raven 1981, No.45, p.66 and Klebs 1922 II, fig.13, p.19.
- 177 Louvre C.167/E.3111, XII dyn.
- 178 eg. Cairo CG.20007, Qurna, in Lange & Schäfer 1902 I, p.6, 1925 IV, pl.I, LX.9; CG.20459, Abydos stela of Seneb, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.58, 1925 IV, pl.XXXII, LXI.22; CG.20004, Dra Abu el-Naga, in Lange & Schäfer 1902 I, p.4, 1925 IV, pl.LXI.23; CG.20135, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1902 I, p.158, 1925 IV, pl.XII, LXII.39; CG.20566, Abydos (with stepped edges), in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.202, 1925 IV, pl.XLV, LXII.46; for 'herring-bone' pattern of vertical curls see CG.20507, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.97, 1925 IV, pl.XXXIV, LXI.19; CG.20513, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.103, 1925 IV, pl.LXI.19, and CG.20092, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1902 I, p.112, 1925 IV, pl.IX, LXI.20.
- 179 Compare with frequent relief forms of Hapi in this style, eg. on side of throne of Sesostris I, in Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.87 and Westendorf 1968, p.88-89; also MMA.09.180.526, Lisht altar of Amenemhat I, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.105, p.174; for swept-back style, see Lansing 1933, fig.9, p.10.
- 180 Cairo CG.20562, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.196-198, and 1925 IV, "ähnlich der Frauenfrisur", p.3, pl.LXI.31.
- 181 Berlin Inv.No.1191, in Schäfer 1974, fig.301, "Occasionally long male wigs like female ones are found", p.289.
- 182 Berlin Inv.No.4650, XII dyn, Asasif, in Fay 1982, p.36-37; Fechheimer 1921, pl.34-35 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.LXXIII.3.
- 183 BM.EA.461, XII dyn, in James & Davies 1983, fig.25, p.26 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.XCI.1.
- 184 Louvre E.26019, XII dyn, Asyut, in Delange 1987, p.206-207; see p.207, note 1. for similar example of Itib in Baltimore.
- 185 Louvre E.10445, XII dyn, in Delange 1987, p.124-125.
- 186 Copenhagen NCG.AEIN.1662, Abydos, in Koefoed-Petersen 1950, No.18, p.15, pl.20 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.LXXXVIII.3.
- 187 Cairo CG.259, XIII dyn, in Borchardt 1911 I, p.166, pl.56; Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.117; Corteggiani 1986, No.44, p.82-83; Aldred 1969, No.79, p.55; Aldred 1980, fig.100, p.136; Smith 1981, fig.170, p.179; Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.113; Westendorf 1968, p.96 and Weigall 1927 II, pl.VI.
- 188 MMA.12.183.11.c, XII dyn, Meir, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.203, p.312.
- 189 Edinburgh RMS.No.1907.713.5, late XII dyn, in Aldred 1969, No.56, p.48-49.
- 190 MMA.12.182.131.c, XII dyn, Meir, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.201, p.310.
- 191 MMA.12.182.132.c, XII dyn, in Hayes 1953 I, p.310; also Metropolitan 1984, fig.22, p.22-23.

- 192 Cairo JE.46774, XII dyn, Sakkara, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.97.
- 193 MMA.33.1.8, early XII dyn, Lisht, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.213, p.324; see also Brooklyn Acc.No.87.78, XII dyn, unprovenanced, in Fazzini et al. 1989, No.20.
- 194 Liverpool Uni.Mus.E.6897, XII dyn, Abydos tomb 324; thanks to Prof.Shore and Miss.P.Winker for access.
- 195 Cairo CG.395, Fayuum, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.103; also Borchardt 1925 II, p.13, pl.64; Corteggiani 1986, No.42, p.79-80; Terrace & Fischer 1970, No.17, p.88; Westendorf 1968, p.94; Aldred 1969, No.76, p.54; Vandier 1958 III, pl.LXX.1-2 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.54, p.241.
- 196 Aldred 1969, p.54.
- 197 Terrace & Fischer 1970, p.86.
- 198 Cairo CG.392, Tanis, in Borchardt 1925 II, p.9-11, pl.63; Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.104; Vandier 1958 III, pl.LXIX.2-4 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.55-56, p.241.
- 199 Thermae Museum, in Fechheimer 1914, pl.59; Vandier 1958 III, pl.LXX.3-4, and Petrie 1916, "Bust found on the Esquiline, Rome. Imported from Egypt", p.193.
- 200 Terrace & Fischer 1970, p.86.
- 201 eg. "King of Hierakonpolis", Cairo JE.32159, in Petrie 1916, p.191; Vandier 1952 I.2, fig. 656, p.980, and Terrace & Fischer 1970, p.86.
- 202 Petrie 1916, p.188-194, reviewing Capart's 'Les Monuments dits Hyksos', 1914, partly agrees with latter's Archaic date, but also suggests a 1st Intermediate date.

WOMEN

The Middle Kingdom is a time of significant development in women's styles, and although the tripartite style continues to dominate in artistic representations, its sculpted form is now much fuller in appearance, a similar phenomenon observed in the shoulder-length styles of contemporary male figures.

The tripartite style is the general choice of coiffure for women of all classes, from queens to servants. The traditional Old Kingdom form with straight, centrally-parted hair is still employed, the finest example of which is that worn by the granite figure of Sennuwy, wife of nomarch Hepdjefa, her evenly striated style falling down to cover the ears ¹ (fig.263). Further examples with the ears hidden by the hair clearly demonstrate a move toward thicker forms, with striated, detailed styles worn by the wooden figures of Idykeky ², the priestess Imeretnebes ³ (fig.264), an unnamed woman from Siut ⁴ and offering bearers with plain "heavy tripartite" styles ⁵.

However, the vast majority of sculpted examples of the tripartite style have the hair set behind the ears, causing the already thickened hair to swell out around the sides of the head to create a rounded appearance, often divided and slightly flattened by a centre parting. From such examples it is possible to trace the emergence of the classic bouffant style (discussed below), which is only distinguished by the curling or rounding of its tapered lappets as opposed to the traditional squared-off ends of the tripartite style.

Plain unadorned forms of the thicker, swollen tripartite can be found on single figures ⁶, dyads ⁷ and family groups ⁸, in addition to servant figures ⁹, although the most common form features striated decoration, the striations serving to highlight the thick, swollen nature of the hair. A rather unusual head of an unnamed queen has a style set with horizontal striations which dissect the hair to give a wavy outline ¹⁰, although vertical striations are a far more common means of decoration, royal examples including an unnamed XIIth dynasty queen with "massive wig" ¹¹, the Princess Sobeknakht (nursing her child) ¹², a royal woman from Abydos ¹³ (fig.265) and an unnamed princess whose style is adorned with "clean ordered lines" ¹⁴ (fig.266). The natural hair is visible on the latter example and on the heads of another unnamed royal woman ¹⁵ and two unknown women from the Fayuum ¹⁶ and from Megiddo ¹⁷.

Further non-royal examples of the striated thicker tripartite are noted in the case of the nurse Sitsnofru ¹⁸, Sathathor and Iouehib ¹⁹, Henib ²⁰ and other women ²¹ (fig.267-268). The style of Henib also has a headband or ribbon running from ear to ear around the back of the head, one of the unnamed women wearing a similar band which also extends along the central parting to attach itself to the rest of the band at the back; the ends of her striated hair terminate in two horizontal bands, and the actual 'flat-top' shape of the style confirms a date in the second half of the XIIth dynasty ²² (fig.268). A rather more detailed example in limestone is further embellished with small cross-hatched lines to give texture (fig.269), and "the style of coiffure - a heavy wig parted down the back and with lappets falling over the shoulders in front - makes a date in, or shortly after, the 12th dynasty certain" ²³.

In painted/relief scenes, the tripartite is still the most common style and continues to be shown in traditional form, plain examples being by far the most numerous, as worn by Montuhotepankh and Neferit, wife and daughter of Abkau²⁴, the female relatives of Vizier Senwosret²⁵, Sithathor, wife of Steward Inyotef and their female attendants²⁶, the wife and daughter of Nitptah, Seni and Dedi²⁷ (fig.231), the wife of the official Antefoker²⁸ (fig.249), and many other female figures of all classes²⁹. A number of examples also have white headbands worn at or below ear-level³⁰, as noted from contemporary statuary.

Further examples of particular interest include a seated lady whose natural hair-line is visible beneath her plain tripartite wig³¹ (fig.250), whilst the same plain style of Nehesnefer's wife is being dressed and arranged by their similarly coiffured daughter Senet³² (fig.866), the wife of priest Sobeknakht employing a servant for the task who likewise wears the same style as her mistress³³ (fig.868). Other domestic servants/manual workers with the plain tripartite include the weavers of Khnumhotep from his Beni Hassan tomb scenes³⁴, their counterparts in the Bersheh tomb of Djehutihotep³⁵, and dancers and acrobats in the Qau tomb scenes of Wahka II³⁶.

Relief depictions of tripartite styles sometimes feature decoration in the form of vertical striations along their length, as noted from the styles of Hathorhotep, wife of nomarch Djehutihotep³⁷, the wife and daughters of Chief Goldsmith Nakht³⁸ (fig.248), the wives of Hapy³⁹, Ptahankh⁴⁰, Khnumhotep and others⁴¹. The striations can very occasionally run across the hair horizontally⁴², or the decoration can simply be in the form of cross-hatching⁴³, the elaborately curled and plaited styles found in the XIth dynasty now far less common⁴⁴ (fig.230).

The long hair of the tripartite style can sometimes be shown to have fallen together in a single mass down the back if the arms are raised or stretched out to perform some task; although previously noted in relief form in the Old Kingdom, this swept-back style is now also found in small-scale statuary. Examples include mourning figures⁴⁵ and nursing mothers⁴⁶, one of whom feeds her child whilst her swept-back style of cross-hatched detail is attended to by a second woman⁴⁷ (fig.869). A number of limestone figurines of acrobats/dancers have rather more dramatic forms of the style in which the hair falls in a single mass to reach the floor as they strike various agile poses⁴⁸.

This swept-back style also continues to be depicted in two-dimensions, plain examples worn by the wives of Sobeknakht⁴⁹, Itfankh⁵⁰ and Montusa⁵¹, priestesses in the tomb of Antefoker (TT.60) as they raise their arms to clap⁵², in addition to offering bearers of Amenemhat I⁵³ and the weavers and bakers of Djehutihotep⁵⁴, whilst decorated forms feature vertical lines⁵⁵, cross-hatching⁵⁶, and very occasionally elaborate braiding⁵⁷.

A somewhat unusual variant on the swept-back style is found on certain figures of female manual workers, the hair being drawn back and fastened up in one piece to stick out horizontally behind; first noticed on the XIth dynasty kitchen workers of Djar, this style continues into the Middle Kingdom where it is worn by a woman operating a spindle in the tomb scenes of Khnumhotep⁵⁸, a woman grinding corn on the stela of Priest Amenysonb⁵⁹ (fig.270) and a servant on the

stela of Hedjhotep ⁶⁰.

The style most often associated with Middle Kingdom women however is the bouffant 'Hathor' style which is basically an elaboration upon the basic tripartite form of three long sections of hair set equally over each shoulder and down the back, although with the increasing volume of hair it can often be difficult to differentiate between tripartite and bouffant; in the classic bouffant form the front two sections are clearly tapered at the base and are either curled outward or rounded off to contrast with the mass of hair above.

Although Archaic prototypes have been identified ⁶¹ (fig.75-77), the classic form with tapered ends does not occur until the early XIIth dynasty, as noted from the small granite head of a queen ⁶² and two non-royal examples in quartzite representing the wife and daughter(?) of High Priest of Ptah, Senwosretankh ⁶³ (fig.271), the earliest firmly dated examples being two granite figures of Queen Nofret, wife of Sesostris II ⁶⁴ (fig.272). The hair, set in fine bands or wires, is skilfully carved, with wavy vertical striations crossing subtle horizontal undulations in the surface of the stone to give the effect of hair. In contrast, the ends of the hair are decorated with distinctly straight lines to suggest the taut nature of the curls, as is the back section of hair which falls in a straight mass of individually carved thin plaits. The suggestion that this style was achieved by the use of a wig to form the front section, leaving the natural hair to hang down at the back ⁶⁵ is further borne out by the appearance of crescent shaped tabs of natural hair in front of the ear ⁶⁶.

Other royal women adopting the style include a wife of Amenemhat III in sphinx-form ⁶⁷ and two further royal women dated to his reign ⁶⁸, their styles again enclosed in fine bands or ribbons to hold their shape whilst a similar style of an unnamed queen is totally plain ⁶⁹ (fig.273). Sourouzian states that "La forme est naturellement imitée dans la statuaire civile dont les exemples sont nombreux dans presque tous les grands musées d'antiquités égyptiennes" ⁷⁰, and even a necessarily limited selection of such non-royal examples serves to illustrate her point.

The striated bouffant style is worn by Khnumhotep and Nubkau, two wives of Khnumhotep ⁷¹ (fig.234), a similar unnamed figure ⁷², a painted limestone figurine with a blue form ⁷³, and an unnamed figurine in ivory with delicate wavy lines incised over the whole hair surface, the flattened crown indicative of a date within the second half of the XII dynasty ⁷⁴ (fig.274). Further examples with the style set in bands or ribbons include an unnamed woman whose banded style is likened to aforementioned royal examples ⁷⁵, and the charming wooden figurine of Kemtet ⁷⁶ (fig.275), her style almost identical to a small wig of ebony complete with back pillar ⁷⁷.

Plain examples are worn by the lady Yuket ⁷⁸, an unnamed woman from Luxor ⁷⁹, the wife (or daughter) of an unnamed official ⁸⁰ (fig.236) and the wife and mother of another anonymous official ⁸¹, a further statue group of mother and son rather clumsily portraying the curls as curling inward ⁸². Others with plain forms of the bouffant style include a royal singer ⁸³, two decorative figures adorning the sides of a limestone head-rest ⁸⁴ (fig.276) and a number of so-called concubine figures, their adoption of the bouffant style quite in keeping with their tendency to wear the most fashionable

styles of the day ⁸⁵.

In a departure from normal forms of decoration, the coffin of Senebtisi from Lisht features a combination of headwear, the 'khat' linen headdress set over the more usual gold and blue striped tripartite style, whilst beneath both hang two long blue and gold curls along the length of the upper body terminating in red discs ⁸⁶. As Mace and Winlock state, "it is unusual to have both [tripartite and curls] shown together, the probability seems to be that the pendants [tripartite lappets] are those of a wig, the curls part of the natural hair...In this case the wig would be of the ordinary, conventional form common at all periods, but the curls on the contrary present some features unusual in coffin decoration" ⁸⁷.

The bouffant style did not translate well into two-dimensional scenes, Sourouzian noting that "on ne peut citer que la coiffure des filles de Djehouty-Hotep sous Sesostris III" ⁸⁸. In his tomb scenes, the nomarch's female relations are shown standing before him ⁸⁹, his wife Hathorhotep, Priestess of Hathor, wearing a striated tripartite style, as are three of her daughters (fig.277), whilst Newberry describes another three as having "the hair gathered on the right side of the head into the lock signifying youth" ⁹⁰ (fig.278). However, as in the case of the tripartite style, artistic convention dictated that only one section of hair needed to be portrayed, and "Despite the fact that only one curving tress is shown, their coiffure is probably the same as the one worn by Queen Nofret; the wavy hair is similarly shaped by means of horizontal bands and is weighted by a disk that is probably made of carnelian" ⁹¹. The scene also highlights the problem of linking the bouffant 'Hathor' style too closely with the goddess, since the only woman designated as her priestess wears the simple tripartite style whilst it is three of her untitled daughters who adopt the so-called 'Hathor' style.

A second two-dimensional representation of the bouffant style is noted on the stela of the Overseer Sobekaa as worn by his daughter Hetepi, and although once again quite full at the side of the head and falling on to the chest in a curl, a second additional curl is shown at the back of the head in contrast to the previous examples worn by Djehutihotep's daughters, ⁹².

Although the tripartite style in its various guises is the most popular choice of coiffure, early examples of the 'full' or 'enveloping' style are also to be found, several centuries before it is usually assumed to appear. It is clearly shown in both relief and sculpture, demonstrating the way in which the mass of hair is further increased to cover the upper arms and shoulders in a curtain of hair, an example of the transitional stage between the tripartite and full/enveloping styles, referred to by Haynes as the 'partial tripartite' in its New Kingdom form ⁹³, illustrating the way in which the basic tripartite structure is 'filled in' with separate locks between the front and back sections ⁹⁴.

Two-dimensional examples of the full style occur in modest numbers, worn by noblewomen and servants alike. Meres, wife of Nomarch Senbi, accompanies her husband hunting in a skiff when wearing the full style ⁹⁵, which is also worn by the wife and daughter of Royal Treasurer SaIsis ⁹⁶ (fig.247), the wife of the official Renes ⁹⁷, Dedyet, the daughter of Steward Montwosre ⁹⁸ (fig.279), the daughter of Ameny ⁹⁹ and priestesses of Hathor in the Meir tomb of Nomarch

Ukhhote¹⁰⁰. The wife of Priest Sobeknakht has her full style dressed by two servants who themselves wear tripartite styles (as does their mistress in her other tomb scenes)¹⁰¹ (fig.867), although servants are depicted elsewhere with the full style; examples include weavers in the tomb scenes of Djehutihotep¹⁰² and the bearer Anebi and her colleagues in the Beni Hassan tomb of Amenemhat, the nomarch's wife and female relations wearing contrasting tripartite styles¹⁰³.

Sculpted examples include the full style of Itneferuseneb, the wife(?) of Steward SenusretSenebefni¹⁰⁴ (fig.232), an unnamed priest's wife¹⁰⁵ and Tepet of Meir, her style adorned with white bands set around the head at ear-level and over the crown¹⁰⁶, so-called concubine figures adopting this form of coiffure on occasion¹⁰⁷. The most celebrated example of the full style at this time is however the small wooden head of a royal woman from the reign of Amenemhat I, the face carved in light wood whilst the enveloping mass of hair is painted black with overlaid squares of gold to suggest the fashionable hair jewellery of the time¹⁰⁸ (fig.280), the piece comparing favourably with a small ivory head of a woman wearing a full style of painted gypsum flecked with gold¹⁰⁹.

Shorter shoulder-length and bobbed styles are occasionally found, although generally restricted to servant figures. As in the Old Kingdom, two dimensional examples are very rare¹¹⁰, with sculpted examples hardly numerous and restricted to hairdressing figures¹¹¹ (fig.869) and so-called 'concubine' fertility figurines. The short bobbed style of the latter is further elaborated upon by an unusual arrangement of the hair at the back of an otherwise shaven head into three longer sections, two of which rest on the shoulders¹¹² (fig.281-282), and whilst it has been noted that this particular form of hairdressing is confined to women of lower status and never the 'Lady of the House', it has been inaccurately described as the tripartite style¹¹³. It is however rather similar to the bob and plait style found on contemporary servant figures¹¹⁴, both forms giving the impression of short hair from the front whilst a rear view displays the arrangement of longer braids.

The short round style is also portrayed in its various forms, from the traditional curled to the virtually cropped. It is only very occasionally represented in two dimensions, as noted from a stela scene of King Sobekhotep II in which his daughters Yuhetibu and Anuketdedet wear the style set in numerous horizontal rows of tiny curls¹¹⁵ (fig.283). The majority of examples are represented in sculpted form and feature varying amounts of surface detail, two wooden figurines having horizontally curled detail¹¹⁶ whilst a similar example has simple cross-hatching¹¹⁷ (fig.284). An intriguing head and torso of a royal woman of late Middle Kingdom date, perhaps to be identified as Queen Sobeknefru, portrays a cloaked figure wearing a rather heavy round style simply decorated with horizontally striated concentric lines¹¹⁸ (fig.285).

The shaven/cropped head is also occasionally found on wooden figurines, as noted from the aforementioned figure of Imeretnebes (minus detachable wig) (fig.264), a fragmentary figurine¹¹⁹ and an ivory statuette, the finely dotted scalp "representing the shaved areas of the skull" with additional drilled holes into which small braids of real hair could be attached¹²⁰. The use of dots to suggest stubble is also noted in the case of two dancers in tomb scenes of Intefoker

(TT.60), their companions shown with an addition of a single lock of hair in a continuation of the Old Kingdom ball hairstyle ¹²¹, which is also worn by two bearers on the funerary stela of priest Wepwawetaa ¹²² (fig.286).

All the basic forms of hairstyle are found in large numbers in the Meir tomb scenes of Ukhhotep, High Priest of Hathor ¹²³, his aforementioned family group statues portraying his wives in bouffant styles (fig.234), whilst a wide variety of other styles which translate more successfully into two dimensions are worn by the large number of women who populate his tomb scenes.

A hunting trip on the water is accompanied by a number of wives, Nubkau wearing the plain black tripartite and Nebetmehyt a black full style banded in yellow ¹²⁴, a coiffure also adopted by another wife Khnumhotep ¹²⁵ and a woman at the top of the scene. Groups of women in further scenes wear a variety of styles as they perform a wide range of tasks more usually undertaken by men ¹²⁶; a row of four "elaborately attired" women poised to catch birds wear the tripartite style, a short round style and a full style with slight fringe hanging down beneath, the fourth with a short round style with a long curled lock of hair attached near the back of the head (fig.287). Behind them another woman with a cage of birds wears a tripartite style with her own short hair protruding at the side ¹²⁷, nearby fisherwomen have short styles contrasting with the full style of the woman collecting their catch, and the offering bearers above them wear shoulder-length styles ¹²⁸.

In a further scene a choir of women have both full and swept-back styles ¹²⁹ whilst a number of musicians in the full style play beside a large Hathor-headed sistrum complete with familiar bouffant form ¹³⁰. Below what was originally a scene depicting "a festival in honour of the goddess Hathor" ¹³¹, Ukhhotep stands before three rows of female offering bearers, alternatively wearing the tripartite, full and shoulder-length styles, others with their hair cropped short save for a long curled pigtail at the back of the head, and others with a short rounded style, one of whom has a "top-knot...of unusual shape" ¹³² and elsewhere "the natural hair is showing underneath" ¹³³. Further long lines of women walk or dance in procession, each wearing a different style to her neighbour, from the full style adorned with sidelocks, plaits or ribbons, to the tripartite and short rounded styles, again embellished with sidelocks ¹³⁴.

The overwhelming presence of women throughout this tomb has been regarded as a reflection of Ukhhotep's uxorious habits ¹³⁵, although Blackman also asks if "this unprecedented predominance of the female sex [is] due to Ukhhotep being high priest of the goddess Hathor at Cusae, to whose temple a great number of women would doubtless have been attached in various capacities" ¹³⁶. Staehlin agrees with this opinion, referring to the locks of hair worn by a number of the women as visual allusions to the *hnskyt* epithet of the goddess ¹³⁷; indeed, the great range of styles on display may all be regarded as a visual reference to Hathor, whose symbols are to be found throughout the whole tomb.

- 1 Boston MFA.14.720, XII dyn, Asyut/Kerma, in Aldred 1969, No.24, p.40; Aldred 1980, fig.91, p.130; Aldred 1987, fig.97, p.142; Westendorf 1968, p.82-83; Smith 1981, fig.171-172, p.180-181; Vandier 1958 III, pl.LXXXI.2; Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.88-89; Wilson 1951, fig.12.c and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.72, p.244.
- 2 BM.EA.45193, XII dyn, Asyut (note visible hairline).
- 3 Leiden Inv.AH.113, XII dyn, Thebes, in Boeser 1910 III, No.43, p.6, pl.XV, XXII; Braat & Klaasens 1968, p.34, pl.42; Donadoni 1955, pl.69-70; Aldred 1969, No.29, p.41-42; Fechheimer 1921, pl.58; Amiet et al. 1981, fig. 64, p.242 and Schneider & Raaven 1981, No.41, p.63, Delange noting that "Schneider se demande si la perruque d'Imeretnebes, trop grande pour elle, n'est pas une 'usurpation'", 1987, p.129, note 1; indeed style is too large for figure, shoulders being too small to emerge from slits in side of wig giving erroneous impression of full/envelopping style, as mistakenly identified by Delange 1987, p.129.
- 4 Copenhagen Nat.Mus.Inv.No.13969, XIIth dyn, in Kjersgaard 1968, No.21, p.20.
- 5 Berlin Inv.No.9536, XII dyn, Luxor, in Fay 1982, p.56-57; also Breasted 1948, p.66, pl.56.b; see also Berlin Inv.No.13, Montuhotep's Deir el Bahari tomb, XII dyn, in Breasted 1948, p.65, pl.61.b and Kern 1959, fig.12, p.179.
- 6 eg. Louvre E.25576, late XII/XIII dyn, Mirgissa, in Delange 1987, p.202.
- 7 eg. Louvre E.11176 bis, XIII dyn, in Delange 1987, p.136-137 and Berlin Inv.No.10115, Aswan(?), XII dyn, in Priese ed. 1991, No.40, p.62-63.
- 8 eg. Cairo JE.34094, Fayuum, group incorporating wife, mother, aunt and grandmother of Priest Sobekhotep, in Vandier 1958 III, pl.LXXXV.3 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.87, p.246.
- 9 eg. Berlin Inv.VÄGM.10-80, XII dyn, last two women in line of bearers, in Fay 1982, p.130-131; also Boston MFA.21.326, XII dyn, last woman in similar group, in Aldred 1969, No.38, p.44-45; Aldred 1980, fig.76, p.117; Vandier 1958 III, pl.LII and Breasted 1948, p.67, pl.63.
- 10 Berlin Inv.No.14475, XII dyn, in Fechheimer 1914, pl.57-58; Vandier 1958 III, pl.LXXIV.1 and Sourouzian 1981, fig.9, p.449.
- 11 MMA.08.202.7, XII dyn, 'Upper Egypt', in Hayes 1953 I, fig.122, p.200; also Vandier 1958 III, pl.LXXIV.6.
- 12 Brooklyn Acc.No.43.137, Edfu(?), in Brooklyn 1952, No.28; Fazzini et al. 1989, No.25 and Wenig 1969, pl.26; see also Berlin Inv.No.14078, XII dyn, bronze figurine of nursing mother, in Brunner-Traut et al. 1984, No.2, p.16 and Westendorf 1968, p.78.
- 13 Cairo JE.36359, XII dyn, in Petrie 1902 I, p.33, pl.LXX; Hildesheim 1984, No.69, p.148; Vandier 1958 III, pl.LXXXI.1 and Evers 1929, fig.61, pl.XII.
- 14 Brooklyn Acc.No.56.85, XII dyn, in Fazzini et al. 1989, No.19; Fazzini 1975, Cat.39, p.52; Aldred 1980, fig.93, p.131; Aldred 1987, fig.3, p.15; Smith 1981, fig.182, p.187; Brussels 1976, No.23, p.51 and Westendorf 1968, p.93.
- 15 Brooklyn Acc.No.65.134.3, XII dyn, East Delta.
- 16 Louvre E.22756, XII dyn, Fayuum, in Delange 1987, p.196.
- 17 Palestine Museum, XII dyn, in Wilson 1951, fig.14.b.
- 18 MMA.18.2.2, XII dyn, Adana, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.132, p.215 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.LXXXII.6.
- 19 Louvre N.1604, late XII/XIII dyn, in Delange 1987, p.102-103 (striations worn away at front still visible at back).
- 20 Brunton 1930 III, Badarian grave 5323, p.2, pl.X.1-3.
- 21 eg. Cam.Fitz.E.63.1926, early XII dyn, in Bourriau 1988, No.15, p.26; Berlin Inv.No.14078, XII dyn, in Westendorf 1968, p.78 and Brunner-Traut et al. 1984, No.2, p.16; Cairo CG.20038, in Lange & Schäfer 1902 I,

- p.46-48, 1925 IV, pl.IV; Brooklyn Acc.No.59.1, c.Sesostris II, in Brooklyn 1974, p.36; Fazzini 1975, Cat.38, p.51 and Brussels 1976, No.26, p.54; Louvre E.3517, in Delange 1987, p.114-115.
- 22 Delange 1987, "Cette coiffure plate au sommet de la tête...incitent à dater cette figurine d'ivoire de la seconde moitié de la XIIe dynastie", p.114-115.
- 23 Brooklyn Acc.No.51.224, in Brooklyn 1956, No.4, p.4-5, pl.13; see also Vandier 1958 III, pl.LXXXI.3.
- 24 Turin Inv.Cat.1543, XII dyn, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1988, fig.144-145, p.109.
- 25 Louvre C.16/17/18, XIII dyn. Abydos stela, in Zeigler 1990, p.34.
- 26 Cairo CG.20561, XII dyn, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.194-196, 1925 IV, pl.XLV; Hildesheim 1984, No.3, p.16-17 and Corteggiani 1986, No.35, p.72-73.
- 27 Cairo JE.45625, XII-XIII dyn, Asasif, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.85 and Hildesheim 1984, No.19, p.48-49.
- 28 Leiden Inv.AP.7, XII dyn, Abydos, in Boeser 1909 II, No.3, p.2, pl.II; Schneider & Raven 1981, No.45, p.66 and Klebs 1922 II, fig.13, p.19.
- 29 eg. Cairo CG.20535, stela of Antef, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.139-142, 1925 IV, pl.XXXIX and Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.92; CG.20457, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.54-56, 1925 IV, pl.LXV.107; CG.20729, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.359-360, 1925 IV, pl.LV, LXV.108; CG.20473, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.68-70, 1925 IV, pl.LXV.109; CG.20724, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.353-355, 1925 IV, pl.LXV.110; CG.20476, Qurna, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.73-74, 1925 IV, pl.XXXIII, LXV.110 and CG.20285, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1902 I, p.300-301, 1925 IV, pl.XXII, LXV.107.
- 30 Cairo CG.20227, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1902 I, p.246-247, 1925 IV, pl.LXVI.129; CG.20236, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1902 I, p.257, 1925 IV, pl.LXVI.129; CG.20588, Abydos 1908 II, p.227, 1925 IV, pl.XLVII, LXVI.129 and CG.20342, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1902 I, p.353-354, 1925 IV, pl.LXVI.130.
- 31 Louvre C.167/E.3111, XII dyn.
- 32 Cairo CG.20295, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1902 I, p.308, 1925 IV, pl.XXII and Gauthier-Laurent 1938, p.679.
- 33 El-Kab tomb No.10, in Tylor 1896, pl.VIII; Gauthier-Laurent 1938, fig.6, p.681 and Derchain 1975, p.68.
- 34 Beni Hassan tomb No.3, in Newberry 1893 II, pl.XIII; Aldred 1969, No.60 and Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.71
- 35 Newberry 1892 I, pl.VIII, XVII, XXIV, XXVIII (note decorated style of wife in contrast to plain styles of daughters and workers).
- 36 Smith 1981, fig.185, p.191 (note use of streamers and ribbons).
- 37 Newberry 1892 I, pl.XXIV, XXVI.
- 38 Cairo CG.20515, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.105-108, 1925 IV, pl.XXXV.
- 39 Cairo CG.20470, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.65-66, 1925 IV, pl.XXXIII, LXV.117.
- 40 Cairo CG.20708, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.334, 1925 IV, pl.LXV.117.
- 41 Cairo CG.20300, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1902 I, p.313-314, 1925 IV, pl.XXIII, LXV.120; also CG.20750, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.384-385, 1925 IV, pl.LVIII, LXV.120; CG.20440, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, pl.37-38, 1925 IV, pl.XXXI, LXV.122; CG.20505, Dra Abu el-Naga (?), in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.95-96, 1925 IV, pl.LXV.123, and CG.20163, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1902 I, p.193-195, 1925 IV, pl.XIV, LXVI.141.
- 42 Cairo CG.20565, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.200-202, 1925 IV, pl.XLV, LXV.120.
- 43 Cairo CG.20010, in Lange & Schäfer 1902 I, p.9-10, 1925 IV, pl.I, LXV.110.

- 44 Cairo CG.20537, Edfu, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.144-145, 1925 IV, pl.XXXIX, LXV.119; CG.20013, in Lange & Schafer 1902 I, p.13, 1925 IV, pl.II, LXV.118, only sketchy curled details noticable; also BM.EA.580, XII dyn. unprovenanced stela of Sensobek.
- 45 BM.EA.9525, XII dyn, in Breasted 1948, No.10, p.70, pl.66.a.
- 46 UC.16642, in Page 1976, No.39, p.36, only right side of tripartite style drawn back; also Liverpool Uni.Mus.E.7081, late XII/XIII dyn, Abydos, in Bourriau 1988, No.115, "The woman's hair has been drawn back from the front of her head into three bunches, each of which is made up into small plaits", p.122-123; compare this figure with very similar aforementioned Archaic figure, Berlin Inv.No.14441, in Priese ed. 1991, No.5, p.1, 10.
- 47 MMA.22.2.35, XII dyn, Lisht, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.138, p.222; Vandier 1958 III, pl.XL.5; Breasted 1948, No.1, p.56, pl.49.a; Wenig 1969, pl.26.b; Amiet 1981, No.6 and Gauthier-Laurent 1938, p.679, pl.II.a.
- 48 Brooklyn Acc.No.13.1024, XII dyn, in Breasted 1948, No.1, p.89, pl.84, and Vandier 1958 III, pl.XL.10; Berlin Inv.No.14202, in Breasted 1948, No.3, "similar limestone figures discovered in Middle Kingdom burials at El Bersheh", p.90, pl.85.a.
- 49 Cairo CG.20267, in Lange & Schäfer 1902 I, p.285-286, 1925 IV, pl.LXVI.132.
- 50 Cairo CG.20347, in Lange & Schäfer 1902 I, p.359, 1925 IV, pl.LXVI.135.
- 51 Cairo CG.20694, Luxor, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.321-322, 1925 IV, pl.LIII, LXVI.133; also CG.20709, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.335, 1925 IV, pl.LIV, LXVI.134, and rather geometric form on CG.20747, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.380-381, 1925 IV, pl.LVII, LXVI.136.
- 52 Wreszinski 1923 I, 45 and Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.69.
- 53 MMA.09.180.526, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.105, p.174.
- 54 Newberry 1892 I, weavers pl.XXVI, bakers pl.XXXI.
- 55 Cairo CG.20005, Dra Abu el-Naga, in Lange & Schäfer 1902 I, p.4-5, 1925 IV, pl.I, LXVI.142; CG.20123, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1902 I, p.145-147, 1925 IV, pl.XLVI.146 and CG.20001, Gebelein, in Lange & Schäfer 1902 I, p.1-2, 1925 IV, pl.I, LXVI.145.
- 56 Cairo CG.20501, Nagada, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.92, 1925 IV, pl.XXXIV, XLVI.147.
- 57 Cairo CG.20507, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.97, 1925 IV, pl.XXXIV, XLVI.143.
- 58 Although vestige of tripartite remains with second section of hair falling down at back, in Newberry 1892 I, pl.XIII; Griffith 1900 IV, pl.XV; Aldred 1969, No.60 and Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.71.
- 59 Liverpool Uni.Mus.E.30, XIII dyn, Abydos, in Kitchen 1961, p.15-16, pl.III and Bourriau 1988, No.48, p.60-63; thanks to Prof.Shore & Miss.P.Winker for access and help.
- 60 Cairo CG.20346, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1902 II, p.356-358, 1925 IV, pl.XXVI, LXVII.158.
- 61 Smith 1981, p.47; also Terrace & Fischer 1970, p.73, 76 and Sourouzian 1981, p.446, note 8, figs.1-4, p.448.
- 62 UC.16657, early XII dyn, Amenemhat I/Sesostris I, in Page 1976, No.24, p.23; Bourriau 1988, No.14, p.25-26; Sourouzian 1981, p.449, "le prototype à la XIIe Dynastie est peut-être la statue de reine de la collection Petrie", p.449, note 17 (nb. Sourouzian's reference to CG.384 (p.449, note 18) in error as this number corresponds with figure of Merneptah.
- 63 MMA.33.1.5-6(LSP.SA.8/23), c.Sesostris I, Lisht, in Lansing 1933, figs.17-18, p.16 and Vandier 1958 III, p.257, pl.XC.3-4; described in Hayes 1953 I, p.207; Terrace & Fischer 1970, p.76 and Bourriau 1988, p.26.
- 64 Cairo CG.381, in Borchardt 1925 II, p.1-2, pl.60; Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.93; Terrace & Fischer 1970, No.14, p.73-76; Aldred 1969, No.44, p.46; Vandier 1958 III, pl.LXXIV.3; Westendorf 1968, p.92; Smith 1981, fig.173, p.181 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.44, p.239; CG.382, in Borchardt 1925 II, p.1-2, pl.60; Aldred 1969,

- No.45, p.46, and Vandier 1958 III, pl.LXXIV.1; see also Sourouzian 1981, p.448-449, pl.71.b.
- 65 Bourriau 1988, p.25.
- 66 Terrace & Fischer 1970, p.74.
- 67 Vienna 5753 (only curled ends remaining), in Sourouzian 1981, fig.5, p.449 and Evers 1929, fig.68, pl.XIV.
- 68 Paris Bibliothèque Nationale No.24, in Sourouzian 1981, fig.6, p.449; Vandier 1958 III, pl.LXXIV.2 and Keimer 1935, p.183, pl.I.e-f; also Cairo JE.64770, in Keimer 1935, p.182-192, pl.I.a-b, pl.II.a-b; Sourouzian 1981, fig.7, p.449 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.LXXV.1-2.
- 69 Cairo 'ME.VI', Elephantine, in Vandier 1958 III, pl.LXXIV.5 and Sourouzian 1981, fig.10, p.449-450.
- 70 Sourouzian 1981, p.450.
- 71 Cairo CG.459/JE.30965, Sesostri III, in Borchardt 1925 II, p.51-52, pl.76; Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.100; Terrace & Fischer 1970, p.81-84; Vandier 1958 III, pl.LXXXV.2; Aldred 1980, fig.94, p.131 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.85, p.246; also Boston MFA.1973.87, in Boston 1988, No.48, p.121-122 for second similar group.
- 72 Cairo CG.474, in Borchardt 1925 II, p.59-60, pl.79 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.LXXXVI.6.
- 73 Gallatin Collection No.15, XIII dyn, in Cooney 1953, p.6, pl.XII.
- 74 Louvre N.3892, second half XII dyn, in Delange 1987, p.106-107 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.LXXXI.7.
- 75 Louvre E.26917, late XII dyn, in Delange 1987, "La perruque...rapellant le buste de la reine conservée à la Bibliothèque Nationale à Paris, attribué à la fin de la XIIe dynastie", p.208-209; see also Louvre 1982, No.2, p.10.
- 76 MMA.15.4.1, second half XII dyn, Haraga, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.133, p.216; Vandier 1958 III, pl.LXXXVI.6; Cartland 1916, p.171, note 3; Keimer 1935, p.183, pl.1.c-d. and Delange 1987, p.129; see also Corson 1980, p.38-39, pl.4.H for reconstruction sketch.
- 77 Louvre E.10850, second half XII dyn, in Delange 1987, p.129.
- 78 UC.16650, XIII dyn, in Page 1976, No.23, p.22.
- 79 Cairo CG.473, in Borchardt 1925 II, p.59, pl.78 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.LXXXIX.4.
- 80 Berlin Inv.No.4435, XII dyn, in Vandier 1958 III, p.243, 251, pl. LXXXIV.5; Amiet et al. 1981, fig.82, p.245 and Fay 1982, "It has been suggested that these small figures represent the children of the deceased...It would however be more in keeping with Middle Kingdom customs if the female were the man's wife...her maturity is expressed by her so-called Hathor wig, a wig worn by women who have reached maturity", p.34-35; however, all such styles are indicative of maturity since young almost always have shaven head generally with added sidelock, and woman could still be daughter although no longer a child; for comparable example of daughters with this style, see tomb scene of Djehutyhotep, discussed below.
- 81 Edinburgh RMS.No.1965.6, late XIII dyn, in Aldred 1987, fig.16, p.37 and Bourriau 1988, No.56, p.70-71.
- 82 Cam.Fitz.E.3.1914, late XIII dyn, Harageh tomb No.162, in Bourriau 1988, No.57, p.71-72 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.XCII.3.
- 83 Cam.Fitz.E.67.1932, late XII dyn, in Bourriau 1988, No.37, p.49, pl.II.3.
- 84 Louvre E.3196, unprovenanced.
- 85 eg. MMA.08.200.18(LNP.752), XII dyn, Lisht, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.137 (top, second from left), p.221; Cam.Fitz.E.191.1939, late XII/XIIIth dyn, in Bourriau 1988, No.119, p.125-126, and Hornblower 1939, p.40, pl.IX.4; Brooklyn Acc.No.44.226, in Brussels 1976, No.27, p.55; Fazzini et al. 1989, No.26 and Fazzini 1975, Cat.45, p.56; also Keimer 1948, pl.XIV.1.
- 86 MMA.08.200.44, Amenemhat I, in Mace & Winlock 1916, frontispiece, p.44-46; Hayes 1953 I, fig.202, p.311 and

- Cartland 1916, p.171, note 4.
- 87 Mace & Winlock 1916, p.45-46, with further suggestion that locks are similar to those worn by children or dancing girls.
- 88 Sourouzian 1981, p.450, note 26.
- 89 Newberry 1892 I, p.36-37, pl.XXIV, XXVIII, XXIX, although Djehutihotep's mother and three daughters too damaged to identify style; daughter on far right, BM.EA.1150, in Stead 1986, fig.67, p.49.
- 90 Cairo JE.30199, in Newberry 1892 I, p.36, and frontispiece, pl.XXIV, XXIX; also Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.99; Terrace & Fischer 1970, No.15, p.77-80; Hildesheim 1984, No.74, p.156-157; Smith 1981, fig.195, p.198 and Aldred 1971, p.189, pl.32, etc.
- 91 Terrace & Fischer 1970, p.77.
- 92 Cairo CG.20550, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.179-181, 1925 IV, pl.XLIII (unclear), LXVI.131.
- 93 Haynes 1978, p.19.
- 94 Cairo CG.20236, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1902 I, p.257, 1925 IV, pl.LXVI.128.
- 95 c.Amenemhat I, in Blackman 1914 I, p.28, pl.II, XVI.
- 96 Leiden Inv.AP.65, XII dyn, Abydos, in Boeser 1909 II, No.10, p.5, pl.IX.
- 97 Cairo CG.20621, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.261, 1925 IV pl.LXVII.153.
- 98 MMA.12.184, Sesostris I, Abydos, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.195, p.298, and Metropolitan 1984, p.16-17.
- 99 CG.20689, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.315-316, 1925 IV, pl.LII, LXVII.154.
- 100 Blackman 1915 II, p.24, pl.XV, XXXIV; also full styles worn by similar figures in Meir tomb of Priest Ukhhotep, in Blackman 1953 VI, pl.X, XI, XV, XVIII, XIX, noticed by Chiotasso et al, 1992, p.100, note 16.
- 101 Tylor 1896, pl.V; Gauthier-Laurent 1938, fig.5, p.680 and Derchain 1975, p.67.
- 102 Newberry 1892 I, pl.XXIV, XXVI.
- 103 c.Sesostris I, in Newberry 1893 I, p.16, pl.X.
- 104 Brooklyn Acc.No.39.602, in Brooklyn 1952, No.24; Fazzini et al. 1989, No.22; Fazzini 1975, Cat.41, p.54; Aldred 1969, No.75, p.53-54; Brussels 1976, No.22, p.50; Reeves & Taylor 1992, p.19 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.75, p.244.
- 105 Turin Inv.Suppl.1219, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1989, fig.213, p.135.
- 106 Cairo CG.442, in Borchardt 1925 II, p.43-44, pl.73.
- 107 eg. MMA.26.7.1416, XII dyn, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.137, p.221.
- 108 Cairo JE.39390, Lisht, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.89; Vandier 1958 III, pl.LXXXIX.5; Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.84; Rachelwitz 1960, pl.49; Westendorf 1968, p.81 and Posener 1962, p.116.
- 109 Highclere Castle H.289, XIII dyn, Dra Abu el-Naga tomb No.64, in Reeves 1989, No.24, p.29 and Reeves & Taylor 1992, p.101; see also badly damaged wooden head with full style painted blue, from XII dyn tomb of Wahka II, Turin Inv.Suppl.4309, in Donadoni-Roveri ed.1988, fig.172, p.126.
- 110 Portly weaver of Khnumhotep, in Newberry 1894 II, pl.XIII; Aldred 1969, No.60 and Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.71.
- 111 MMA.22.2.35, XII dyn, Lisht, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.138, p.222; Vandier 1958 III, pl.XL.5; Breasted 1948, No.1, p.56, pl.49.a; Wenig 1969, pl.26.b; Amiet 1981, No.6 and Gauthier-Laurent 1938, p.679, pl.II.a.

- 112 eg. UC.16148, XII dyn, Hawara tomb of Sitrennut, No.58, painted wooden 'doll' which "originally had a wig of mud beads", in Janssen & Janssen 1990, fig.20, p.47; for stone figurines with more usual 'fixed' form of style, see MMA.26.3.327/22.2.34/30.8.198, XII dyn, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.137 (top left & lower central two), p.221; Berlin Inv.No.12764, in Priese ed. 1991, No.42, p.66; Schimmel Collection No.171, in Settgest 1978, No.199; Amsterdam APM.24, (complete with painted stubble detail) in Lunsingh Scheurleer 1991, p.24-25; MM.No.3994, Abydos, c.1900 BC and figure in private collection, in Bourriau 1988, No.118, p.124-125.
- 113 Bourriau 1988, p.124; misleading 'tripartite' epithet seems to have first been given to these figures by Hayes 1959 II, p.189, and is often reiterated, eg. Sotheby's 1989, No.92, p.8; Bourriau's further comment that the style may be exclusive to girls of pre-marital age without children (as compared to NK ostraca scenes with children), is also inaccurate, since a number of MK date do feature children.
- 114 Berlin VÄGM.10-80, in Fay 1982, p.130-131.
- 115 Louvre C.8, XIII dyn.
- 116 Boston MFA.20.1120, Bersheh tomb No.19.B, in Breasted 1948, No.6, p.94, pl.89.a. and Cleveland 43.14, in Breasted 1948, No.8, p.95, pl.90.d.
- 117 Louvre E.3931, first half XIIth dyn, in Delange 1987, p.116-117.
- 118 MMA.65.59.1.
- 119 Louvre AF.9920, in Delange 1987, "La coiffure devait être du type de celle de Pakhetemhet, E.20576", p.227 [ie. very short round style], although AF.9920 appears to have a shaven head.
- 120 Cam.Fitz.E.16.1899, from Hu tomb No.W.72, in Petrie & Mace 1901, p.43-44, pl.XXVI; Bourriau 1988, No.117, p.124 and Murray 1963, pl.XXIX.1.
- 121 Wreszinski 1923 I, 45; Mekhitarian 1978, p.13 and Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.69.
- 122 Leiden Inv.AP.63, XII dyn, Abydos, in Boeser 1909 II, No.5, p.3, pl.IV and Vogelsang-Eastwood ed. 1994, fig.5, p.10.
- 123 Tomb C.1, in Blackman 1953 VI, p.8-37, pl. IX-XXXII.
- 124 Blackman 1953 VI, p.26-27, pl.XIII.
- 125 Blackman 1953 VI, p.28-29, pl.XIII.
- 126 Blackman 1953 VI, p.15 and Staehelin 1978, p.79.
- 127 Blackman 1953 VI, p.15, 23-24, pl.XI.
- 128 Blackman 1953 VI, p.24, pl.XI.
- 129 Blackman 1953 VI, p.25, pl.XII, compare with full styles of Hathor priestesses in Meir tomb of another Ukhhotep, in Blackman 1915 II, p.24, pl.XV, XXXIV.
- 130 Blackman 1953 VI, p.21-22, pl.XIX.
- 131 Blackman 1953 VI, p.17-21, pl.XVIII.
- 132 Blackman 1953 VI, fig.5, p.19, pl.XVIII, same detail noted from style of young boy, in Blackman 1914 I, p.26, note 1, pl.III.
- 133 Blackman 1953 VI, figure 8, p.21, pl.XVIII.
- 134 Blackman 1953 VI, p.16-17, pl.IX-X.
- 135 Blackman 1953 VI, p.15 and Terrace & Fischer 1970, p.81.
- 136 Blackman 1953 VI, p.15.

137 Staehelin 1978, p.77-79; some of women in Ukhhotep's scenes also wear two Hathoric plumes in their headbands, feature found in contemporary jewellery, eg. golden plumes of SitHathorYunet from Lahun, Cairo CG.52641 and MMA.31.10.8 in Aldred 1971, pl.39, p.193.

CHILDREN

During the Middle Kingdom children are often depicted as smaller versions of adults, clothed and with a full head of hair as opposed to their generally naked Old Kingdom counterparts portrayed with shaven heads save for some form of hair lock in many cases. Although "this may be due to a reform in the artistic canon rather than the reflection of a change in daily habits"¹, it can create difficulties when attempting to differentiate between adult and child when height alone cannot be used to ascertain age². This point is highlighted by an aforementioned family group sculpture in which the large central male figure is flanked by two much smaller ones, the figure identified as his son wearing a short round curled style instead of the traditional sidelock³ (fig.236).

However, the sidelock is still to be found in sculpted form, a figurine of a boy from Ihu shown with a shoulder-length black sidelock on the right side of his head⁴, also noted on a faience funerary statuette of a 'youth' whose scalp is dotted to suggest stubble⁵. Both these figures are clothed, unlike the figure of a small boy accompanying his mother on a funerary dyad, his finger-to-lips pose completing the image of childhood⁶.

Relief depictions of boys also show the sidelock on the right side, as noted from the figures of Sirenutet, youngest brother of Amenemhat Nebuy⁷, one of Nakht's young brothers⁸, the son of Nomarch Ukhhotep⁹, one of the sons of Djaty¹⁰, Ibanekh, son of Kay¹¹, and the three sons of Chief Goldsmith Nakht, Senwosret, Sehetepib and Nakht, their plaited locks contrasting with their stubbly heads¹² (fig.248). Other examples show the sidelock on the left side of the head, plain forms worn by Seneb and Ptahmeh¹³, Neferu, son of Sobekaa¹⁴, a second young brother of Nakht¹⁵ and a second son of Djaty¹⁶, whilst plaited locks are worn by Nakht, son of Horankh¹⁷ and Ptahaa's son Khenti¹⁸.

It is also increasingly common to find the lock situated at the back of the head slightly below the crown, the hair again depicted in various ways from a thick braid¹⁹ to a thin black line²⁰ (fig.288), or in delineated sections²¹. Unusual variations include multiple locks where the hair is allowed to grow from the top of the head and in tufts above the forehead²²; such tufts are also worn alone, the 'Haarbüschel' of Ipu, son of Sobekhotep, situated on the crown²³ and similar to that of a small boy amongst a group of soldiers in the tomb of Senbi at Meir²⁴.

Representations of girls follow a similar pattern, frequent examples with sidelocks contrasting with others which depict children in adult form. Despite Newberry's mistaken identification of the sidelock in the tomb scenes of Djehutihotep, three of the nomarch's daughters wear the bouffant style (fig.278) in contrast to the traditional tripartite style of their mother and sisters²⁵ (fig.277). A plain bouffant form is also found on the aforementioned family group worn by a small female figure flanking a larger seated male generally identified as the former's husband (fig.236). Although it has been argued that despite the woman's small stature "her maturity is expressed by her so-called Hathor wig, a wig worn by women who have reached maturity"²⁶, this female figure could in fact represent an elder daughter, as noted from the aforementioned portrayal of Djehutihotep's daughters, and it would indeed appear that the bouffant form could be worn

by older girls/teenagers in addition to adult women ²⁷ (fig.278). Younger girls sometimes wear a variation on the theme made up of two curling sidelocks at either side of a shaven head, examples of these 'bouffant' sidelocks worn by two figures of NebhetHenutsen, daughter of Ukhhotep of Meir ²⁸ (fig.234), and the daughters of Nefertum, Senetit and her unnamed sister ²⁹.

Single sidelocks are also represented in sculpted form, as noted from the figure of an official's young daughter whose lock is situated on the right side of her shaven head ³⁰. Locks situated at the back of the head are also quite popular, one such lock hanging down at the back of a fragmentary female torso from Kahun ³¹, and also noted in the case of a small serpentine head, the plaited curling lock contrasting with the cropped head of concentric striations ³². This kind of lock is worn by both children and dancers alike, and in both cases can be weighted for movement as is clearly illustrated by the small figure of a girl incorporated into a kohl pot stand, her hair shaved save for a curling plait at the back of her head from which is suspended a fish amulet ³³ (fig.289). These nh3w amulets ³⁴ have been found in girls' burials of the Middle Kingdom sometimes still attached to the hair ³⁵, and they have been interpreted as either talismans against drowning or Hathoric symbols ³⁶; further amulets in the form of hair set in a curling braid are sometimes found together with fish amulets, and have again been interpreted as Hathoric symbols for attachment to the ends of hair locks ³⁷.

Such amulets are also attached to the locks of youngsters in two-dimensional scenes, the best known of which comes from the Meir tomb of Ukhhotep. As the nomarch spears fish his daughter NebhetHenutsen sits beside him, Blackman noting the "traces of a sidelock of hair from which hangs a fish amulet" ³⁸ (fig.290), and in the corresponding scene in which Ukhhotep wields a throw stick a second unnamed daughter again wears the fish amulet ³⁹.

The ball hairstyle continues to be portrayed, an almost hip-length version worn by Meret, daughter of Horu ⁴⁰, and a charming variation of two locks adorned by lotus flowers worn by the daughter of Chief Goldsmith Nakht ⁴¹ (fig.248).

The range of locks worn by girls at this time is greater than those worn by boys, with variations in number of locks, positions on the head, thickness, shape, colour and so forth. Single locks are worn on the right side of the head by Seresu and TanetTekhnefer, daughters of Dedyetnub ⁴², Nebenptah's daughter Nefertenet ⁴³ and Satptah, whose scalp is randomly dotted to suggest a stubbly texture ⁴⁴. Single locks on the left are worn by the daughter of Senwosret ⁴⁵, Senet, niece of Palace Overseer Senwosret ⁴⁶ and a young daughter of Ukhhotep, her red lock clearly visible on the left side of her head as she faces left, whilst an opposite scene shows her facing right, partly hiding the hair except for a curl hanging down over her shoulder ⁴⁷. In the majority of cases however, the locks are portrayed at the back of the head, and as in the case of boys they vary from thin ⁴⁸ to thick braids of hair ⁴⁹, a particularly fine example being the blue and black lock of Sobeknefru on the stela of her father Iymeret ⁵⁰.

Multiple examples can feature several locks at the back of the head ⁵¹ as worn by the Royal Daughter Neferhotep ⁵², or alternatively the locks can be situated at the back and on the crown of the head ⁵³ (fig.288), the style of Sobekdedu's

daughter featuring blue locks on a black cropped scalp ⁵⁴, or at the back and side ⁵⁵. Further variants have a lock at the back and a number of tufts of hair dotted around the scalp ⁵⁶ (fig.291), anticipating the later styles adopted by children of the New Kingdom.

- 1 Janssen & Janssen 1990, p.26.
- 2 See Schäfer 1974, p.233-234.
- 3 Berlin Inv.No.4435, XII dyn, in Fay 1982, p.34-35; Vandier 1958 III, p.243, 251, pl.LXXXIV.5 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.82, p.245.
- 4 Petrie & Mace 1901, Y.471, p.52, pl.XXVI, giving XII dyn. date, although figure could well be later in date, possibly IInd IP; despite their reference to "the figure of a boy, who from his sidelock was a prince", lock common amongst non-royal children.
- 5 Ox.Ash.E.3738, XII dyn, el-Kab tomb I, in Bourriau 1988, No.80, p.97-98.
- 6 Cam.Fitz.E.3.1914, XIII dyn, Haraga tomb 162, in Bourriau 1988, No.57, p.71-72.
- 7 Cam.Fitz.E.207.1900, late XII dyn, Abydos, in Bourriau 1988, No.39, p.50.
- 8 Cairo CG.20308, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1902 I, p.319-321, 1925 IV, pl.LXIV.92.
- 9 Blackman 1915 II, "head of a boy", p.14, pl.IV.
- 10 Cairo CG.20031, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1902 I, p.40-41, 1925 IV, pl.III, LXIV.94.
- 11 Cairo CG.20599, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.239-240, 1925 IV, pl.LXIV.90.
- 12 Cairo CG.20515, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.105-108, 1925 IV, pl.XXXV, LXIV.88 and Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.91.
- 13 Cairo CG.20559, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.191-192, 1925 IV, pl.XLIV, LXIV.89.
- 14 Cairo CG.20550, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.179-181, 1925 IV, pl.XLIII, LXIV.93.
- 15 Cairo CG.20308, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1902 I, p.319-321, 1925 IV, pl.LXIV.95.
- 16 Cairo CG.20031, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1902 I, p.40-41, 1925 IV, pl.III.
- 17 Cairo CG.20163, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1902 I, p.193-195, 1925 IV, pl.XIV, LXIV.86.
- 18 Cairo CG.20523, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.123-124, 1925 IV, pl.LXIV.87.
- 19 eg. Cairo CG.20331, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1902 I, p.343-344, 1925 IV, pl.XXIV, LXIV.98; CG.20679, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.306-307, 1925 IV, pl.LI, LXIV.99 and CG.20440, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.37-38, pl.XXXI, LXIV.100.
- 20 eg. Leiden Inv.AP.3 (V.100), XII dyn stela of Pepi, Priest of Ptah-Sokar, Abydos, in Boeser 1909 II, No.15, p.6, pl.XV.15; Cairo CG.20346, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1902 I, p.356-358, 1925 IV, pl.XXVI, LXIV.101 and CG.20394, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1902 I, p.390-391, 1925 IV, pl.LXIV.102.
- 21 Cairo CG.20290, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1902 I, p.304, 1925 IV, pl.XXII, LXIV.97 (note unusual 'u'-shaped detail on red background of scalp).
- 22 Cairo CG.20126, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1902 I, p.149-150, 1925 IV, pl.XI, LXIV.105.
- 23 Cairo CG.20193, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1902 I, p.221-222, 1925 IV, pl.XVI, LXIV.106.
- 24 Blackman 1914 I, "the boy...like many a modern fellahi boy, has his hair cropped close to his head, except for a tuft on top", p.26, note 1, pl.III.
- 25 Cairo JE.30199 (for bouffant style) in Newberry 1892 I, p.36, pl.XXIV; Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.99; Terrace & Fischer 1970, No.15, p.77-80 and Hildesheim 1984, No.74, p.156-157.
- 26 Berlin Inv.No.4435, XII dyn, in Fay 1982, p.34-35; Vandier 1958 III, p.243, 251, pl.LXXXIV.5 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.82, p.245.

- 27 See also daughter(?) of Senwosretankh, MMA.33.1.6(LSP.SA.8/23), XII dyn, Lisht with same bouffant style as mother(?), in Lansing 1933, figs.17-18, p.16 and Vandier 1958 III, p.257, pl.XC.3-4; described in Hayes 1953 I, p.207; Terrace & Fischer 1970, p.76 and Bourriau 1988, p.26.
- 28 Cairo JE.30965/CG.459, Sesostri III, Meir, in Borchardt 1925 II, p.51-52, pl.76; Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.100; Terrace & Fischer 1970, No.16, p.81-84; Müller 1980, 273-274; Amiet et al. 1981, fig.85, p.246 and Vandier 1958 III, p.244, pl.LXXXV.2; see second group, Boston MFA.1973.87, in Boston 1988, No.48, p.121-122.
- 29 Louvre E.11576, Memphis, in Delange 1987, p.148-150 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.LXXXIV.6.
- 30 Louvre N.1606, late XIII-2nd.IP, in Delange 1987, p.104-105 and Vandier 1958 III, p.241.
- 31 MM.No.268, in Petrie 1891, p.11 and Bourriau 1988, No.116, p.123-124.
- 32 Louvre AF.9943, in Delange 1987, p.230, the "coiffure originale" simply a lock of hair grown at the back of a cropped head.
- 33 BM.EA.2572, XII dyn, Thebes, in Staehelin 1978, p.83-84, pl.II.b-c. and Bourriau 1988, No.140, p.139; although latter states that "the hairstyle is, as far as I know, exclusively worn by women", p.139, boys are depicted with such locks as early as OK onwards, son of Mereruka even wearing ball hairstyle (discussed above). For similar cosmetic pots featuring girl with lock, see Delange 1987, p.230 and Lansing & Hayes 1937, fig.1.
- 34 For nh3w amulet, see Blackman 1925, p.212-213; Staehelin 1978, p.81-82; Aldred 1971, p.141-142 and Bourriau 1988, p.148-149.
- 35 All at sites near Hathor's cult centres, ie. West Delta, Beni Hassan, Dendera, Diospolis Parva, Abydos, Lahun, Fayuum, etc, in Staehelin 1978, p.82-83, note 56-57; see also Brunton 1948, grave 521, p.55, pl.XLIII.1 for silver example from Matmar, and Petrie & Mace 1901, pl.XXVII for "two fishes on the crown of the head", p.43, in undisturbed tomb (W.32) of a girl, further examples in tomb W.38, p.43.
- 36 Blackman 1925, p.212, Aldred 1971, p.141 and Bourriau 1988, p.149 interpret fish amulets as talismans to protect against drowning, although if this were case one would have expected them to have been found in equally large numbers in burials and depictions of male children; alternatively, Staehelin 1978, p.81-84, links amulets to cult of Hathor, which does seem quite plausible.
- 37 For fish amulets, see Edinburgh RMS.No.1914.1079, Haraga tomb 72, in Aldred 1969, No.74, p.53; Aldred 1971, p.213, pl.78; Smith 1981, fig.206, p.209; Bourriau 1988, No.159, p.148-149 and Andrews 1990, p.92-93, Appendix IV; Cam.Fitz.EGA.1435.1947, in Bourriau 1988, No.160, p.149; Baltimore Art Gallery, No.57.1072, in Aldred 1971, No.77, p.213; for sidelock amulets, see Cam.Fitz.EGA.155.1947, in Bourriau 1988, No.155, p.146 and Andrews 1990, p.94, Appendix IV; Cleveland No.372.14, in Williams 1918, p.172, pl.XXVIII; for necklace made up of both types of amulets see BM.EA.3077, Thebes, in Staehelin 1978, p.83, pl.IIa and Bourriau 1988, No.154, p.145-146.
- 38 Blackman 1925, fig.1, p.213; Blackman 1953 VI, p.29, pl.XIII, XIV, XXVIII.3; Smith 1981, fig.190, p.193; Aldred 1971, fig.22, p.141; Janssen & Janssen 1990, fig.16, p.39 and Staehelin 1978, p.78, etc.
- 39 Blackman 1953 VI, p.27, pl.XIII, XXVIII.4.
- 40 Cairo CG.20504, Akhmim(?), in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.94-95, 1925 IV, pl.XXXIV, LXVIII.170.
- 41 Cairo CG.20515, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.105-108, 1925 IV pl.XXXV, LXVIII.174 and Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.91.
- 42 MMA.36.3.270, Thebes, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.222, p.335.
- 43 Cairo CG.20568, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.205-206, 1925 IV, pl.XLV, LXVII.161.
- 44 Cairo CG.20226, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1902 I, p.245-246, 1925 IV, pl.LXVII.160.

- 45 Cairo CG.20261, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1902 I, p.279-280, 1925 IV, pl.LXVII.162.
- 46 Berlin Inv.No.1188, Abydos(?), in Priese ed. 1991, No.35, p.55.
- 47 Blackman 1953 VI, p.35-36, pl.XV (facing right), and p.33-34, pl.XVII (facing left).
- 48 eg. Turin Inv.Cat.1630, daughter of Repuptah, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1988, fig.148, p.111; Cairo CG.20376, in Lange & Schäfer 1902 I, p.376-377, 1925 IV, pl.LXVII.167; CG.20694, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.321-322, 1925 IV, pl.LIII, LXVII.165 and CG.20747, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.380-381, 1925 IV, pl.LVII, LXVII.168.
- 49 Cairo CG.20706, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.332-333, 1925 IV, pl.LIII, LXVII.164 and CG.20731, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.361, 1925 IV, pl.LV, LXVII.166.
- 50 Cairo CG.20709, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.335, 1925 IV, pl.LIV, LXVII.163.
- 51 Cairo CG.20039, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1902 I, p.48-49, 1925 IV, pl.IV, LXVIII.184 and CG.20313, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1902 I, p.325-326, 1925 IV, pl.XXIII, LXVIII.179.
- 52 Cairo CG.20058, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1902 I, p.72-73, 1925 IV, pl.VI, LXVIII.183.
- 53 eg. Leiden Inv.AP.3 (V.100), XII dyn. Abydos stela of Pepi, Priest of Ptah Sokar, in Boeser 1909 II, No.15, p.6, pl.XV.15; Cairo CG.20613, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.252-253, 1925 IV, pl.XLVIII, LXVIII.184 and CG.20426, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.21-22, 1925 IV, pl.LXVIII.175.
- 54 Cairo CG.20236, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1902 I, p.257, 1925 IV, pl.LXVIII.173.
- 55 Cairo CG.20515, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.105-108, 1925 IV, pl.XXXV, LXVIII.174 and Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.91 and CG.20681, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.308-309, 1925 IV, pl.LXVIII.177.
- 56 eg. Leiden Inv.AP.25 (V.68), XII dyn. Abydos stela of Iki, Governor and Chief of Prophets, in Boeser 1909 II, No.43, p.11, pl.XXXIII.43; Cairo CG.20257, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1902 I, p.276-277, 1925 IV, pl.XIX, LXVIII.180; CG.20677, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.303-305, 1925 IV, pl.LI, LXVIII.187; CG.20610, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.249-251, 1925 IV, pl.LXVIII.181; CG.20596, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, p.235-236, 1925 IV, pl.XLVII, LXVIII.172 and CG.20123, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1902 I, p.145-147, 1925 IV, pl.LXVIII.171.

NON-EGYPTIANS

The large number of non-Egyptians from the Syria-Palestine region assimilated into Egyptian culture at this time are only distinguishable from their Egyptian counterparts by the appellation 'Asiatic', many having taken Egyptian names and their appearance conforming to the standard pattern.

Amenemhat Nebuy's Asiatic servants Renefsen and Nebsumenu are both depicted with their hair cropped short in identical fashion to their Egyptian colleagues ¹, the Priest Amenyseneb employing the Asiatic brewers Iri and Sobekiry whose hair is cropped as short as that of Amenyseneb himself ² (fig.292). The 'Egyptianised' rulers of allied city states such as Retenu are also shown with this cropped, neat style in stela depictions from Sinai ³, although a slightly longer, squared-off version is found in small-scale statuary, as in the case of a wooden statuette of 'an Asiatic' found at Dahshur ⁴.

The term 'Asiatic' is also applied to Bedouins of the Eastern desert region, a group of whom are colourfully portrayed in the Beni Hassan tomb of Khnumhotep ⁵. The men are shown with quite bushy black hair of medium length, as are their children, whilst the straight black hair of the women is set in the Egyptian plain tripartite style. This contrasts with the very different coiffure of an Asiatic Bedouin woman with her (hairless) child, her black hair piled on top of the head and held in position with three bands ⁶. Despite this notable difference in hairstyle, the piece has been assumed to represent the Asiatic women in Khnumhotep's scenes in the form of an offering bearer, Bourriau stating that the scenes are idealised whereas "this statuette appears to have been copied from life. If so, it may explain the differences between it and the painting...The hairstyle, the enveloping garment...none of these appear in the painting" ⁷, although very similar hairstyles are worn by offering bearers in the aforementioned Meir tomb scenes of Ukhhotep ⁸.

Further examples of easterners are to be found elsewhere in the Meir necropolis, most notably in the tomb scenes of Senbi which include fishermen at work. Amongst their number is an emaciated figure with distinctive features, and "Instead of wearing a wig or having the closely cropped head of the Egyptian, he is distinguished by a great growth of tangled hair...He and certain strange looking herdsmen...are members apparently of some Hamitic tribe, probably from the eastern desert...whom anthropologists call collectively 'Beja'" ⁹. Similar scenes portray cattle-herders with the same "mass of 'fuzzy-wuzzy' hair" ¹⁰ and emaciated bodies common in representations of such nomadic people.

A small number of Libyans(?) depicted in the XIIth dynasty Beni Hassan tomb of Khnumhotep have simply been described as "an interesting group of foreigners" ¹¹, although Bates believes them to be Temehu Libyans "because the paintings represent blonds with blue eyes" ¹². Their light coloured hair is set in rather interesting styles, the men shown with short round tousled styles whose surface is highlighted with broad black strokes, whilst the long striated hair of the women is "drawn back from the forehead and curled at the nape of the neck" ¹³ to form a coiffure reminiscent of the bouffant style so fashionable for Egyptian women at this time (fig.293). The children carried by the women have their hair simply represented by a hair-line.

A fragmentary head of a Nubian portrayed in the Lisht relief scenes of Sesostri I displays sensitive modelling, the outline of the short round style set in twisted braids to give a rather bushy effect ¹⁴ (fig.294) in contrast to a painted relief head of a Nubian soldier from the Dahshur complex of Sesostri III, the short rounded style in this case decorated with circular curls set flat against the head ¹⁵. Other Nubian figures are found in the traditional scenes of smiting and conquest, a wooden figure of a rampant lion grasping the head of a kneeling Nubian with short, characteristically bushy hair ¹⁶ and a small ivory sphinx similarly grasping the close cropped head of an unspecified captive ¹⁷. Further smiting scenes are to be found on the jewelled pectoral scenes of Princess Mereret, in which her father Sesostri III is represented as a griffin trampling bushy-haired Nubians and long-haired Libyans ¹⁸ whilst her brother Amenemhat III smites his Bedouin foes as he seizes them by their abundant mid-length hair ¹⁹.

- 1 Cam.Fitz.E.207.1900, XII dyn, Abydos, in Bourriau 1988, No.39, p.50.
- 2 Liverpool Uni.Mus.E.30, XIII dyn, Abydos, in Kitchen 1961, p.10-18, pl.II-III and Bourriau 1988, No.48, p.60-63.
- 3 Serabit el-Khadim temple stelae, XII dyn, in Smith 1981, fig.200, p.202.
- 4 Weigall 1927 II, pl.VII.
- 5 Reign of Sesostris II, Newberry 1894 II, pl.XXVIII, XXX-XXXI; Culican 1966, fig.20, p.25; Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.44, 70; Aldred 1987, fig.96, p.140 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.94, p.248.
- 6 Edinburgh RMS.No.1911.260, XII dyn, Beni Hassan tomb 181, in Bourriau 1988, No.108-109; Smith 1981, fig.199, p.202; Aldred 1969, No.30, p.42 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.LXXXIX.6.
- 7 Bourriau 1988, p.108.
- 8 eg. Blackman 1953 VI, pl.XVIII.
- 9 Blackman 1914 I, p.29, note 3, pl.III; Blackman 1915 II, p.13; 17-18, 21, pl.III, VI, XI, XIX; see also Davies 1923 II, p.75 for reference to these figures as the "unkempt population" from the desert edge.
- 10 Blackman 1914 I, fig.8, p.32, pl.IX-X.
- 11 Tomb No.14, c.Amenemhat I, in Newberry 1893 I, p.85, pl.XLVI-XLVII.
- 12 Bates 1914, p.xiv, pl.V.
- 13 Bates 1914, p.134, pl.V.
- 14 MMA.09.180.13, described by Hayes 1953 I as "the kinky head of a Nubian vassal", p.190.
- 15 Arnold & Oppenheim 1995, "Most of the pigment is intact, including...the archer's black hair", fig.14, p.55.
- 16 MMA.31.4.4, XII dyn(?), Thebes, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.141, p.225.
- 17 BM.EA.54678, XII dyn, Abydos tomb 477, in Bourriau 1988, No.138, p.136- 138.
- 18 Cairo CG.52002, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.110 and Aldred 1971, pl.41, p.194.
- 19 Cairo CG.52003, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.110 and Aldred 1971, pl.42, p.194; see pl.76, p.212-213 for detail of striated hair on reverse.

SECOND INTERMEDIATE PERIOD: XIV-XVIIIth dynasties

MEN

During this unsettled time it is still possible to trace the development of styles using the limited number of relevant examples produced, the basic styles all present, if in greatly reduced numbers, in both statuary and relief/painted scenes in a continuation of late Middle Kingdom trends.

The shaven/cropped head is featured in the statuary of the officials Nakhti ¹ and Ibiay ² and in two dimensions as noted from the figures of Ipepi ³ (fig.295), the bowman Montuhotep ⁴, the sons Amuny and Siamun on the stela of their father Tetu ⁵, and two standing male figures in a painted scene fragment from the Theban 'Tomb of the Dancers'⁶ (fig.298).

Sculpted forms of the short round style adorned with vertically curled detail are noted in the case of a limestone figure of Siamun ⁷ (fig.296) and group figure of Seni, son of Ahmose ⁸. Senet's son Montuhotep has a style set in concentric rings of horizontal curls ⁹ with somewhat cruder cross-hatched versions worn by Sebekhotep ¹⁰ and Renseneb, son of Tutu ¹¹. Plain undecorated forms are found on the figure of Setekh ¹², and in painted coffin scenes on figures of offering bearers, cattle-herders and funerary officials ¹³.

Longer styles continue to be fashionable, sculpted examples displaying the same fullness of hair as found in the Middle Kingdom, although it is notable that the elaborately detailed forms of earlier times, particularly the pointed-end style, are now absent. Nakht ¹⁴, Khentyuka ¹⁵ and the unnamed son of Sahepy(?) ¹⁶ wear plain, smooth styles set behind the ears, whilst two dimensional forms of the shoulder-length style continue to be depicted in the same manner as Old Kingdom examples ¹⁷, although the version worn by one Montuhotep fails to reach the shoulders and simply appears to stick out ¹⁸ (fig.297).

WOMEN

Styles for women at this time are rather limited, being basically variations on the tripartite style. The traditional plain black tripartite is featured on funerary stelae, as worn by Ankhu, wife of Montuhotep ¹⁹ and Tetu's wife Nefertjenet and their seven daughters ²⁰. The energetic dancers depicted in scenes from the 'Tomb of the Dancers' at Dra Abu el-Naga are also portrayed with this coiffure (fig.298), although it will be noted that both lappets are visible here, as in earlier First Intermediate Period scenes ²¹. Mourners are also portrayed with the standard tripartite style together with the swept-back style on the side of a rishi coffin ²².

In sculpted form the tripartite style is again dominant, with the Middle Kingdom trend for thicker, more abundant hair still apparent. An example of the thick tripartite complete with flattened crown and regular striations, the ears exposed, is found on an seated bronze figure of an unnamed woman ²³, a similarly striated style decorated with "triangular and herring-bone incisions" worn by Gebat, although in this example the ears are hidden ²⁴. Plain versions are adopted by

mother and daughter Ahmose and Wadjet, with the addition of bands set around the style both at ear-level and over the head along the central parting ²⁵.

A similar arrangement of five yellow bands is set over the textured bouffant style of Princess Iahotep, her coiffure taking the bouffant fashion over from the Middle to the New Kingdom ²⁶ (fig.299).

The full enveloping style continues to be featured in statuary of this period, and provides the transition between its earliest incarnations in the Middle Kingdom with the more familiar New Kingdom forms. At this time, the style is rather short, and extends to just below shoulder level, and at this time it is generally decorated with vertical zig-zag striations, as noted from the figures of Nebhemut ²⁷, Renesneferuhor(?) ²⁸ and an unnamed woman ²⁹ (fig.871), the style of Taseket additionally set with white bands running around and over the hair ³⁰, as in the case of aforesaid tripartite examples.

Contemporary clay fertility figurines have developed into three specific types on the basis of their distinctive, stylised coiffures, the first having the aforementioned 'wochenbettfrisur' style which involves the long hair fastened up on top of the head, with the ends hanging down in three sections, at the back of the head and at the sides, where it rests on the edge of the shoulders (as it does in more skilfully made limestone equivalents of the earlier Middle Kingdom) ³¹ (fig.300). The second type of figure only differs from the first in that the hair is set in rather more elaborate full style, the braids again fashioned from strips of the same clay from which the rest of the figure is made ³² (fig.301). The third type differs from the other two in that the hair is made of a separate material, generally strings of mud beads attached to holes around the head in an update of the earlier 'paddle doll' form of the First Intermediate period ³³ (fig.302).

CHILDREN

Although children are seldom depicted at this time, a small girl is portrayed with the same shortened form of the full enveloping style with zig-zag detail as worn by her mother on a 'hairdressing' group figurine ³⁴ (fig.871). This adoption of 'adult' styles by children is also encountered in the case of a fertility figurine swathed together with her female child, both figures exhibiting a row of holes around the head for the original insertion of bead-hair ³⁵.

NON-EGYPTIANS

Depictions of non-Egyptians are significantly absent at this time reflecting the state of political upheaval in which the non-Egyptians themselves held power. A rare exception is a small genre figure of the Hyksos period which depicts a woman with a plain shoulder-length style, carrying babies(?) in a basket on her back, and since this does not seem to have been an Egyptian custom it has been suggested that the woman is to be identified as a Sudanese or Syrian woman ³⁶.

- 1 Louvre E.3932, in Delange 1987, p.118-119.
- 2 Louvre E.5358, Abydos(?), in Delange 1987, p.122-123.
- 3 Berlin Inv.No.24031, in Priese ed. 1991, No.38, p.59.
- 4 Cairo Museum, in Smith 1981, fig.219, p.223.
- 5 MMA.19.3.33, XVII dyn, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.7, p.19.
- 6 Ox.Ash.1958.145, XVII dyn, Dra Abu el-Naga.
- 7 MMA.65.115, XVII dyn, Thebes.
- 8 MMA.16.10.369, XVII dyn, Thebes, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.5, p.15 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.104, p.277.
- 9 Sotheby's 1989, No.112, p.16-17.
- 10 Louvre E.10525, XVII dyn, Abydos, in Delange 1987, p.126-127.
- 11 Hyksos period, Abydos, in Frankfort 1930, p.219, pl.XXXVIII and Delange 1987, p.127.
- 12 Louvre AF.285, XVII dyn(?), in Delange 1987, p.217-218.
- 13 MMA.14.10.1, XVII dyn, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.14, p.31.
- 14 Louvre E.13577, XVII dyn(?), in Delange 1987, p.164-165.
- 15 From Gaza, in Petrie 1931 I, p.8, pl.XXI-XXII and Delange 1987, p.165.
- 16 Louvre E.25579, Mirgissa tomb No.130, in Delange 1987, p.203-205.
- 17 MMA.19.3.33, XVII dyn, Thebes, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.7, p.19.
- 18 Berlin Inv.No.22708, Rizaqat, in Priese ed. 1991, No.37, p.58.
- 19 Cairo Museum, in Smith 1981, fig.219, p.223.
- 20 MMA.19.3.33, XVII dyn, Thebes, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.7, p.19.
- 21 Ox.Ash.1958.145, XVII dyn, Dra Abu el-Naga.
- 22 MMA.14.10.1, XVII dyn, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.14, p.31.
- 23 Louvre E.16267, in Delange 1987, p.176-177 and Vandier 1958 III, p.239, pl.LXXXIII.2.
- 24 Turin Inv.Cat.3095, in Robins ed. 1990, No.46, p.87.
- 25 MMA.16.10.369, XVII dyn, Thebes, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.5, p.15 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.104, p.277.
- 26 Louvre N.446, late XVII dyn, in Vandier 1958 III, p.294, pl.XCVL2 and Davies 1992, p.61, n.31.
- 27 Berlin Inv.No.4423, Esna, in Fechheimer 1922, No.52 (with NK date) and Delange 1987, p.191, note 3.
- 28 Louvre E.22454, XVII dyn, in Delange 1987, p.190-191.
- 29 Cairo JE.33732, Hu, in Petrie & Mace 1901, No.Y.247, p.52, pl.XXVI (giving a XII dyn. date).
- 30 Petrie & Mace 1901, No.Y.524, p.52, pl.XXVI (again a XII dyn date is given).
- 31 See Pinch 1993, type 2, p.199-200; eg. Munich 1559, in Brunner-Traut 1955, fig.10.a-b, p.25; Cam.Fitz. E.188.1939, in Hornblower 1929, pl.IX,1-2. and Bourriau 1988, No.120, p.126.; MMA.17.6.74, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.6, p.17; MM.No.4422, 1600 BC, Rifeh; also Pinch 1993, pl.46.c.
- 32 eg. Berlin Inv.No.9508, in Priese ed. 1991, No.42, p.65-66 (left) and Cam.Fitz.E.430-1982.
- 33 See Pinch 1993, type 3, p.201-202; eg. MMA.19.3.190, Theban tomb of PuIhorSenbu, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.6.

p.17; Louvre E.27257, Gebel Zeit, in Zeigler 1990, p.62; Brooklyn Acc.No.77.49, in Fazzini et al. 1989, No.30; Berkley Museum of Anthropology 6-19513, Qena, in Fazzini 1975, Cat.46, p.56; Berlin Inv.No.22397, West Thebes, in Priese ed. 1991, No.42, p.65-66 (right); Cairo JE.97947, Gebel Zeit; also Pinch 1993, pl.46.d-48.

- 34 Cairo JE.33732, Hu, in Petrie & Mace 1901, No.Y.247, p.52, pl.XXVI.
- 35 MMA.19.3.190, Theban tomb of PuHorSenbu, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.6, "the same hideous crudity in the rendering of the face and body" as found on the larger figure, p.17.
- 36 MMA.26.7.1407, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.16, p.34.b.

NEW KINGDOM: XVIII-XXth dynasties.

MEN

XVIIIth dynasty

Following reunification, Egypt's greatest period of wealth and stability is reflected in the enormous output of artistic representations, the sheer number of relevant examples at all levels of society making possible a highly detailed study of the rapid development and diversity of styles which blend the traditional with the innovative.

Although the shaven/cropped head is most often found in the case of "less important figures" ¹ such as manual workers, servants, soldiers and entertainers, viziers, priests and other officials are frequently portrayed without hair.

The feature is most often found in two-dimensional scenes, with sculpted examples relatively uncommon and generally confined to priests and viziers such as Vizier Yuy ², Horus' High Priest Taitai ³, an unnamed priest of Amun ⁴ and a further unnamed priest from Hierakonpolis ⁵. Except for "the close-cropped head" of the young man Huwebenef dated to the "early part of the Eighteenth Dynasty" ⁶, most examples come almost exclusively from the period spanning the reign of Amenhotep III to the end of the Amarna period, and include the so-called 'Salt Head' ⁷, an ebony figure of an unnamed man ⁸, a similarly anonymous wooden figure with the distinct features of Amenhotep III ⁹, a 'citizen of Amarna' ¹⁰ (fig.303) and the central figure on an Amarna triad, variously identified as the grandfather of a boy he accompanies, or on account of his shaven head a priest officiating at an important ceremony in the boy's life ¹¹ (fig.304). In the case of a servant figurine bearing a large cosmetic pot "the head is very finely modelled, and the bare, shaven scalp reveals the bone structure of [the] face" ¹², a similar cosmetic pot in calcite again incorporating a shaven-headed servant in its design ¹³.

Examples of the shaven/cropped head in two dimensions are significantly more numerous throughout the dynasty, and as stated are generally confined to figures of priests, viziers and similar officials in addition to a large army of manual workers. Priests depicted without hair include Nebnakhtu, Priest of Harsaphes and Sekhmet ¹⁴, Cult Servant Kenamun ¹⁵, Puyemre in his capacity as sem-priest (TT.39) ¹⁶, Menkheperasonb, First Prophet of Amun (TT.86) ¹⁷, Pia the High Priest of Sobek, with his son Iyhebnef ¹⁸, lector priest Pawahy and son Kha ¹⁹ (fig.355) and the waab priest Merymaat (TT.C4) ²⁰. Members of the Amarna clergy with shaven heads include the High Priest of the Aten Meryra ²¹, the Chief Servitor of the Aten Panehesy ²², an unnamed First Prophet and a bowing priest on Karnak talatat ²³, the unnamed officiant in the Sakkara tomb of Paatenemheb ²⁴ and later priests such as Userhet, High Priest of Tutankhamen's mortuary cult ²⁵ (fig.305). Shaven viziers include Ramose (TT.55) ²⁶, Aper-el ²⁷ and another unnamed vizier of Akhenaten ²⁸, and two unnamed figures in the funeral procession of Tutankhamen (KV.62), possibly his viziers Pentu and Usermont ²⁹.

Other individuals with the shaven head include the Amarna Chamberlain Tutu ³⁰, Royal Physician Pentu ³¹, 'He Who Washes the Hands of His Majesty' and 'Craftsman of the King' Parrenefer ³², an unnamed Amarna official wearing

golden collars ³³ (fig.306), Royal Butlers Paatenemheb ³⁴ (fig.307) and Ipu ³⁵, and Neby, father of Neferhotep, Chief Scribe of Amun (TT.49) ³⁶. Groups of shaven men are also depicted alongside their more hirsute fellows in the banquet scenes of Nakht (TT.52) ³⁷, Amenhotepsise (TT.75) ³⁸, Nebseni (TT.108) ³⁹ and Nebamun ⁴⁰.

Funeral scenes also include shaven figures who contrast sharply with their necessarily unkempt female counterparts, and are often identified as sons of the deceased. Examples include two sons of the sculptor Huy (TT.54) ⁴¹ and Amenemhat, son of sculptor Nebamun (TT.181) ⁴², in addition to the professional mourners of Neferhotep (TT.49) ⁴³ and Horemheb ⁴⁴, and figures in the Sakkara tomb scenes of Ptahemhat ⁴⁵ (fig.308).

Soldiers are only depicted without their protective mop of hair in parade scenes ⁴⁶, whereas entertainers such as dancers and musicians are almost always shaven, as noted from such figures in the Karnak scenes of Hatshepsut ⁴⁷, the harpist in the tomb scenes of Nakht (TT.52) ⁴⁸, a singer of Horemheb (TT.78) ⁴⁹, the 'blind choir' and harpist of Meryra at Amarna ⁵⁰, the harpist in the Sakkara scenes of Paatenemheb ⁵¹ (fig.309) and similar figure from an unprovenanced tomb ⁵².

The majority of shaven figures are however servants, attendants and manual workers, a brief selection including the butchers of Paheri ⁵³, Rekhmire's bakers, sandal-makers, carpenters, metalworkers and brickmakers (TT.100) ⁵⁴, the banquet servants of Puyemre (TT.39) ⁵⁵, attendants and butchers of Amenhotepsise (TT.75) ⁵⁶ and Nebamon (TT.90) ⁵⁷, bearers of Maia ⁵⁸, attendants and workers of Khaemhat (TT.57) ⁵⁹, farm-workers of Nebamun ⁶⁰, and the bearers of Ramose (TT.55), the latter figures shown in both relief ⁶¹ and painted form appropriately including the shaven figures of the 'dutiful barbers' Kenemsau and his son Amenemone ⁶². Servants at Amarna are generally shown with the head shaven ⁶³ (fig.310), as are their counterparts in the Sakkara tomb of Horemheb ⁶⁴ (fig.363) and Pay ⁶⁵, a final example from the tomb of Neferhotep (TT.49) revealing the way in which these figures guarded their otherwise unprotected heads from the sun by means of a cloth ⁶⁶.

Naturally balding heads continue to be portrayed, relatively rare sculpted depictions including a small, fragmentary votive figure with gently waved, striated hair growing down around a bare crown ⁶⁷ (fig.311) and an unnamed official dated to the reign of Amenhotep III with a similarly receding coiffure ⁶⁸.

Two-dimensional representations of baldness are far more common however, and are to be found throughout the dynasty. The flax harvesters of Paheri have balding crowns with isolated tufts or curls above the forehead, as have nearby fishermen and bird catchers ⁶⁹, the similarly balding styles of the fishermen and papyrus gatherers of Puyemre (TT.39) having been described as "a common mode of representing signs of old age amongst the peasantry" ⁷⁰. Further selected examples include Ptahmose the pelican-keeper in the tomb of Horemheb (TT.78) ⁷¹, numerous workers from the tomb of Rekhmire (TT.100) ⁷², vintners, gardeners and labourers from the tomb scenes of Khaemwese (TT.261) ⁷³, one of Nebamun and Ipu's carpenters (TT.181) ⁷⁴, overseers of farm work in the scenes of Menna (TT.69) ⁷⁵ and Nebamun ⁷⁶ (fig.312), the latter's scenes also including a balding labourer ⁷⁷ (fig.313). Examples from Amarna include a soldier ⁷⁸ and

goat herder⁷⁹, and a cattle herder in the tomb of Huy (TT.40) is likewise depicted as distinctly balding⁸⁰, as is a soldier in the Karnak battle relief scenes of Tutankhamen⁸¹ (fig.314). However, despite the general assumption that this feature is confined to the 'peasantry'/manual workers, certain officers and royal officials from the Memphite tomb of Horemheb are clearly shown with bare heads protruding from their carefully dressed styles⁸² (fig.315-317), a balding official clearly represented in a Sakkara relief scene⁸³ (fig.318).

The short round style is found at every level of society, although there are distinct patterns regarding its adoption: whilst relief/painted examples are to be found throughout the dynasty on a wide range of figures, sculpted forms are largely confined to the middle years and generally take the form of a royal coiffure decorated with small echeloned curls. The earliest sculpted example would appear to be the style worn by the young Prince Ahmose⁸⁴, his rigid helmet-like style set with vertical rows of curls setting a precedent for those to follow, including that of an unnamed prince⁸⁵. These closely resemble the style worn by various figures of Tuthmosis IV, including a dyad⁸⁶ (fig.319) and several single figures⁸⁷ (fig.320). However, it is Tuthmosis' son Amenhotep III who is most often found with this particular coiffure, two colossi from Karnak featuring the familiar rigid form⁸⁸, whilst certain other examples from the latter part of his reign take a much more rounded shape, serving to accentuate his rejuvenated, child-like features in his association with Neferhotep, child of Hathor⁸⁹. This same vertically curled detail is also to be found on a tantalisingly fragmentary head of one of Akhenaten's colossi from Karnak⁹⁰ (fig.321).

Although rather less common, non-royal sculpted figures with the short round curled style include a block figure of the Hereditary Prince and Count Sobekhotep⁹¹, a fragmentary head of a further unnamed 'Hereditary Prince and Count'⁹², a fragmentary granite head from Deir el-Bahari⁹³, and two further unnamed examples⁹⁴, all of which are dated to the period encompassed by the reigns of Tuthmosis III to Tuthmosis IV. Examples of the short round style without vertically curled decoration tend to date from the reign of Amenhotep III into the Amarna period, and include a wooden statuette of a young man with a black style arranged in horizontal rows of curls⁹⁵, the father(?) figure on a small Amarna triad with a rounded style decorated with zigzag lengths of crimped hair with twisted ends⁹⁶ (fig.304), and another example worn by a man on horseback is truncated at chin level in the more rigid form, simply coloured black with no surface detail⁹⁷.

As stated, the short round style is far more commonly found in two-dimensional representations, together with a greater variation in surface decoration. To examine first royal examples, King Ahmose is depicted in great detail wearing the horizontally layered style on the bracelet design of his mother Ahhotep⁹⁸, and this is replicated in the Karnak reliefs of his son Amenhotep I⁹⁹. Tuthmosis III wears the style set in horizontal bands on an unfinished drawing-board sketch¹⁰⁰, and again minus surface detail on column reliefs from the Hall of Births at Deir el Bahari¹⁰¹. Reliefs from the Amada temple of Amun Ra and Ra Horakhti show Tuthmosis IV in this plain form¹⁰², whilst he is also shown with a horizontally curled version in the tomb of his tutor, Heqarneheh (TT.64)¹⁰³, and a vertically curled version on an ivory armbrace scene¹⁰⁴.

Continuing the trend observed in his sculpted figures, Amenhotep III is extensively featured in painted and relief scenes wearing the short round style, as noted in scenes from his funerary temple site ¹⁰⁵ and a sculptor's model piece in which there is "almost excessive interest in the details of the headdress" with its carefully rendered rows of vertical curls ¹⁰⁶. A similar depiction of the king originally adorned the tomb scenes of Khaemhat (TT.57), the individually carved and drilled curls radiating from the crown ¹⁰⁷, whilst in the king's own tomb (KV.22) the short round style, found less frequently than the nemes, has a wavy outline and is coloured blue, some of the examples overpainted with black lines to form horizontal rows of curls ¹⁰⁸.

Examples from the Amarna period include a seated figure of Akhenaten wearing a plain round style as he dines with his family in the tomb scenes of Huya ¹⁰⁹, whilst he is also shown in a blue vertically curled version on a shrine relief fragment ¹¹⁰ (fig.322), a style very similar to that worn by an unnamed Amarna king in a painted relief scene ¹¹¹. Tutankhamen is shown in a rather less rounded black style severely truncated at the base, in scenes from the north wall of his burial chamber (KV.62) ¹¹².

A relatively large number of non-royal figures are also portrayed in two dimensions with the short round style, a black curled form worn by Nebnakhtu's step-father Sennefer, High Priest of Heliopolis ¹¹³. Minor official Iry worships Sobek wearing a plain style ¹¹⁴, whilst graffiti sketches of Hatshepsut's high official Senmut depict him in a variety of short curled styles, an artist's ostrakon sketch portraying the traditional horizontally curled form ¹¹⁵ (fig.323) with a further sketch giving a more rounded outline complete with horizontal rows of crimped hair ¹¹⁶ (fig.324), a style also to be found in his Deir el-Bahari tomb sketches (TT.353) ¹¹⁷. Paheri wears both the traditional curled form and a crimped version in his el-Kab tomb scenes ¹¹⁸, and Amenemhat (TT.53) ¹¹⁹, Userhet (TT.56) ¹²⁰ and Nakht (TT.52) ¹²¹ all favour the plain style when out hunting. Banquet guests in the tomb of Puyemre (TT.39) wear standard curled forms ¹²², the guests of Kenamun (TT.93) preferring plain styles, in this case with a wavy edge ¹²³.

Mourners and sem priests also wear the style on occasion ¹²⁴, as do musicians ¹²⁵ (fig.309), charioteers/horsemen ¹²⁶, and soldiers ¹²⁷, the latter group further depicted having their styles trimmed by itinerant barbers in the tomb scenes of Userhet (TT.56) ¹²⁸. Other examples are worn by general servants, attendants, bearers and manual workers throughout the period, as noted from the scenes of Paheri ¹²⁹, Duaneheh (TT.125) ¹³⁰, Rekhmire (TT.100) ¹³¹, Sennefer (TT.96) ¹³², Nakht (TT.52) ¹³³, Sobekhotep (TT.63) ¹³⁴, Ramose (TT.55) ¹³⁵, Nebamun ¹³⁶ (fig.325) and an unnamed individual ¹³⁷, in addition to a large number of similar figures of the Amarna period ¹³⁸. The styles of such figures are frequently described as wigs, although this would seem more than a little unlikely and totally impractical given the nature of their work. Davies believes that their styles are "only a head of well kept hair" ¹³⁹, although in some cases they are portrayed as rather less than 'well kept' ¹⁴⁰ (fig.326)!

The short round style is also found with the addition of a curling plaited lock attached at the right side, a composite style

worn by elder royal children and certain categories of priest, ie. the High Priest of Ptah, the sem and Iunmufef priests. Examples include a quartzite head of 'a young prince' resembling Tuthmosis IV, the lock attached at the right of a vertically curled style ¹⁴¹ (fig.327), Amenhotep III's Crown Prince and High Priest of Ptah, Tuthmosis, portrayed as a sem priest with a round striated style embellished with plaited sidelock ¹⁴², a further figure perhaps to be identified as this same prince shown with a black vertically curled round style and elaborately curling blue lock ¹⁴³. This same distinct coiffure is found on both the block ¹⁴⁴ (fig.328) and naos ¹⁴⁵ (fig.329) figures of Ptahmose, High Priest of Ptah, the naos including a similarly clad figure of his brother Meryptah, priest and steward of Amenhotep III's funerary temple.

Relief examples of the short style with sidelock include a further representation of the prince Tuthmosis(?) on a Memphite temple relief fragment ¹⁴⁶, the sem priests of Merimeri ¹⁴⁷ and Horemheb ¹⁴⁸ (fig.330) from their Sakkara tomb scenes and a further unprovenanced example ¹⁴⁹.

A highly unusual short style is found on a fragmentary figure of a late XVIIIth dynasty official(?) from Hierakonpolis, a front view conveying the impression of a short chin-length bobbed style made up of individually braided locks of hair which emanate from a centre parting set high on the head to reveal the whole of the forehead (fig.331). Closer examination of the back however reveals that the hair is again parted to reveal a large expanse of bare scalp (fig.332), and it is therefore possible to describe this unique coiffure as an example of a double sidelock with the two braided sections of hair left loose and unplaited, the figure's 'official' status perhaps to be amended to one of a religious nature ¹⁵⁰.

During the XVIIIth dynasty the traditional forms of style are significantly elaborated upon, the so-called 'Nubian wig' being a fine example of such elaboration, developing as it does from the basic short round style. The term 'Nubian wig', coined by Aldred to describe the new style's supposed similarity to "the shock of hair that covered the polls of Nubian soldiers" ¹⁵¹, is rather misleading since any similarities are limited at best. As Samson notes, "Distinction is important...between the Nubian short crop of curls (little more than a skull cap)...and the very different wigs, often with one to five layers of curls fringing the face and sometimes with a streamer behind, but *always* [her italics] ending in a point, down the neck or even to the collar bone in front. These are not happily described as 'short Nubian'. Also it is vital to establish that they were not 'virtually a monopoly of royal ladies at Tell el-Amarna'" ¹⁵², since they are worn by a variety of other individuals. Her preferred term for this style is the 'pointed wig' ¹⁵³, reserving the term 'Nubian' to describe "the short cap-like wig covered in such ringlets, as worn by Nubians. It is confusing if this name is used to describe the more sophisticated wigs with overlapping layers framing the face" ¹⁵⁴.

Her suggestion is taken up by Werner who proposes "in the spirit of compromise...the 'pointed Nubian wig' in an attempt to clarify the terminology" ¹⁵⁵. If 'wig' is amended to 'style', the term 'pointed Nubian style' would indeed seem to be the most useful compromise, employing as it does the now established 'Nubian' epithet combined with a more accurate and concise description of its general shape.

The pointed Nubian style can be found in two basic lengths, the pointed front edges reaching either to chin level to form the short pointed Nubian style, or resting on the collar bone in the case of the long pointed Nubian style. In both cases the hair rises diagonally upwards from these two front points ending high in the nape of the neck to give their distinctive shape ¹⁵⁶. The face is generally framed by a number of separate layers or fringes most often rendered as individual locks or curls, and particularly in relief examples "this headdress became highly stylised and often gives the impression of tubes rather than braids or coils as its basic structure" ¹⁵⁷.

The style first appears in its short form during the reign of Amenhotep II, Aldred citing the earliest example known to him as the style worn by a statue of this king in the tomb scenes of Kenamun (TT.93) ¹⁵⁸. Four such statues are actually depicted here, their plain short round styles having evolved into the new pointed form by virtue of their diagonally cut bases. However, the exact same style is also to be found on similar figures of the king in both the nearby contemporary tomb of Royal Butler Suemniwet (TT.92) ¹⁵⁹ and in reliefs at Karnak, including the celebrated scene in which he fires arrows from his chariot ¹⁶⁰. Kenamun follows the royal precedent and also sports the new style in his scenes (TT.93), although preferring the longer form with lightly wavy edges ¹⁶¹. Further plain examples are worn by Userhet (TT.56) ¹⁶² and Nenwaf's son Meru ¹⁶³, the scribe Nebked shown with a finely detailed style of six face-framing layers ¹⁶⁴ (fig.333).

Following the reign of Amenhotep II examples are quite rare ¹⁶⁵ until the Amarna period, when the style becomes highly fashionable for royalty and workers, men and women alike. Akhenaten himself is shown in the short pointed form, the diagonal base line now tending to curve downward to chin level, or more acutely to touch the collar bone ¹⁶⁶, the king wearing a plain version of the long form with pronounced pointed ends resting on his collar bone in the tomb scenes of the High Priest Meryra ¹⁶⁷.

This longer form is also worn by contemporary officials, as noted from the private stela of an unnamed man ¹⁶⁸, and one of the royal fan bearers, his blue style with three layers held by a headband ¹⁶⁹. The short form is worn by the naval officer Resh in his Sakkara tomb scenes ¹⁷⁰, and palace guards are depicted wearing two and three layered versions in a number of Amarna tomb scenes ¹⁷¹, with grooms ¹⁷² and those tending sacrificial cattle ¹⁷³ (fig.334) shown with three-layer forms painted black. Plain black styles are worn by Yaya and Menna on their Amarna stela ¹⁷⁴, by the Theban Hori on his painted shroud from Deir el-Medina ¹⁷⁵ (fig.335), and by Ramose and Parrenefer, the sons of the painter Maia in his Deir el-Medina tomb scenes as they officiate at their father's funeral beside similarly coifed mourners ¹⁷⁶.

A number of objects from the tomb of Tutankhamen show the young king in a various forms of the style, his figure on the lid of an ornamental chest wearing a six-layered blue form ¹⁷⁷, on both the golden fan and a bow case a four-layered style ¹⁷⁸ and on the golden shrine varying numbers of layers ¹⁷⁹. Further examples are found in the Memphite tomb of Horemheb, as worn by a number of officers and soldiers ¹⁸⁰ (fig.598), and on occasion the king himself ¹⁸¹.

In an examination of sculpted examples, the earliest appears to be part of a funerary statue of Amenhotep II found in his

tomb (KV.35), "composée d'une épaisse perruque disposée en fines tresses partant du sommet de la tête et s'étageant sur les côtés. La perruque est peinte en bleu" ¹⁸², the short severe form composed of seven layers of fringes. As in two-dimensional examples, the style only achieves prominence in the statuary of the Amarna period, beginning late in the reign of Amenhotep III, a small serpentine head of the king displaying the shorter pointed form with detail reserved for the four layers around the face ¹⁸³ (fig.336). A contemporary figure of a man in military kilt also wears the short form, the striations over the surface ending in curls to frame the face ¹⁸⁴ (fig.337). Examples from Amarna itself include part of a diorite 'wig' from a life-size composite statue, which "could have been worn by royal or non-royal men or women" ¹⁸⁵, although its six-layered form is quite rare in contrast to the more common two to five layers. Two of Akhenaten's shabti figures sport the pointed Nubian style ¹⁸⁶, as do 35 of the 413 found in the tomb of Tutankhamen (KV.62) ¹⁸⁷ (fig.338).

In order to clarify the terminology further, it is necessary to recognise a variation of the Nubian style which is made up of the short round style with an additional fringe of layered hair. Whilst it cannot be regarded as a 'true' Nubian style since it lacks the diagonally slanting base, it is most accurately described as the 'round Nubian' in contrast to its pointed counterpart, and although not particularly common the distinction is important ¹⁸⁸.

The round Nubian style first appears late in the reign of Amenhotep III in conjunction with his 'rejuvenated' appearance ¹⁸⁹, a plain round form fringed with six separate layers worn by the king as he offers to the gods at Karnak and Luxor temples ¹⁹⁰ (fig.339). A similarly rounded though striated version is noted on the stela of contemporary officials Amenmose ¹⁹¹ and Nebansu ¹⁹², and whilst the Amarna period is rather bereft of examples, the style is featured on a number of items from the tomb of Tutankhamen, including the scene on the back of the golden throne ¹⁹³ (fig.340). Here the king's style is made of blue glass, its vertically curled surface further embellished with four layers of sectioned hair set around the face, the presence of a distinct line across his forehead suggesting it to be a wig. Similar examples are also to be found alongside the pointed version decorating the small golden shrine, including a scene of hunting birds from a skiff ¹⁹⁴. The round Nubian style then falls out of favour at the end of the XVIIIth dynasty and is rarely to be found again.

In addition to the short round style and various forms of the Nubian coiffure, the longer shoulder-length style continues to be extensively featured in both statuary and relief/painted scenes. It is however apparent that its consistent popularity in two dimensions throughout this period is not reflected in sculpted examples which are generally confined to the first half of the dynasty, after which time it is largely superseded by more fashionable variants.

Sculpted examples follow those set down in the Middle Kingdom, the first most basic form setting the hair in one piece over the head minus a centre parting, and tucking it behind the ears to fall straight across the back of the shoulders. This style dominates in the first half of the dynasty, with surface detail generally in the form of striations set over the crown and down at each side, as noted from various dyad figures including those of the Theban Kerama ¹⁹⁵ and Nufer, Overseer of the cattle of Amun ¹⁹⁶ (fig.341). A multitude of individual figures with the style include Hapu, father to a high priest of

Amun under Tuthmosis III ¹⁹⁷, Pehsukher, Fan Bearer and lieutenant of the same king ¹⁹⁸, Min, the Overseer of Weavers ¹⁹⁹, Governor of Koptos and Chief Prophet of Min, Ahmose ²⁰⁰, another Ahmose, called Ruru, Overseer of the Priests of Min ²⁰¹ (fig.342), an unnamed Bearer of the Gold of Honour ²⁰² (fig.343), and similarly unnamed seated official ²⁰³. The style is however found most frequently adorning the statuary of Hatshepsut's steward Senmut (fig.344-345), close inspection of the examples in question revealing tabs of natural hair protruding from beneath what must be a wig ²⁰⁴ (fig.345).

In addition to these heavy overlaid striations, finer detail could be added in the form of vertical, slightly waving lines which radiate out from the crown to be gathered at the ends into tiny braids ²⁰⁵. Smooth undecorated examples are also worn by Tuthmosis III's vizier User ²⁰⁶, and his herald Yamunedja ²⁰⁷, Ahmose the Second Prophet of Amun ²⁰⁸, the palace official Sennefer ²⁰⁹, and Akhenaten's chief sculptor Bak ²¹⁰.

The second form of shoulder-length style, again following the Middle Kingdom precedent, is characterised by the hair set forwards in points on the chest before rising upwards towards the edge of the shoulders, a form most popular for statuary dating to the middle of the dynasty. The steward Senmut wears the style on several more of his statues, the vertically striated waves dissected at regular intervals by fine horizontal banding to give a rippled appearance to the hair's surface ²¹¹ (fig.346). Further examples include the style of Djehuti, Steward of Amun under Tuthmosis III ²¹², and two figures of Amenhotep son of Hapu, the first portraying him as a successful official with a style very similar to that of Senmut, the gently waving hair forming a straight fringe set horizontally across his forehead ²¹³ (fig.347). The second figure portrays him as an older man, and whilst the style is basically the same, it differs over the forehead where it rises to suggest a centre parting ²¹⁴ (fig.348), a feature found on other contemporary figures of unnamed officials ²¹⁵, and also noted on the figure of Horemheb as a scribe ²¹⁶ (fig.349-350). This latter example is very similar to the style worn by the elder Amenhotep, except that the front points of hair are now softened into rounded lappets which are set further forwards to hide the ears, and lengthened to fall further down on to the chest. This shoulder length rounded-end style becomes quite popular for officials at the end of the dynasty, and continues to be featured into the beginning of the next ²¹⁷.

In a break with previous practice, both forms of the long shoulder-length style with and without pointed ends are also to be found in two dimensions, the basic form set across the back of the shoulders dominant in the early part of the dynasty whilst the pointed end style makes its appearance during the second half of the dynasty, with additional variations in the form of varied surface detail, texture, outline and colour.

In the early XVIIIth dynasty, the basic shoulder-length style is quite plain and follows the form set down in the Old Kingdom. Painted examples are largely undetailed and coloured black, as noted from the styles of Nebnakhtu ²¹⁸, Medja's unnamed husband ²¹⁹ (fig.351), the charioteer Nenwaf ²²⁰, Vizier Rekhmire (TT.100) ²²¹ and steward and First Prophet of Amun, Djehuty (TT.45) ²²². By the reign of Amenhotep II these simple representations were elaborated upon

by means of wavy outlines and painted surface detail to indicate texture, such techniques being especially clear in the tomb scenes of Sennefer, Mayor of Thebes (TT.96)²²³. Throughout the tomb Sennefer's basic black style²²⁴ has been subtly altered by the use of a stepped edge between ear and shoulder²²⁵, a feature also extended around the whole outline to give a rather tousled appearance²²⁶ and further modified into a waved outline²²⁷, the solid block of colour broken up in other scenes into separate broad waves²²⁸.

The contemporary scenes of Khaemwaset (TT.261) employ the stepped outline with additional surface texture provided by triangular blobs of grey colour applied on to the black background²²⁹. This waved/stepped outline then becomes the standard for further depictions of the shoulder-length style, examples including depictions of Nakht (TT.52)²³⁰ and Menna (TT.69)²³¹. The further addition of individual braided ends provides extra detail, as noted from the styles of architect Kha²³², draughtsman Maia²³³ and the scribe and Counter of Grain, Nebamun²³⁴ (fig.352) in addition to the white form worn by the Mayor of the Southern City, Kenamun (TT.162)²³⁵ (fig.353).

Relief examples of the basic shoulder-length style include those of Senmut from the Hathor chapel at Deir el-Bahari²³⁶, Roau, Chief Steward of Amun²³⁷, the overseer of priests and "many-titled official" Amunhotep²³⁸, and an interesting figure of the nomarch Paheri in his tomb scenes at el-Kab; in the scene in which he inspects his estates, his figure has been altered, "the sculptor having made grievous mistakes about the head. Paheri was probably to be represented exactly as on the front wall, but aristocratic wig [shoulder-length style] and profile were forgotten until the stone had already been cut away"²³⁹. To rectify the situation, plaster had been applied in which the longer style could be recut, but this has since crumbled away to leave two profiles, effectively showing Paheri both with and without his wig. Other examples of the plain relief form include those of treasurer Sobekmose from his tomb north of Thebes²⁴⁰, Vizier Ramose (TT.55) in official dress²⁴¹, royal sculptors Men and Bek²⁴² and their Amarna contemporaries Huya²⁴³ and Mahu²⁴⁴.

By the reign of Amenhotep III however, these plain forms were being replaced by much more elaborate examples using highly skilled carving techniques. The most accomplished examples are to be found in the tomb of Vizier Ramose (TT.55), where zigzag lines of raised relief suggest sections of crimped hair, twisted at the ends into small braids²⁴⁵. Other scenes of particular note are found in the tomb of Khaemhet (TT.57), Overseer of Granaries under Amenhotep III, a number of figures including the tomb owner, other high officials and groups of scribes shown in highly detailed shoulder-length styles²⁴⁶. The Amarna officials Ay²⁴⁷ (fig.354) and Huya²⁴⁸ wear the shoulder-length style similarly decorated with incised wavy lines, and bearers in the Sakkara tomb scenes of Maya have rather more elaborately crimped forms²⁴⁹.

Contemporary stelae depict equally intricate designs, as noted from the stelae of Royal Scribe Senu; as he worships Osiris, his basic long style is carved with wavy lines²⁵⁰ (fig.355), then as he stands before Imsety and Hapi his style is rather more detailed, with finer waves and an additional border of three layers of braids running from forehead to shoulder in

uniform width ²⁵¹ (fig.256). Had the layers of braids only extended from ear-level down, or if they had diminished into a single layer across the forehead, the style would best be described as the 'double/duplex' style (discussed below). Alternatively, if the hair had risen high into the nape of the neck, the style would be of the Nubian variety ²⁵², and although influenced by the Nubian structure with its layered border, Senu's coiffure still conforms to the basic shoulder-length structure. Other examples of this style, complete with braided border of one or more layers, may be found in the Amarna tomb scenes of Ahmes ²⁵³ and Mahu ²⁵⁴, and in the Sakkara tomb scenes of Chancellor Meryra ²⁵⁵, the official Merimeri ²⁵⁶ and an unnamed contemporary ²⁵⁷.

The second form of the long shoulder-length style set in pointed lappets first occurs in painting and relief during the reign of Amenhotep III, although as stated, confusion with the similar double and Nubian styles can easily arise, since pointed lappets are a shared feature.

The style itself is most commonly found with extensive surface detail, plain forms being rather less common. Despite extensive damage to the head the points of Vizier Aper-el's plain style are clearly visible on his chest in his Sakkara tomb reliefs ²⁵⁸, such points also faintly visible on the chest of Panchesy, Chief Servitor of the Aten in his Amarna tomb scenes ²⁵⁹ and on the stela of steward Any ²⁶⁰. Other Amarna figures with this restrained coiffure include an "aged courtier" wearing a "wig with long lappets" ²⁶¹.

An unusually white example is worn by the official Hatiay as he stands before Osiris ²⁶² (fig.357), although the vast majority of plain examples are painted black, as in the case of an unnamed official on a shroud painting, the front points only very slight and a wavy outline suggesting curly hair ²⁶³ (fig.358). This style is very similar to that worn by Tutankhamen's funeral party of privy councillors and high officials (KV.62), and again, although the pointed ends of their identical styles are only very slight, there is an addition of separate braided ends of hair framing the sides of the face ²⁶⁴. This feature is rather more exaggerated in the case of the style worn by the steward Djehutihotep on a wooden panel scene ²⁶⁵, and in the tomb scenes of Huy (TT.40) the braided ends of the Viceroy's style have an almost ragged outline ²⁶⁶.

Further examples of this shoulder-length style, again with pointed ends, wavy outline and face framing braids, are worn by the male attendants of Neferhotep and Meryetre (TT.49) although Davies suggests that they are Aegeans or Syrians on account of their hair which they "wear in long curls reaching half-way down the upper arm" ²⁶⁷ (fig.359). However, the 'curls' are simply the pointed ends which follow the contours of the upper body as a result of the figures' bending position, further confusion having been caused by the similar styles of two charioteers in Tutankhamen's Opet festival scenes in Luxor temple which are described as "tripartite coiffures which may represent an international hairstyle peculiar to élite chariot-warriors" ²⁶⁸ (fig.360)!

As stated, in the majority of cases the pointed-end shoulder-length style is generally highly detailed when represented in two dimensions, one of the earliest examples worn by Amenhotep son of Hapu in the tomb scenes of Ramose (TT.55) and

duplicating that found in his sculpture, "his long hair giving him the look of an old man"²⁶⁹. Davies further notes that "the long hair given to this one figure...is not seen before the next reign, except in the case of this Amenhotep, of whom it is a characteristic mark even in after times"²⁷⁰, presumably referring only to the style's appearance in relief since it is present in statuary as early as the Middle Kingdom. A further example from the reign of Amenhotep III may be found on the funerary stela of Wesi²⁷¹.

As in representations of the pointed Nubian style, the decorated form of the pointed-end shoulder-length style is extensively featured in relief at Amarna, as worn by the royal scribes Rames²⁷² and Meryra II²⁷³, and the steward Any²⁷⁴. A variant worn by one of the royal fan-bearers results from his 'lunging position' which distorts the actual shape of his style causing it to swing back slightly²⁷⁵, two attendants of Tutankhamen shown with detailed pointed-end styles as they carry away ostriches bagged by the king²⁷⁶.

The Royal Treasurer Maya is shown in delicate relief in his Sakkara tomb scenes, the careful treatment of the hair recalling that in the Theban tomb of Ramose (TT.55) further enhanced by the use of black paint over a panel of individually crimped braids²⁷⁷ (fig.361). This technique is duplicated in the contemporary Sakkara scenes of the general Amenemhet, his beautiful style complete with intricately carved zigzag lines ending in individually drilled braids which form points on the chest²⁷⁸ (fig.361). The Memphite tomb of Horemheb is a further rich source of examples for this particular style, which is worn by the tomb owner as he stands before Tutankhamen²⁷⁹ (fig.363), duplicating the style found in his statuary²⁸⁰. Horemheb's associates and officers also wear it²⁸¹ (fig.315) and although it is stated that in this case "their status is indicated by their coiffure"²⁸² the same style is also adopted by Horemheb's scribes (fig.364). In their case it is stated that "their features and coiffure...could lead one to assume that they are female"²⁸³, although their styles are in fact typically masculine and quite in keeping with male fashions of the time. A further example worn by Horemheb at prayer has the braided ends around the face extended to exaggerate the pointed ends²⁸⁴ (fig.365), a technique also found in the contemporary Sakkara reliefs of Ptahemhat depicting officials at a funeral²⁸⁵ (fig.308).

A final example of the pointed-end shoulder-length style is worn by Neferhotep, Chief Scribe of Amun under Ay and Horemheb (TT.49)²⁸⁶, the bulk of the hair carved in the same way as that of previous examples, with the fine, wavy striations banded by horizontal indentations to suggest rippling (fig.366). However, the face is bordered by four overlapping layers of braids running from the forehead down to the chest to form the pointed-end feature, and whilst very similar to the Nubian style, the back of the hair rests on the shoulders to preclude such a classification. These criteria are clear enough, until the matter becomes rather more complex with the introduction of the 'double' (also known as the 'duplex' or 'bipartite'²⁸⁷) style in the middle of the XVIIIth dynasty,

The double style becomes popular in the Tuthmoside period, and is basically an elaboration upon the long shoulder-length style. As in the case of the shoulder-length style it is initially set behind the neck to fall across the shoulders, until in the

Amarna period the pointed ends are set over on to the chest. The style's basic feature is the way in which the hair is divided into two sections, the upper section set over an underpanel of plaits or braids which emerge at ear-level ²⁸⁸. Examples in statuary are readily identified, although two-dimensional forms are easily confused with similar styles, most notably the pointed-end style with Nubian-type border (discussed above). The only means of differentiating the two is to limit examples of the double style to cases where the number of layers is reduced over the forehead, the bulk of the layers emanating from ear-level downwards.

The double style is the most popular coiffure for the fashionable male élite of the XVIIIth dynasty and is never worn by manual workers. It is pre-eminent in statuary, and first appears in the reign of Tuthmosis III ²⁸⁹, evolving from the long shoulder-length style around the same time that the Nubian style is developing from the traditional short round style. As with the basic shoulder-length style, the early forms of the double style fall across the back of the neck and shoulders, with the detailed underpanel formed by the individual striations terminating in layers at ear level to form triangular panels at each side of the head.

The earliest example of the double style would seem to be that worn by Maja, Governor and High Priest under Tuthmosis III ²⁹⁰ (fig.367), with slightly later examples worn by the dyad figure of an unnamed official ²⁹¹ (fig.368) and the scribe Nebwa'aw, Hayes stating that the latter's "shoulder-length wig, with the spiral undercurls appearing in a shingled, or stepped arrangement in the front, seems to have first come into fashion under Amun-hotpe II" [sic] ²⁹².

The style is also found on the granite dyad figure of Amenhotep II's Mayor of Thebes, Sennefer ²⁹³ (fig.369), Terrace and Fischer commenting upon "the beginnings of a distinction between the striated surface and the underside" ²⁹⁴ which is also found on the slightly later painted dyad figures of Sennynefer ²⁹⁵ and an unnamed official ²⁹⁶. Both men wear black striated styles with a flat triangular underpanel of small tile-like braids, the upper section of the unnamed figure carved as crimped wavy lines to further indicate texture. The double style is also found on a votive figure of the Queen's Steward Roy, "datable by...the form of wig to the period embraced by the reigns of Amenhotep II to Tuthmosis IV" ²⁹⁷, with other examples worn by the foreman Kha ²⁹⁸ (fig.370), Mentechenu, Superintendent of the Palace Guards ²⁹⁹, the priest Amenhotep User ³⁰⁰ and scribe Menkheperrasonb ³⁰¹.

The bulk of examples, however, date from the reign of Amenhotep III and adorn the statuary of numerous royal officials and dignitaries, their styles conforming to the basic pattern in which the hair is set along the back of the shoulders ³⁰². There also begins the uniform practice of partly hiding the ears under the sweep of the curving upper section of hair, whereas previously the ears in the majority of examples had been completely exposed.

An interesting example dating from this reign is the dyad figure of Treasury Scribe Nebsen, grandfather of Amenhotep III's treasury overseer Sobekmose, wearing the fashions of his grandson's time complete with the double style of crimped top and braided underpanel ³⁰³, a form also found in "exquisite detail" on the steatite dyad of Khaemwas ³⁰⁴ (fig.371). The

Second Prophet of Amun and royal brother-in-law Anen is shown in priestly vestments and the double style ³⁰⁵, which is also found on two scribal figures of Amenhotep son of Hapu ³⁰⁶ (fig.372) in contrast to his more restrained choice of coiffure on his aforementioned 'older' figures (fig.347-348). Another scribal figure with the style represents the royal butler and devotée of Hathor, Neferronpet ³⁰⁷ (fig.373), and is very similar to the styles of the officer and Royal Standard Bearer Kamose ³⁰⁸ and Minemheb, Chief of Works ³⁰⁹. Several unnamed examples include an official from a granite dyad ³¹⁰ (fig.374), a high official carved in diorite ³¹¹, an individual with necklaces of honour ³¹² and a beautiful limestone figure with the hair coloured black ³¹³ (fig.375). The portrait head of Kheruef, Royal Scribe and Steward of Queen Tiy, again wears the style ³¹⁴, which is also found on the ebony statuette of Stablemaster Tjay, "the fine chevron curls of the wig, which terminate in little locks, are a tour de force in minutely detailed sculpture" ³¹⁵ (fig.376).

The double style is also worn by a number of small scribal figures, and can provide a useful means by which to date them quite precisely. The majority have the early form of double style which falls across the back of the neck and shoulders, as noted from a serpentine scribal figure ³¹⁶, a scribe before the god Thoth ³¹⁷, and a similar seated figure from Amarna (fig.377) which was probably made in a Theban workshop or by "an artist who continued to work in the tradition in which he had been trained during the reign of Amenhotep III" ³¹⁸. A further figure in the double style has the underpanel set in points on the chest ³¹⁹, and it has been noted that this "scribe exhibits more of a tendency toward the new style of Akhenaten, particularly in costume" ³²⁰, the adoption of the pointed-end form clearly supporting such a view. This theory may also be applied to two figures of the scribe Nebmerutef seated before the god Thoth, one figure exhibiting the earlier form of the double style set back across the shoulders and suggesting it was made in the reign of Amenhotep III ³²¹, the second with its underpanel laid in points on the chest suggesting a date at the beginning of the next reign ³²².

During the Amarna period, the earlier form of the double style is still occasionally found, as in the case of another scribal figure ³²³ and an unnamed man holding a lotus ³²⁴. However, the pointed end style, so popular at the very beginning of the reign is briefly replaced by the Nubian style, only to return as the most popular form of coiffure in the post-Amarna period.

The late XVIIIth dynasty fragmentary figure of the general Nakhtmin presents an interesting example of the style (fig.378), close inspection revealing that the underpanel originally fell in points on the chest, although the hair itself is treated in a different manner than in earlier examples, the upper section delicately crimped whilst the lower panels are detailed with fine vertical waves as opposed to the more usual braids ³²⁵. This contrasts with an almost identical head which exhibits the more typical underpanel of braids and a more heavily crimped top section ³²⁶, also noted on a similarly fragmentary piece ³²⁷. Another limestone head originally from a funerary dyad has the same upper section of fine waves over long braided underpanels set in points to give a late-XVIIIth dynasty date ³²⁸ (fig.379).

Further contemporary examples include an unnamed priest of Hathor under Tutankhamen ³²⁹, an unnamed official on a

limestone dyad ³³⁰ (fig.380) and two statues of the Royal Treasurer Maya from his Memphite tomb, both his individual ³³¹ (fig.381) and dyad figures ³³² (fig.382) wearing identical forms of the double style. Maya's colleague Horemheb is also depicted with the same coiffure in his funerary sculpture ³³³, and although the head is unfortunately missing in one example, the braided points on the chest remain. The statuette of Vizier Paramessu (the future Ramses I) presents both forms of the double style, a fragmentary forward-tilting head from a scribal(?) figure wearing the basic form without points (fig.383), its unusually 'hollow' appearance caused by its flaring quality highly reminiscent of Vth dynasty official statuary although close inspection reveals a flat underpanel of braids beneath a waved upper surface ³³⁴, with the more common pointed-end form noted in the case of a pair of seated granite figures ³³⁵ (fig.384).

Similar examples of the pointed-end form on a small scale include the steatite dyad figure of the military officer Huy ³³⁶ (fig.385), an unnamed seated scribe in limestone ³³⁷ and a number of shabti figures including those of Paser ³³⁸ (fig.386), Iyi ³³⁹, and unnamed individuals in wood ³⁴⁰ and calcite ³⁴¹.

The situation regarding two-dimensional representations of the double style is quite different however, being relatively infrequent when compared to sculpted counterparts. This would seem to be due to the profile of the double style being very similar to that of the basic shoulder length style save for the detailed underpanel, and since surface detail tends to be of secondary importance to the general outline, it would appear that the double style is often represented as indistinct from the basic shoulder-length form. In cases where surface detail is added, its similarity to that found on the various Nubian styles can also prove problematic when attempting a classification, as noted from the aforementioned styles of Senu (fig.356) and Neferhotep. For a style to be classified as double rather than Nubian or a basic shoulder-length style with face framing border of single braided ends, a distinct multi-layered underpanel must be visible and should only run from the ear down to the shoulder.

The basic shoulder-length form of the double style set along the shoulders does not appear in two dimensions until the reign of Amenhotep III, the Overseer of the Treasury of Amun, Nebnefer, shown with a simple form on his granite block relief ³⁴², and the aforementioned royal scribe Senu wearing a slightly different form with a single layer of braids extending over the forehead ³⁴³. A rather more elaborate style of the sculptor Nebamun (TT.181) is decorated with black lines on the upper surface, whilst the underpanel is composed of "triangular spots" ³⁴⁴.

In the beautifully carved relief scenes of Ramose (TT.55) there begins the transition between this basic double style and the pointed-end version which almost entirely replaces it. Ramose ³⁴⁵, his father Neby ³⁴⁶ and an unnamed colleague ³⁴⁷ all wear the basic form, whilst Ramose's brother Amenhotep ³⁴⁸, Keshy ³⁴⁹ and a bearer ³⁵⁰ all have styles with slightly pointed ends. Such finely carved pointed-end double styles are also noted in the tomb scenes of Khaemhat (TT.57) ³⁵¹ (fig.387), although these examples have the underpanel braids set diagonally rather than straight down, an unusual feature also found on the exaggerated, elongated underpanel of Menkheper, Mayor of Memphis ³⁵².

During the Amarna period, the popular Nubian forms strongly influence the double style, a particular coiffure of Ay being Nubian in many respects although retaining its double classification on account of its longer, shoulder length ³⁵³. Ay's chief scribe Neferhotep (TT.49) is also portrayed with the double style ³⁵⁴ (fig.359), contemporary examples including the style worn by Royal Treasurer Maya, "his magnificent full [double] wig" ³⁵⁵ exquisitely rendered in his Memphite tomb scenes (fig.388) and repeated in those of Horemheb, where they are worn by a range of figures including the tomb owner ³⁵⁶ (fig.389-390), his secretary Sementawy ³⁵⁷, various officers (including the natural style of a balding individual) ³⁵⁸ (fig.315), and a figure tentatively identified as Paramessu, the future Ramses I ³⁵⁹. Other funerary reliefs incorporating the double style include the tomb scenes of Pay, Overseer of the Memphite Harem under Tutankhamen ³⁶⁰, and the stelae of Ameneminet, Overseer of Royal Craftsmen ³⁶¹, royal scribe Iymouia ³⁶², the Overseer of Archers Ry ³⁶³ and an unnamed official ³⁶⁴.

Although largely restricted to coffins and shabti figures, the tripartite style is occasionally worn by male figures in both relief and statuary, a rare two-dimensional example worn by Akhenaten in a Karnak talatat scene described as "a curious short lappet" ³⁶⁵. Sculpted examples include Amenhotep III in sphinx form wearing a striated style ³⁶⁶ (fig.391), one of the Karnak colossi of Akhenaten revealing the styles braided lappets emerging from the bottom of the nemes ³⁶⁷ (fig.392), a phenomenon also observed on the outer gilded coffin of Tutankhamen ³⁶⁸. Countless anthropoid coffins feature this traditional form of coiffure, a brief selection of examples including the plain black style of the Theban Ahmose ³⁶⁹, the striated form of the architect Kha ³⁷⁰, Ramessu ³⁷¹ and Viceroy Merymose ³⁷², the latter described as "the striped wig of the type worn by deities (the deceased being identified with Osiris)" ³⁷³. Numerous shabti figures with plain forms of the tripartite style include those of steward Senyu ³⁷⁴, Royal Architect Benymeryet ³⁷⁵, the artisan Maya ³⁷⁶, Tjenuro ³⁷⁷, Amenhotep III's father-in-law Yuya ³⁷⁸ and Akhenaten himself ³⁷⁹, whilst striations decorate the blue style of the charioteer Hat ³⁸⁰, and the shabti of Amenhotep called Huy has an ornate style of vertical curls ³⁸¹.

XIXth dynasty

During the second part of the New Kingdom styles continue to evolve and develop, with the shaven head becoming increasingly popular amongst all classes. Sculpted examples include the High Priest Ptahmai ³⁸², Ipy, priest of Thoth ³⁸³, the Chief Royal Physician Tuty ³⁸⁴ (fig.393), an unnamed official from a funerary dyad ³⁸⁵ and a similarly unnamed wooden figurine of a well-dressed man ³⁸⁶. Two-dimensional representations are extremely common, Davies detecting that "a quite different profile is associated with the full wig [shoulder-length style] and the bald [shaven] head. In the latter...the forehead recedes, the brow...disappears...The new type of face used after the Eighteenth dynasty seems largely due to the prevalence of the shaven head" ³⁸⁷.

Prince RamsesSethherwerenef, son of Ramses IV, is depicted with a shaven head as he offers to Ptah ³⁸⁸ (fig.394), as is the contemporary High Priest of Amun, Ramsesnakht ³⁸⁹ and great numbers of priests and religious personnel; these include Raia, the Chief of Singers of Ptah in Memphis and his lector priest Shedamun ³⁹⁰, the First Prophet of Amun,

Khonshotep³⁹¹ (fig.395), Paweremwia, Chief of the Ships of Amun³⁹² (fig.396), Naia, priest of Sekhmet³⁹³, Userhet, First Prophet of the Ka of Tuthmosis I under Seti I (TT.51)³⁹⁴, the funerary priests of Inherkha (TT.359) (fig.397-398) and Ramses IX's High Priest Amenhotep³⁹⁵, both Panehesy, The Prophet of Amenhotep of the Forecourt (TT.16)³⁹⁶ and Nakhtamun, Head of Altars in the Ramesseum (TT.341)³⁹⁷ (fig.399) shown with protective cloths over their bare scalps. Groups of shaven priests are also to be found in tomb scenes such as those of priests Imiseba (TT.65)³⁹⁸ and Amenmosi (TT.19)³⁹⁹, at Medinet Habu⁴⁰⁰ (fig.400) and Karnak temples, and on stelae⁴⁰¹ and ostracon sketches⁴⁰².

Viziers continue to be represented with a shaven head and distinctive robes of office, as noted from a fragmentary processional scene in sunk relief⁴⁰³ (fig.401) and a large ostracon sketch showing the vizier before Ramses IX⁴⁰⁴ (fig.402). This minimal coiffure is adopted by other royal officials such as the Fan-bearer and Royal Butler, Ramessesemperre⁴⁰⁵, Royal Butler Hori⁴⁰⁶, Scribe of the Treasury of Amun Ra, Neferronpet (TT.178)⁴⁰⁷, the scribe Amenhotep⁴⁰⁸, Ashaket, Head of Servants⁴⁰⁹ and the Royal Goldwasher Khay⁴¹⁰. Many of the royal tomb-builders and their families are also shown without hair, including the foremen Inherkha (TT.359)⁴¹¹ and Neferhotep⁴¹², the workman Penmennefer⁴¹³, assorted relatives of Pashedu (TT.3)⁴¹⁴ (fig.403) and Hiesunebef⁴¹⁵.

Harpists continue to be portrayed as shaven, as noted from figures in the tombs of Inherkha (TT.359) (fig.404) and Piay (TT.263)⁴¹⁶ and on ostraca sketches⁴¹⁷. A range of other figures such as goldworkers⁴¹⁸, bearers⁴¹⁹, laundrymen⁴²⁰, farmworkers⁴²¹, fishermen⁴²², butchers⁴²³, shaduf operators⁴²⁴ and stoneworkers⁴²⁵ all favour this most convenient form of hairdressing, a couple of examples from the latter two categories showing the stubble already growing back.

In addition to the purposefully shaven head, natural baldness continues to be portrayed in two dimensions, found amongst manual workers in both tomb scenes⁴²⁶ and ostracon sketches⁴²⁷ (fig.405), "a rather seedy man with bald pate" engaging in a variety of sexual activities in the 'Erotic Papyrus'⁴²⁸ (fig.406). Sculpted examples are also becoming increasingly common, a limestone block figure of Ameneminet, Overseer of Works and Chief of Police under Ramses II, depicted in supplicant pose with "flaring tufts of hair on the sides of his head...an Egyptian convention for depicting baldness indicating that Ameneminet was shown as an older man"⁴²⁹ (fig.407). Other such Ramesside block figures include those of Iner, Guardian of Hathor's temple⁴³⁰ and an unnamed official⁴³¹ (fig.408), both with bald crowns wreathed in shoulder-length hair which, rather than simply indicating advancing years, is perhaps meant to emphasise their humble supplicant status, their figures shown neither clean shaven nor with a carefully dressed style.

The traditional styles continue into the later New Kingdom, the short round style decorated in a variety of ways. The classic curled form is well illustrated by a small ebony wig from Deir el-Medina with individually drilled curls radiating out from the crown⁴³², comparable to a life-size, fragmentary example from the Deir el-Bahari cache (TT.320) with an inlaid ssd diadem⁴³³ (fig.409) also found on a small faience wig of similar date⁴³⁴ (fig.410). The statuary of Ramses II often features the style set in the usual vertical rows of curls, its rigid, helmet-like form recalling royal examples of the

earlier XVIIIth dynasty ⁴³⁵ (fig.411), and worn by later monarchs including Seti II on a pair of sandstone colossi from Karnak ⁴³⁶, Ramses III ⁴³⁷ and Ramses IV, who holds a captive by the hair ⁴³⁸. Prince Khaemwese also wears this rigid form of the style when carrying the standards of Abydos, although the detail is limited here to vertical striations (possibly due to the conglomerate nature of the stone proving ill-suited to more intricate carving techniques) ⁴³⁹ (fig.412). This contrasts with the granite figure of Banmerit, tutor to Ramses daughter Meritamon, his short round style of vertical curls displaying the circular hollow ends of each curl beneath the fringe ⁴⁴⁰ (fig.413).

The short round style is featured extensively in tomb and stela scenes, especially in representations of the long dead Amenhotep I as the deified patron of Deir el Medina; a beautifully detailed figure of the king, dressed in Ramesside fashions and wearing the classic short style coloured plain blue, is found in the tomb scenes of Kynebu (TT.113) ⁴⁴¹ (fig.414) and similarly in the scenes of Kenro (TT.54) ⁴⁴² and Inherkha (TT.359) ⁴⁴³, on the stela of Amenemope ⁴⁴⁴ and the wooden pectoral of Paynedjem ⁴⁴⁵. Royal figures of the period are likewise depicted with the style in two-dimensional scenes, as noted from a relief of Merenptah ⁴⁴⁶ and another unidentified royal head with the style set in vertical curls ⁴⁴⁷. A painted relief block of King Siptah has a short round style coloured blue with thin black lines running horizontally across it ⁴⁴⁸ (fig.415), and Ramses III is depicted in the style a number of times in both relief form ⁴⁴⁹ and in the exquisite tomb paintings of his sons Amenhirkhopshef (QV.55) ⁴⁵⁰ and Khaemwese (QV.44) ⁴⁵¹, the king's short round style of vertical curls again coloured blue.

This same blue curled style is also worn by priests in the painted reliefs from the Abydos temple of Ramses II, other late New Kingdom priests also adopting plain black forms on occasion, as noted in the case of the priests performing the opening of the mouth ceremony in the funerary papyri of Hunefer ⁴⁵². Certain officials likewise wear the style ⁴⁵³, a highly detailed crimped form worn in the tomb reliefs of one Amenhotep ⁴⁵⁴ (fig.416), with rather more plain forms adopted by the military ⁴⁵⁵ and manual workers ⁴⁵⁶.

Another form of headwear which has been confused with an actual hair/wig style is the so-called 'cap crown' which first occurs in the XIIIth dynasty, becoming especially popular in the XIXth dynasty ⁴⁵⁷. Although it has been described as a wig on account of its detailed surface of round 'curls' ⁴⁵⁸, it is generally assumed to be a close fitting headdress of leather decorated with small metal roundels ⁴⁵⁹. Close inspection of examples worn by Seti I at Abydos ⁴⁶⁰, Ramses III at Medinet Habu ⁴⁶¹ and a small figurine of a XIXth dynasty king ⁴⁶² reveal a form of ceremonial headgear padded around the top and back, which is solely a preserve of the king.

The short round style with attached sidelock is worn by certain priests and royal princes, sculpted examples provided by the figure of Pahemnefer, High Priest of Ptah ⁴⁶³ (fig.417), an unnamed high priest ⁴⁶⁴ and Prince Khaemwese, his round curled style embellished with "a lock of hair terminating in a spiral on the left shoulder (the traditional lock worn by high priests of Ptah)" ⁴⁶⁵, this feature coloured blue on a number of the prince's shabti figures ⁴⁶⁶ (fig.418).

Khaemwese is again shown "wearing his distinctive sidelock" ⁴⁶⁷ in relief scenes from Sakkara (fig.419), as is the High Priest of Ptah, Pahemnefer ⁴⁶⁸ (fig.420). The Iunmutef priest is also portrayed in this curled style with blue sidelock in the temple reliefs of Seti I ⁴⁶⁹, the lock unusually coloured black against a contrasting blue style in the funerary papyri of Ani ⁴⁷⁰ (fig.421), whilst in Seti's tomb scenes (KV.17) the same priest's style is made up of a thick curling striated plait set on the left ⁴⁷¹, and comparable to the style found on an ostracon sketch from the Valley of the Kings ⁴⁷². Ramses III sits before a Iunmutef priest who wears a plaited lock visible on the right side of a short curled style in scenes at Medinet Habu ⁴⁷³, and the priest of Ramses IX also wears his lock on the right ⁴⁷⁴.

Royal princes similarly wear this amalgamation of styles, their child's lock attached to their hairstyles as they reach adulthood. Ramses II wears a curling lock on the left of a short style as he accompanies his father Seti I on a bull hunt in scenes from Seti's Abydos temple ⁴⁷⁵, and Ramses' own sons have similar styles, some with long wide locks on the right side as they attack the fortress of Dapur in scenes from the Ramesseum ⁴⁷⁶ (fig.422) whilst Amonhirkhopshef wears a thick lock on the left side of a round style in scenes from the tomb of the royal children (KV.5) ⁴⁷⁷. The sidelock is also used in conjunction with longer styles, Khaemwaset(?) shown with a curling lock on the left side of a shoulder-length style ⁴⁷⁸, as are the sons of Ramses III, including Amonhirkhopshef (QV.55), his thick blue lock contrasting with his plain black shoulder-length style ⁴⁷⁹. His brother Sethherkhopshef is similarly depicted in both his tomb (QV.43) ⁴⁸⁰ and ostracon scenes ⁴⁸¹, as is another brother Paraherwenamun ⁴⁸², all the king's sons shown with long thick locks attached to both the right and left sides of shoulder-length styles in numerous scenes at Medinet Habu ⁴⁸³. Prince Montuhirkhopshef, possibly a son of Ramses VIII, is shown in his tomb scenes (KV.19) with highly detailed coiffures composed of the pointed-end shoulder-length style embellished with a stylised blue and gold sidelock, set on both the right and left sides depending on the position he faces ⁴⁸⁴ (fig.423- 424). A final example depicts a very similar crown prince of Ramses IX sketched on an ostracon ⁴⁸⁵ (fig.402).

During the second half of the New Kingdom, the Nubian style is resurrected in both statuary and relief, albeit in rather more stylised form and generally without the characteristic fringe of braids around the face. It does however continue to be cut high at the back of the neck to curve down in two pointed lappets in front of the shoulders to form its recognisable outline ⁴⁸⁶.

Sculpted examples are predominantly royal and have a rigid appearance, with clean lines and uncomplicated surface detail. A quartzite figure of Seti II has a simple style with vertical striations highlighting its shape ⁴⁸⁷ (fig.425), whilst a granite figure of Ramses III wears a rather more ornate version with rows of overlapping fringes characteristic of the classic Nubian form ⁴⁸⁸ (fig.426). Ramses VII has a plain striated form ⁴⁸⁹ whilst an unnamed Ramesside monarch has a totally undecorated style ⁴⁹⁰.

Relief forms are relatively common and are generally composed of simple striations, the earliest example worn by Ramses

I as he offers to the fetish of Osiris in relief scenes from his Abydos chapel ⁴⁹¹. Ramses' son Seti I is frequently shown with this particular coiffure, as he receives his official Hornin on a relief scene from Sakkara ⁴⁹² (fig.427), in scenes from Karnak as he oversees foreign captives ⁴⁹³ and worships Amun and Mut ⁴⁹⁴ (fig.428), with examples in his Abydos temple and Theban tomb scenes (KV.17) coloured blue, the latter being particularly interesting as they include styles both with ⁴⁹⁵ (fig.429) and without ⁴⁹⁶ (fig.430) the fringed layers, a style with five layers also noted in scenes adorning his obelisk from Heliopolis ⁴⁹⁷. Ramses II wears the plain form as he slays a Libyan enemy in relief scenes from Abu Simbel ⁴⁹⁸, and a figure possibly to be identified as Seti II is similarly portrayed ⁴⁹⁹. Sethnakht wears a plain blue form in the tomb of Queen Tawosret (KV.14) ⁵⁰⁰, his son Ramses III favouring the same layered form as noted in his sculpture, examples found in both his tomb scenes (KV.11) ⁵⁰¹ and those of his sons Amonhirkhopshef (QV.55) ⁵⁰², Khaemwaset (QV.44) and Sethherkhopshef(QV.43) ⁵⁰³ (in the latter two coloured red). In his Medinet Habu temple reliefs the style is worn as he enters the temple ⁵⁰⁴, stands before Amun ⁵⁰⁵ (fig.431) and attacks Libyans from a chariot ⁵⁰⁶, with further examples from his adjoining palace tending to be of the plain variety, as noted from relief ⁵⁰⁷ and inlay ⁵⁰⁸ scenes as he relaxes with his harem (fig.432). Plain forms are also found in the tomb of Ramses IX (KV.6) ⁵⁰⁹ and on an ostrakon sketch of the same king ⁵¹⁰ (fig.402).

These stylised royal examples find parallels in other areas of society, as worn by the infantrymen of Ramses II ⁵¹¹ and the sailors of Ramses III ⁵¹². The basic outline also influences the coiffures of various officials and tomb builders, their usual shoulder-length styles occasionally shown cut high into the back of the neck to fall forwards into points on to the chest, as depicted in the tomb scenes of Sennedjem (TT.1) ⁵¹³ (fig.433) and Ipy (TT.217) ⁵¹⁴.

The basic long shoulder-length style set across the back of the neck is less commonly featured than in earlier times, having been superseded by the more elaborate form with pointed ends. Examples in statuary are virtually non-existent, and two dimensional examples, in which the neck and shoulder are left visible in profile, are hardly commonplace. A plain form is however worn by the lector priest Shedamun as he administers to the mummy of Raia in the latter's Sakkara tomb scenes ⁵¹⁵, with some of the best examples depicted in the tomb of priest Userhat (TT.51), a neat black style contrasting with his otherwise shaven head ⁵¹⁶. The priests officiating at the Opening of the Mouth ceremonies of Seti I (KV.17) ⁵¹⁷ and Tausert (KV.14) ⁵¹⁸ wear similarly plain black styles, those of Seti arranged in horizontally curled rows whilst the others have a delicate wavy outline, a feature also found on the style of the funerary priest of Hunefer ⁵¹⁹. The same style is also worn by Hunefer himself as he is led by Anubis into judgement ⁵²⁰, and by the tomb builder BaI as he worships Amun ⁵²¹.

In contrast to these plain forms, the Memphite builder Paser wears the basic long style edged with a single uniform border on his funerary stela ⁵²², whilst Ramses II's brother-in-law Tia ⁵²³, the Head of Linen Makers, Dhutemhab (TT.45) ⁵²⁴ and the relatives of Amenemopet (TT.148) ⁵²⁵ wear vertically striated forms.

The pointed-end form of the long shoulder-length style is very much more popular than the basic form, and is found with

various forms of surface decoration including an archaising Middle Kingdom form noted on a granite figure of Ramses II's architect May ⁵²⁶. The more typical form, continuing from the end of the previous dynasty, increasingly emphasises the thick braids which make up the style, as noted from the shabti figure of Huy, Scribe of Recruits ⁵²⁷, Hormin, Overseer of the Memphite harem ⁵²⁸ (fig.434) and two painted limestone figures of the Chief Royal Scribe, Chief Lector Priest, Overseer of wa'ab Priests and Royal Steward, Yuny. His individual figure wears a style of great intricacy, the thick braids of crimped hair radiating out from a central parting, and the ends twisted tightly into drilled ringlet curls to fall as points on the collar bone ⁵²⁹ (fig.435), a second, smaller dyad figure wearing a similar style although with rather less pronounced points ⁵³⁰ (fig.548).

Contemporary relief examples of the pointed-end style include that of Hormin as he receives honours from Seti I ⁵³¹ (fig.427), those worn by a group of "dignitaries in ostentatious costume" ⁵³², a summarily carved horizontally striated version worn by Ramses II's brother-in-law Tia (fig.436), and the exquisite, highly detailed style of an unnamed Ramesside official from Sakkara rather vaguely described as "a fancy wig" ⁵³³ (fig.437). In the Asyut tomb scenes of Royal Scribe Amenhotep this long style of thick braids and pronounced frontal points is worn by the tomb owner's brother alongside a shorter form of thin braids worn by Amenhotep himself ⁵³⁴ (fig.438). Further examples are found on the tomb stelae of Deir el Medina, as worn by the foreman Baki and village doctor Amenmose ⁵³⁵ and the foremen Neferhotep ⁵³⁶ and Paneb ⁵³⁷, the plain undetailed styles of Paneb and his sons duplicating those worn by a delegation of officials on a sandstone relief from Asasif ⁵³⁸ (fig.401).

Painted examples are predominantly plain black and most often have a single edge of individual braids as noted from ostraca sketches ⁵³⁹ and tomb scenes. The beautifully decorated tombs of Deir el-Medina provide some of the best examples, including those of Sennedjem (TT.1) in which the tomb owner (fig.439) and male relatives (fig.440) resplendent in coal black styles edged with separate crimped braids ⁵⁴⁰ (although in one scene the addition of white lines is used to suggest the ageing process, fig.441). Further equally beautiful examples are noted in the tombs of Pashedu (TT.3) (again including varying degrees of white) ⁵⁴¹ (fig.403), Irinifer (TT.290) ⁵⁴² and Inherkha (TT.359), as worn by Inherkha himself (fig.442-445), his sons Kenna (fig.446) and Harmosi and other male relatives ⁵⁴³. It is also apparent from a number of Inherkha's scenes that the volume and length of the style is increasing as the hair is extended to follow the contours of both shoulders (fig.444-446), a phenomenon also observed in the case of two fan-bearers bending before Ramses II in the tomb of Ipy (TT.217) ⁵⁴⁴. This is also found to a certain extent in the funerary papyri of scribe Ani, the length of his black style revealed as he bows forward at the Weighing of the Heart ⁵⁴⁵ and in the presence of Osiris (fig.447), although elsewhere in the latter scene his kneeling figure also wears a white style, the pointed ends of which have been transformed into squared-off lappets ⁵⁴⁶ (fig.448).

In a continuation of late XVIIIth dynasty trends the most popular style amongst the official and noble classes is the double style, and as in the earlier period sculpted examples are far more numerous than two dimensional forms which are

confined to the XIXth rather than XXth dynasty. A marvellous two-dimensional example is noted from a relief fragment from the tomb of the chief craftsman at Deir el Medina, Amennakht (TT.266), "ce magnifique relief en calcaire illustre avec minutie une perruque qui allie deux natures de cheveux: les uns sont ondulés souplement liés par mèches et les autres du type crépu sont en boucles torsadées" ⁵⁴⁷. A further Deir el-Medina relief depicts the foreman Anherkhawi in a distinctly two-part style ⁵⁴⁸, which is also worn by royal scribe Amenemope ⁵⁴⁹, the funerary priest of Neferronpe and Neferabu on their stela ⁵⁵⁰, and by Yuny on the relief scene adorning the rear of his aforementioned funerary dyad ⁵⁵¹ (fig.449). Further innovative painted examples are found in the tomb scenes of Inherkha (TT.359), the underpanel of an otherwise black style coloured blue (fig.450).

In all these examples the underpanel falls in points on the chest, which is also the predominant form in statuary. Rather less common is the original form of the double style in which the underpanel falls behind the neck and across the shoulders, examples with this form generally restricted to block figures where the pointed-end form would prove difficult to portray clearly ⁵⁵². The basic double style minus points is therefore found on the block figures of Khay, Vizier of Upper Egypt under Ramses II ⁵⁵³, his unnamed Royal Treasurer ⁵⁵⁴, two figures of the official Roi ⁵⁵⁵, two figures of High Priest Bekenkhons ⁵⁵⁶, Ken, the priest of Anuket ⁵⁵⁷ and tomb worker Amenemope ⁵⁵⁸.

It is, however, the pointed-end form of the double style which continues to dominate in statuary, as noted from the dyad figures of Vizier Hori ⁵⁵⁹ (fig.417), the official Thaia ⁵⁶⁰, royal scribe Amenemopet ⁵⁶¹ (fig.451), an official called Seba ⁵⁶², the priest Niay ⁵⁶³, two dyad figures of the tomb worker Pendua ⁵⁶⁴ and an unnamed man in serpentine ⁵⁶⁵, single figures with the style including Raia, priest of Ptah ⁵⁶⁶ (fig.452), Ramesses, High Priest of Khonsu ⁵⁶⁷, an unnamed official whose "elaborate double wig with echeloned curls confirms a date in the Ramesside Period" ⁵⁶⁸ and a kneeling bronze figure of "a foppishly dressed young man...of the late New Kingdom. Particularly characteristic are the graceful, rather effeminate wig and exaggeratedly flaring sleeves" ⁵⁶⁹. A number of finely carved wooden figures of standard bearers also favour the double style with points, as noted from a number of figures from Deir el Medina, including the workmen Kaha ⁵⁷⁰, Penbuy ⁵⁷¹ (fig.453) and a devotee of Amun whose style is painted black ⁵⁷², a limestone figure of the workman Penmereb again wearing a black form as he holds an image of Amun Ra ⁵⁷³.

This pointed-end double style also proves popular for late New Kingdom shabti figures, as in the case of the splendid 'Doppeluschebti' of Meni ⁵⁷⁴, the serpentine figure of Iurudéf ⁵⁷⁵ and the brightly painted example of Ramose, son of Sennedjem ⁵⁷⁶. Contemporary coffins are also found with equally detailed double styles in contrast to the usual tripartite form, fine examples including those on both the inner and outer coffins of Karnak wa'ab priest and Scribe of Accounts of the Cattle of Amun, NatsefAmun ⁵⁷⁷ and Sennedjem ⁵⁷⁸, and the inner coffins of Sennedjem's son Khons ⁵⁷⁹ and Chief Merchant of the Prince, Piay ⁵⁸⁰.

Although the double style does prove popular for such funerary equipment, the tripartite style co-exists quite successfully,

examples including the traditional mummiform shabti figures of Sennedjem ⁵⁸¹ and Tjebure ⁵⁸², whereas the funerary figurine of Pasunu combines the tripartite style with everyday dress ⁵⁸³. The tripartite coiffure is also found on the granite sarcophagi of both Ramses III ⁵⁸⁴ and Salset, Overseer of Granaries under Ramses II ⁵⁸⁵ in addition to a number of painted coffins from the Sakkara tomb of Iuruf ⁵⁸⁶. Examples of the style in statuary are confined to so-called 'ancestor busts', their idealised unisex features generally framed by plain blue tripartite styles ⁵⁸⁷ (fig.454).

- 1 MacKay 1918, p.113, making distinction between XVIII and XIX-XX dynasties, since he claims in former only minor figures or those involved in religious rites are portrayed "without a wig", whereas in latter many important figures shown with shaven heads and are "nearly always acting in a sacerdotal capacity".
- 2 MMA.23.3.37, early XVIIIth dyn, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.27, p.57.
- 3 Berlin Inv.No.17021, Amenhotep III, in Kozloff & Bryan 1992, No.42, p.248- 249 and Schäfer 1974, pl.86-87.
- 4 Turin Inv.Cat.3035, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1989, fig.242, p.157; although dated here to XIX dyn. on basis of its "costume and refined elegance", similarity to Berlin Inv.No.17021 would suggest an earlier XVIII dyn. date.
- 5 UC.14880, in Adams 1974, No.92, p.17-18, pl.12.
- 6 MMA.26.7.1414, Thebes, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.30, p.61.
- 7 Louvre N.2289, late XVIIIth dyn, in Abbate 1972, No.63, p.110; Berman ed. 1990, pl.21.9 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.XV.1, 3-4.
- 8 Cleveland No.83.98, Amenhotep III, in Kozloff & Bryan 1992, No.48, p.256-257 (using the misleading term 'bald').
- 9 Hermitage Inv.No.737, unprovenanced, in Piotrovsky ed. 1974, No.38-39.
- 10 Brooklyn Acc.No.29.1310, Amarna, in Brooklyn 1952, No.35 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.CXL.2.
- 11 MMA.11.150.21, Amarna, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.194, p.312 (suggesting a priest); Aldred 1973, No.110, p.181 (suggesting a grandfather); also Aldred 1961, No.141, p.83; Vandier 1958 III, pl.CXLVI.5 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.134, p.282.
- 12 Cairo JE.31382, Qurna tomb of Hatiay, in Corteggiani 1986, No.60, p.103; also Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.158 and Nims 1965, p.185.
- 13 MMA.17.190.1963, Amarna(?), in Hayes 1959 II, fig.198, p.316.
- 14 Cairo JE.46993, early XVIIIth dyn, Sedment, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.128.
- 15 MMA.28.9.6, early XVIIIth dyn, Thebes, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.24, p.50.
- 16 Davies 1923 II, p.17, pl.LIV.
- 17 Davies & Davies 1933, pl.IX, XVII; in contrasting tomb owner's shaven head with full head of hair in other scenes they comment that "strangely enough, it seems a matter of complete indifference", p.10.
- 18 Luxor J.149, mid-XVIIIth dyn, Dahamsha, in Luxor 1978, No.79, p.39.
- 19 MMA.12.182.39/18.2.5, Amenhotep III, Tunch, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.167, p.273 and Metropolitan 1984, p.35 for first stela.
- 20 Reign of Amenhotep III, in Manniche 1988, pl.26.43.
- 21 Davies 1903 I, p.13, pl.IV, XXXVII.
- 22 Davies 1905 II, p.16, pl.X-XII, XXII.
- 23 Smith & Redford 1976, No.3, p.74, 97, pl.39.2-3, 91.
- 24 Leiden Inv.AMT.1-35/AP.52, in Schneider & Raven 1981, No.83, p.94-95; Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.196, p.335 and Michalowski 1969, fig.494.
- 25 MMA.05.4.2, in Naville 1913 III, p.3, pl.VI.1, VIII.E, and Hayes 1959 II, fig.191, p.306.
- 26 Davies 1941, p.16, 26-27, 33-34, pl.XII, XXVIII, XXX-XXXI, XXXIV-XXXVI, XXXVIII and Chicago House MMA.Photographic Archive T.1037; thanks to Dr.P.Dorman and Chicago House staff for access.

- 27 Zivie 1990, fig.16, 24, p.43, 60, referring to "la tenue traditionnelle des vizirs (crâne rasé, long pagne montant haut...)", p.61.
- 28 From tomb of Police Chief Mahu, in Davies 1906 IV, p.16-17, pl.XXIV, XXVI, XLI, "his title is scarcely legible, but his dress is distinctive", p.17, note 2; see also Smith & Redford 1976, p.102.
- 29 Desroches-Noblecourt 1963, fig.108, p.174; Reeves 1990(ii), p.72; Aldred 1972, No.28 and Hornung 1990, p.175, pl.126.
- 30 Davies 1908 VI, pl.XV, XVII, XIX-XX.
- 31 Davies 1906 IV, pl.II-III, VI-IX.
- 32 Davies 1908 VI, pl.III-IV, VIII.
- 33 BM.EA.52943, Amarna.
- 34 Leiden Inv.AMT.1-35, AP.52, in Schneider & Raven 1981, No.83, p.94-95.
- 35 Leiden Inv.AP.9, Sakkara.
- 36 Reign of Ay, in Davies 1933 I, p.43, pl.XXXIX.
- 37 Reign of Tuthmosis IV, in Davies 1917, p.57, pl.XV-XVII; Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.147 and Chicago House MMA.Archive T.511.
- 38 Reign of Tuthmosis IV, in Davies & Davies 1923, p.7, pl.V-VI.
- 39 Mekhitarian 1978, p.110.
- 40 Reign of Amenhotep III, site unknown, see Manniche 1988, p.157; fragment with shaven guests, BM.EA.37984, in Manniche 1988, p.142, pl.45.64 and James 1985, fig.27, p.29.
- 41 Reign of Tuthmosis IV, in Manniche 1987, fig.32, p.40.
- 42 Reign of Amenhotep III, in Davies 1925, pl.XXXI.
- 43 Davies 1933 I, p.39-40, pl.XXII-XXIII and Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.135.
- 44 Martin 1991, fig.51-54, p.79.
- 45 Berlin Inv.No.12411, in Priese ed. 1991, No.82, p.136-137.
- 46 eg. row of soldiers waving branches at dedication of obelisk, south colonnade of Deir el-Bahari temple of Hatshepsut.
- 47 Luxor J.151, in Nims 1965, p.55 and Luxor 1978, No.58, p.32.
- 48 Davies 1917, pl.XV-XVII; Mekhitarian 1978, p.70; Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.114; Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.147; Amiet et al. 1981, fig.157, p.286 and Chicago House MMA.Archive T.511.
- 49 Mekhitarian 1978, p.102.
- 50 Davies 1903 I, pl.XXI, XXIII.
- 51 Leiden Inv.AMT.1-35/AP.52, in Schneider & Raven 1981, No.83, p.94-95; Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.196-197, p.335; Michalowski 1969, fig.494 and Westendorf 1968, p.158.
- 52 Private Collection, New York, in Boston 1982, No.362, p.256-257.
- 53 Early XVIIIth dyn, el Kab, in Tylor & Griffith 1894, pl.VIII.
- 54 Examples throughout Davies 1943, eg. pl.XLVI; see also Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.88-95; Aldred 1961, No.45-46, p.55; Mekhitarian 1978, p.48 and Strouhal 1992, p.68.

- 55 Davies 1922 I, p.54-55, pl.XLI.
- 56 Reign of Tuthmosis IV, Davies & Davies 1923, pl.V, VI, XIV.
- 57 Reign of Tuthmosis IV, Davies & Davies 1923, pl.XXI, XXIII.
- 58 Turin Inv.Suppl.7886, Amenhotep III, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1989, fig.58, p.48 and Curto 1984, p.188.
- 59 eg. Aldred 1973, fig.46, p.75; Aldred 1980, fig.134, p.167; Wreszinski 1923 I, 197, 203-205 and Chicago House MMA.Archive T.826-827.
- 60 BM.EA.37978, in James 1985, fig.30, p.31 and Manniche 1988, p.144, pl.47.67.
- 61 Davies 1941, p.13-14, pl.VII; Hornung 1990, p.174 and Chicago House MMA.Archive T.1035.
- 62 Davies 1941, p.26, pl.XXVI; Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.164-165 and Chicago House MMA.Archive T.545.
- 63 eg. Karnak talatat scene, Luxor J.223, in Luxor 1978, No.141; Amarna scenes, Brooklyn Acc.No.62.149, in Cooney 1965, No.46, p.73-74; Aldred 1973, No.69, p.144 and Brussels 1976, No.51, p.92; Turin Inv.Suppl.18050/18143, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1989, figs.341-342, p.227; also Amarna tomb scenes, in Davies 1903-1908 I-VI and stelae, in Davies 1908 V, eg. stela of Nebwawi, pl.XXI; stela of Anymen pl.XXII; stela of Ay, pl.XXIII and Cairo JE.29748, stela of Any, pl.XXII and Corteggiani 1986, No.64, p.108-109.
- 64 Shaven tent guard with malformed skull, Bologna Museo Civico 1888, in Martin 1991, fig.22, p.57; for banquet attendants see Martin 1989, p.40, pl.33 and Martin 1991, fig.19, p.55; for attendants of unnamed official see Martin 1989, p.40-41, pl.34 and Martin 1991, fig.18, p.54; for attendants of Horemheb, see Leiden Inv.H.III.OOOO-QQQQ, in Schneider & Raven 1981, No.82.c, p.92-93; Martin 1989, p.88-89, pl.107; Martin 1991, fig.46-47, p.75 and Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.201, 203.
- 65 Martin 1994, p.5.
- 66 eg. gatekeeper "finds his position too sunny, and has spread a handkerchief over his bald head", in Davies 1933 I, p.22, pl.XVI.
- 67 BM.EA.43132, in Naville 1913 III, p.24, pl.XVIII.5 and Leclant 1961, p.100, pl.XXIX; thanks to Mr.V.Davies for access.
- 68 Musée Besançon No.17-46, in Leclant 1961, p.100.
- 69 Tylor & Griffith 1894, pl.III-IV.
- 70 Davies 1922 I, p.63-66, Appendix D, 'Representations of Old Age', p.73-77, pl.XV-XIX and Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.79-80.
- 71 Davies & Gardiner 1936 I, pl.XLI; Brack & Brack 1980, pl.24.b; Aldred 1961, No.63, p.60 and Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.119.
- 72 Davies 1943 II, pl.LIV and Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.90.
- 73 James & Davies 1985, fig.11, p.14-15 and Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.100.
- 74 Davies 1925, p.60, pl.XI-XIII and Mekhitarian 1978, p.125.
- 75 Nims 1965, p.109.
- 76 BM.EA.37982, in James 1985, fig.32, p.33; Manniche 1988, p.146, pl.48.68 and Fletcher 1994(ii), fig.212, p.129.
- 77 Berlin Inv.No.18529, in Manniche 1987, p.146-149, pl.48.68, 49.69 and Schäfer 1974, fig.29, p.73.
- 78 Cam.Fitz.4514.1943, in Aldred 1973, No.39, curiously stating that "his head is shaved in front", p.121.
- 79 Brooklyn Acc.No.L.71.8.1, in Aldred 1973, No.72, p.147.

- 80 Davies 1926, pl.XXVII and Wilkinson & Hill 1983, No.42, p.44, 134.
- 81 Brooklyn Acc.No.77.130, Karnak.
- 82 For central figure in group of officials/officers, see Martin 1989, scene 69, pl.85-86, p.85 (inked-in hair-line extended too far forward in pl.86, virtually removing area of baldness); Martin 1977, p.15, pl.II.3; Baines & Malek 1984, p.150, and Smith 1981, fig.333, p.344; for further examples of balding officers from this tomb, see Leiden Inv.H.III.OOOO.QQQQ, in Schneider & Raven 1981, No.82.b, p.93; Martin 1989, pl.102 and Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.200, 202; also Brooklyn Acc.No.32.103, in Brooklyn 1952, No.48; Aldred 1961, No.145, p.84-85 and Fazzini et al. 1989, No.55.
- 83 Cairo S.R.11862.
- 84 Louvre E.15.692, Thebes, in Aldred 1961, No.2, p.42.
- 85 Kofler-Truniger Collection K.370, in Müller 1964, A.106, p.71-73 and Westendorf 1968, p.113.
- 86 Cairo CG.42080, in Legrain 1906 I, p.46-47, pl.XLIX; Corteggiani 1986, No.52, p.91-92; Vandier 1958 III, pl.CIII.1; Abbate 1972, No.44, p.81; Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.149; Aldred 1961, No.69, p.62; Kozloff & Bryan 1992, fig.II.2, p.36 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.87, p.274.
- 87 eg. Cairo CG.42082, in Legrain 1906 I, p.48, pl.L, and Vandier 1958 III, pl.CIII.3, also Edinburgh RMS.No.1965.3.
- 88 No.SW.5 and companion figure, North Karnak precinct, in Kozloff & Bryan 1992, fig.V.21/V.22, p.141 and Sourouzian 1993, p.7.
- 89 eg. Cleveland No.61.417, in Kozloff & Bryan 1992, No.8, p.159-161, pl.9; Cleveland nd, p.8, and Berman ed. 1990, pl.24.20; Boston MFA.1970.636, in Kozloff & Bryan 1992, No.20, p.198-199 and Berman ed. 1990, pl.11.6; Cairo JE.38596, in Kozloff & Bryan 1992, No.21, p.200-202.
- 90 Cairo CG.42089, in Legrain 1906 I, p.51, pl.LIV, although Harris 1977, p.7-8, argues head is female, ie. Nefertiti or Tiy, on account of its double uraeus and "ringlet wig...a wig more likely to be a woman's" due to similarity with Sinai head of Tiy (JE.38257); unfortunately the style is only preserved above the forehead, its precise form and length unknown, and to make assumptions of identity on basis of curled detail alone is highly unreliable, the style equally possibly short round style worn by men.
- 91 Musée de Marseilles.
- 92 Sotheby's 1989, No.127, p.32-33.
- 93 Naville 1913 III, p.24, pl.XVIII.2.
- 94 Richmond, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Inv.No.55.8.15 and Private Collection, Basle, in Sotheby's 1989, p.32.
- 95 Turin Inv.Cat.3101, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1989, fig.229, p.146.
- 96 MMA.11.150.21, Amarna, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.194, p.312; Vandier 1958 III, pl.CXLVI.5; Aldred 1961, No.141, p.83; Aldred 1973, No.110, p.181 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.134, p.282.
- 97 MMA.15.2.3, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.195, p.313 and Breasted 1948, Type 4.1, p.73, pl.67.b.
- 98 Cairo CG.52069/JE.4684, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.124 and Aldred 1971, pl.57, p.203.
- 99 MMA.45.2.7, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.22, p.47.
- 100 BM.EA.5601, in James 1985, fig.12, p.16.
- 101 Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.120, p.322.
- 102 Kozloff & Bryan 1992, fig.8a, p.161.

- 103 Kozloff & Bryan 1992, fig.II.3, p.37 (after Lepsius).
- 104 Berlin Inv.No.21.685, from Amarna house Q.48,1, in Fay 1982, p.52-53.
- 105 Cairo JE.31409/CG.34026, in Kozloff & Bryan 1992, fig.106.a, p.405.
- 106 MMA.30.8.83, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.141, p.236.
- 107 Berlin Inv.No.14503, in Fay 1982, p.66-67; Basle 1953, No.147; Brunner- Traut et al. 1984, No.67, p.84-85 and Kozloff & Bryan 1992, No.54, p.288; for original position see Kozloff & Bryan 1992, fig.54.a, p.288 (after Lepsius); Wreszinski 1923 I, pl.203 and Chicago House MMA.Archive No.T.825.
- 108 Louvre N.521; for original position see Hornung 1990, p.16 (after Nestor l'Îlôte) and for examples in situ see Brock 1992(ii), p.18-27.
- 109 Davies 1905 III, p.4-5, pl.IV.
- 110 BM.EA.24431.
- 111 Berlin Inv.No.15000, from Amarna house R.45, in Fay 1982, p.98-99; Basle 1953, No.98; Westendorf 1968, p.141; Aldred 1961, No.130, p.80; Aldred 1973, No.120, p.188-189; Brunner-Traut et al. 1984, No.73, p.92 and Schäfer 1974, pl.47.
- 112 Reeves 1990(ii), "He has reverted to the costume of a living king", p.73; also Smith 1981, fig.338, p.349 and Westendorf 1968, p.150-151.
- 113 Cairo JE.46993, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.128.
- 114 Luxor J.173, Dahamsah, in Luxor 1978, No.52, p.30.
- 115 MMA.66.3.252, in Lansing 1937, fig.7, p.8.
- 116 MMA.31.4.2, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.58, p.109.
- 117 Smith 1981, fig.220, p.227.
- 118 Tylor & Griffith 1894, pl.III-IV for traditional style as he counts cattle and watches hunt, pl.VIII for crimped style as he worships gods.
- 119 Reign of Tuthmosis III, in Smith 1981, fig.245, p.249.
- 120 Reign of Amenhotep II, in Beinlich-Seeber & Shedid 1987, pl.12; Aldred 1980, fig.125, p.160-161; Westendorf 1968, p.122; Strouhal 1992, fig.128, p.120; Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.141 and Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.101.
- 121 c.Tuthmosis IV, in Davies 1917, p.66-69, pl.XXII-XXIV; Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.116 and Chicago House MMA.Archive T.507.
- 122 Davies 1922 I, pl.XLI, p.54-55.
- 123 Davies 1930 I, p.36, pl.LII.
- 124 eg. Louvre N.3068/N.3113, funerary priests in papyrus of Nebked, in Zeigler 1990, p.54; sem priest of Sennefer (TT.96), in Otto 1968, pl.50 and Desroches-Noblecourt et al. 1985, p.36-37, 62; funerary officiants of Paheri in Tylor & Griffith 1894, pl.V; Manniche 1988(ii), curiously refers to sem priest in TT.175 as a figure "presumably meant to be the son of the tomb owner, distinguished from a real sem priest by not having his head shaved", p.39.
- 125 eg. flautist in Sakkara tomb of Paatenemheb, in Schneider & Raven 1981, No.83, p.94-96 and Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.196.
- 126 eg. charioteer of Khaemhat (TT.57), in Smith 1981, fig.259, p.265 and Aldred 1961, No.92-93, p.69; charioteer of Nebamun, BM.EA.37982, in James 1985, fig.32, p.33 and Manniche 1987, pl.48.68; for horsemen see Horemheb's Sakkara tomb scenes, in Aldred 1961, No.146, p.85.

- 127 eg. soldiers at dedication parade of obelisk, relief scenes of south colonnade, Deir el-Bahari temple of Hatshepsut, in Aldred 1980, fig.112, p.153; James 1985, inside back cover illustration; Westendorf 1968, p.104 and Strouhal 1992, fig.220, p.207; see also Berlin Inv.No.14507, in Priese ed. 1991, No.46, p.76-77; from same site, soldiers on Punt expedition, in Smith 1981, fig.236, p.241 and Weigall 1927 II, pl.XII.
- 128 Beinlich-Seeber & Shedid 1987, p.68-69, pl.5, 29; Strouhal 1992, fig.219, p.206; Wreszinski 1923 I, 44; Milton 1980, p.62-63; Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.101; Davies 1982(ii) fig.49, p.190; Schoske et al.1990, fig.18, p.23 and Manniche 1987, fig.41, p.49.
- 129 Tylor & Griffith 1894, pl.III, farmers and sailors, and pl.IV, bearers, fishermen, bird hunters.
- 130 "Relief mit Opferträgern", Hanover Kestner Museum 1935.200.175, reign of Hatshepsut, in Brunner-Traut et al. 1984, No.81, p.104-105.
- 131 Davies 1943, throughout; see also Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.89-97; Aldred 1961, No.44, p.55 and Aldred 1980, fig.126-127, p.162-163.
- 132 Desroches-Noblecourt et al. 1985, p.34, 37-38, 42-43 and Hornung 1990, pl.127, p.175.
- 133 Davies 1917, bearers and vintners, p.69, pl.XXII-XXVI; see also Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.116 and Strouhal 1992, fig.109, p.104.
- 134 MMA.30.2.1, Tuthmosis IV, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.85, p.154 and Metropolitan 1984, fig.27, p.28; note loose full nature of style of first figure compared to neat, wavy-outlined style of second.
- 135 Davies 1941, p.25-26, pl.XXV-XXVI; Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.164-165 and Chicago House MMA.Archive T.545, notice one of bearers at front with ends of short style having come unravelled, as in case of female mourners.
- 136 BM.EA.37976, in James 1985, fig.29, p.31 and Manniche 1987, p.146, pl.47.67.
- 137 MMA.55.92.1, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.90, p.164.
- 138 eg. "workers", Cleveland 59.187, in Aldred 1973, No.41, p.122 and Cleveland n.d, p.11; "laden servant", Edinburgh RMS.No.1963.240, in Aldred 1973, No.42, p.122.
- 139 Davies 1923 II, p.74, note 1.
- 140 eg. Berlin Inv.No.23731, in Priese ed. 1991, No.52, p.85 and Strouhal 1992, fig.147, p.136.
- 141 Ox.Ash.Queen's Loan No.1203, in Moorey 1983, fig.12, p.35.
- 142 Louvre E.2749, in Berlandini Keller 1993, p.20 and Kozloff & Bryan 1992, p.254, note 1.
- 143 BM.EA.21979, in Kozloff & Bryan 1992, No.46, p.253-254.
- 144 Florence No.1790, in Bosse-Griffiths 1955, pl.XV; Kozloff & Bryan 1992, No.37, p.241-242 and Berlandini Keller 1993, p.20.
- 145 Leiden No.AP.11, in Schneider & Raven 1981, No.92, p.102-103; Bosse-Griffiths 1955, p.56-63 and Kozloff & Bryan 1992, fig.37.a, p.242.
- 146 Munich GL93, in Schoske et al.1990, No.4, p.59.
- 147 Leiden No.AP.6, in Schneider & Raven 1981, No.84, p.96-98; Kozloff & Bryan 1992, fig.46.b, p.254 and Berlandini Keller 1993, p.24.
- 148 Martin 1989, p.56-57, pl.52-54.
- 149 Private Collection, New York, in Boston 1982, No.362, p.256-258.
- 150 UC.15105, in Adams 1974, No.83, p.14, pl.7-8.

- 151 Aldred 1957, p.142; also Harris 1973, p.9 and Boston 1982, p.174; see also Eaton-Krauss 1981, p.252, note 2, and Green 1988, p.109 for alternative terms 'Zipfelperücke' and 'Flugelperücke'.
- 152 Samson 1975, p.264; also Werner 1979, p.327, note 15.
- 153 Samson 1975, p.264.
- 154 Samson 1973, p.56, although her preferred use of the term 'Nubian' to describe short cap-like style must be discounted to prevent confusion.
- 155 Werner 1979, p.327.
- 156 As Aldred 1957 states, "...the salient feature to which we desire to draw special attention is the way the hair is cut to a peak at the back of the head exposing the nape of the neck. This is important because it distinguishes this coiffure quite sharply from a similar one in which, however, the back hair reaches the shoulders", p.142 (as discussed below).
- 157 Werner 1979, p.326 for additional description.
- 158 Aldred 1957, p.142-143, 145 and Davies 1930 I, p.26, pl.XVI-XVII, XXIII.
- 159 Bryan 1995, p.15, with thanks to Prof.Bryan for information, pers.comm. 19.4.94.
- 160 Luxor J.129, Karnak, filling from 3rd pylon, in Luxor No.88, p.42; also scenes on 8th pylon, in Aldred 1957, p.143.
- 161 Davies 1930 I, p.35, pl.XXXV.
- 162 Beinlich-Seeber & Shedid 1987, pl.4.
- 163 MMA.12.182.3, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.93, p.169; despite suggested date of c.Tuthmosis III (which would make Meru's style the earliest such example), it is rather more likely to date from reign of Amenhotep II, Meru copying new royal fashion.
- 164 Louvre N.3068, funerary papyrus.
- 165 eg. banquet guest of Nebamun and Ipuki (TT.181) in contrast to shaven heads and longer styles of colleagues, in Davies 1925, pl.VII.
- 166 eg. Brussels MRAH.E.3051, uninscribed undetailed example with 4 layers, in Aldred 1973, No.9, p.96; Brussels MRAH.E.3052, uninscribed example with 4 layers, "the artist has meticulously rendered the curls of the short wig worn by the king", in Aldred 1973, No.10, p.96; Haifa private collection, uninscribed example with 6 layers and tube-like striations, in Aldred 1973, No.27, p.113; uninscribed trial piece of "young king Smenkhare" in 4 layered braided style with plain crown section, in Pendlebury 1951, p.107, pl.LXXIV.7.
- 167 Davies 1903 I, pl.XXXV, XXX and Aldred 1957, p.145.
- 168 UC.410, highly detailed style of striated textured braids, twisted ends forming face-framing layer; pronounced pointed ends rising high at back of neck confirm its 'Nubian' status, see Pendlebury 1951, p.231-232, pl.CVII.2, although similarity with the double/duplex style (discussed below) may prove misleading, ie. Stewart 1976, pl.12, refers to style as 'duplex', p.22.
- 169 Virginia Museum of Fine Arts 61.5, in Aldred 1973, No.140, p.204 and Cooney 1965, No.24, p.44.
- 170 Zivie 1990, fig.18-19, p.48-49.
- 171 Military escort in Meryre's tomb, in Davies 1903 I, pl.XV; palace guard in tomb of Ay, in Davies 1908 VI, pl.XXX and Aldred 1957, p.146.
- 172 Basle Private Collection, 3 layers, in Aldred 1973, No.61, p.138 and Cooney 1965, No.35, p.58-59.
- 173 Brooklyn Acc.No.60.197.4, in Aldred 1973, No.67, p.143 and Cooney 1965, No.38, p.62.

- 174 San Diego Museum of Man 14881, in Aldred 1973, No.141, p.205.
- 175 MMA.44.2.3, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.202, p.320; Ranke 1951, frontispiece and Parlasca 1966, pl.LIV.1.
- 176 Turin Inv.Suppl.7886, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1989, fig.322-325.
- 177 Cairo JE.61477, "the king wears a delightful wig with tiered layers of curls", in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.188; also Aldred 1961, No.154, p.87; Desroches-Noblecourt 1963, pl.V; Edwards 1972, No.21; Edwards 1976, No.51 and Mekhitarian 1978, p.119.
- 178 Fan, Cairo JE.62001/Carter No.242, in Edwards 1976, No.18; Edwards 1972, No.23 and Littauer & Crouwel 1985, pl.LXXVIII (lower) and bow-case, Cairo JE.61502/Carter No.335, in Littauer & Crouwel 1985, pl.LXXVIII (upper).
- 179 Cairo JE.61481, in Edwards 1976, No.13; Edwards 1972, No.25 and Eaton-Krauss & Graefe 1985.
- 180 Again not to be confused with often similar double style which extends to cover the back of neck touching shoulders, layers not completely surrounding face, although it would appear Aldred 1957, p.144 may have confused the two; see Martin 1989 for tomb reliefs and commentary, also Martin 1991, eg. fig.34, p.69 for soldier, fig.139, p.71, for military scribes.
- 181 Majority of examples too long to be classed as 'Nubian', but see fragment in Bologna Museo Civico 1885, in Martin 1991, fig.60, p.89 for Nubian style proper.
- 182 Cairo CG.24637, in Daressy 1902, p.164, pl.XXXV, also referred to in Aldred 1957, p.143.
- 183 Louvre E.11107, in Vandier 1958 III, pl.CVII.6.
- 184 Brooklyn Acc.No.57.64, in Boston 1982, No.197, p.174, again confused with the double style.
- 185 UC.076, in Samson 1973, p.56, pl.XXVIII.
- 186 Cairo JE.65043/65848, in Martin 1974 I, p.63, 67 and Eaton-Krauss 1981, p.253, note 5.
- 187 Cairo JE.60835/Ex.No.325; for variety of styles/crowns of such figures, see Reeves 1990(ii), p.138 and Desroches-Noblecourt 1963, fig.117, p.186.
- 188 Usually referred to simply as 'Nubian' (when not ignored altogether); Samson 1973, p.56, comments upon confusion caused by inexact terminology, and although she refers to short curled style simply as Nubian, she does make a distinction between its various forms.
- 189 For discussion of this king's 'youthful' image, see Johnson in Berman ed. 1990, p.26-46.
- 190 eg. Luxor J.45, relief block from Amenhotep III's granary at Karnak, in Kozloff & Bryan 1992, fig.IV.23, p.102 and Berman ed. 1990, fig.5, pl.11.
- 191 Cairo CG.34054, Sakkara, in Lecaue 1909 I, p.95, pl.XXXII and Berman ed. 1990, fig.7, pl.19.
- 192 Cairo CG.34055, Sakkara, in Lecaue 1909 I, p.98, pl.XXXIII and Berman ed. 1990, fig.3, pl.18.
- 193 Cairo JE.62028, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.179; Westendorf 1968, p.154; Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.190-191; Abbate 1972, No.62; Desroches-Noblecourt 1963, pl.VIII-IX; Aldred 1957, p.147 and Aldred 1961, No.160, p.89.
- 194 Cairo JE.61481, in Edwards 1976, No.13; Edwards 1972, No.25; Eaton-Krauss & Graefe 1985, p.15-16, pl.XIV, with reference to his "eschealon curl wig"; Samson 1973, p.56, refers to such "sophisticated wigs with overlapping layers framing the face, as worn by Tut'ankhamun on the back of his golden throne", although she does not refer to the style by any particular name.
- 195 Cam.Fitz.E.21-1887.
- 196 MMA.13.182.1.a, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.86, p.157, dating it to "one of the earlier Tuthmoside rulers. Such dating is

- borne out by the man's short chin beard and simple, shoulder-length wig"; also Metropolitan 1984, fig.28, p.29.
- 197 Turin Inv.Cat.3061, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1989, fig.224, p.153 (fig. caption differing to description in text).
- 198 Edinburgh RMS.No.1910.75, (TT.88), in Aldred 1961, No.43, p.54 and Aldred 1980, fig.121, p.157.
- 199 Brooklyn Acc.No.37.249.E, Thebes(?), in Vandier 1958 III, p.452 and Brussels 1976, No.28, p.68.
- 200 English Private Collection, c.Hatshepsut-Tuthmosis III, in Aldred 1961, No.47, p.56.
- 201 Brooklyn Acc.No.61.196, in Bothmer 1967, "Ahmose's statue must have been made early during the joint reigns of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III. It is not only the attitude that favours such a date; the wig too serves as a dating criterion because in the statuary of...Senenmut, this kind of hairdo occurs only on sculptures datable to the early years of the Queen", p.61, thanks to Mr.R.Fazzini for this reference; see also Brussels 1976, No.35, p.75; Fazzini 1975, Cat.49, p.71 and Vogelsang-Eastwood 1993, fig.10:5 (here mistakenly referred to as "a kerchief", p.175).
- 202 Luxor J.1, c.Amenhotep II-Tuthmosis IV, from Qau el-Kebir, in Luxor 1978, No.82, p.40 and Borchardt 1911 I, ex-CG.193, p.131-132, pl.41.
- 203 Louvre N.5404, c.1450 BC.
- 204 Cairo CG.42116, in Legrain 1906 I, p.64-65, pl.LXVII; Vandier 1958 III, pl.CLXII.3; Aldred 1961, No.32, p.51-52; Smith 1981, fig.221, p.227 and Terrace & Fischer 1970, No.20, p.97-100; Cairo CG.42114, in Legrain 1906 I, p.62-64, pl.LXVI; Aldred 1961, No.31, p.51; Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.132 and Nims 1965, p.49; B.M.E.A.174, in Aldred 1961, No.33, p.52; Aldred 1980, fig.120, p.156 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.CLXII.2; Berlin Inv.No.2296, in Priese ed. 1991, No.53, p.86-87; Fechheimer 1914, pl.60 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.CLI.1, CLII.1.
- 205 Official of late Tuthmoside date, MMA.14.2.1, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.89, p.163, hair tabs in front of the ears again revealing style to be false.
- 206 Cairo CG.42118, in Legrain 1906 I, p.67-68, pl.LXIX; Vandier 1958 III, pl.CXLII.4 and Aldred 1961, No.37, p.53.
- 207 Luxor J.3, Qurna, in Luxor 1978, No.73, p.37.
- 208 Copenhagen NCG.AEIN.74, Thebes, in Koefoed-Petersen 1950, No.33, p.22-23, pl.34-35 and Aldred 1961, No.40, p.53-54.
- 209 B.M.E.A.48, in Aldred 1961, No.48, p.56.
- 210 Berlin Inv.No.1/63, in Fay 1982, p.78-79; Strouhal 1992, fig.178, p.162; Aldred 1973, p.22 and Smith 1981, fig.291, p.297.
- 211 Chicago Field Museum No.173.800, in Aldred 1980, fig.119, p.156 and Vandersleyen 1976, pl.179.a-b, p.245; Brooklyn Acc.No.67.68, in Fazzini et al. 1989, No.34; Fazzini 1975, Cat.54, p.74; Smith 1981, fig.222, p.227; Bothmer 1967, fig.5-6, p.60-61 and Brussels 1976, No.34, p.74; MMA.48.149.7, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.57, p.106 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.CLV.5.
- 212 Cairo CG.42123, in Legrain 1906 I, p.73-74, pl.LXXIII; Aldred 1961, No.41, p.54 and Brussels 1960, No.39, fig.31, p.26.
- 213 Cairo CG.551, in Kozloff & Bryan 1992, fig.VIII.2, p.239 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.CLXXI.4.
- 214 Cairo CG.42127/JE.38368, in Legrain 1906 I, p.78-80, pl.LXXVI; Aldred 1961, No.97, p.70; Aldred 1980, fig.137, p.171; Smith 1981, fig.267, p.271; Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.149; Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.157; Vandier 1958 III, pl.CXLIX.5; Kozloff & Bryan 1992, fig.II.7, p.48; Russmann & Finn 1990, p.106-107; Strouhal 1992, fig.274, p.255 and Fletcher 1992, p.16.
- 215 eg. Beirut M.No.1809, in Berman ed. 1990, pl.27, fig.37 and Florence No.6316, in Fechheimer 1914, pl.63, although here mistakenly referred to as "Kopf einer Frau...um 1400 v.Chr."

- 216 MMA.23.10.1, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.190, p.305; Smith 1958, fig.327, p.340; Vandier 1958 III, pl.CXX.4; Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.198-199; Aldred 1961, No.171, p.92; Metropolitan 1984, fig.41, p.41 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.140, p.283; see also Corson 1980, p.32-33, pl.IP-R for reconstruction sketch; for very similar uninscribed fragmentary figure, Sydney Nicholson Museum Inv.No.R.1138, in Sowada 1994, p.137-143, pl.XII.1-4.
- 217 Sowada 1994, "The unstructured, wavy long wig was one of several styles favoured by courtiers of the late Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Dynasty", p.140.
- 218 Cairo JE.46993, Sedment, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.128.
- 219 Louvre E.14543, Deir el Medina, in Zeigler 1990, p.53.
- 220 MMA.12.182.3, c.Tuth.III-Am.III, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.93, p.169.
- 221 Davies 1943, pl.LXXIII, LXXVII, CII and Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.97 for plain style; Davies 1943, pl.LXIII for same with simple striations, pl.CV for plain with slight wavy outline, pl.CXV for plain with stepped edge from ear to shoulder, pl.LI, LXX for rather more elaborate form of stepped edge form, with additional surface decoration in form of inverted triangles, giving zig-zag edge to outline and anticipating trends of next reign.
- 222 Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.100 and Hornung 1990, p.173.
- 223 Desroches-Noblecourt et al. 1985.
- 224 Noted in Desroches-Noblecourt et al. 1985, scenes 7, 10, 12-14, 20-21, 25- 27; Otto 1968, pl.50 and Nims 1965, p.31, 104.
- 225 Desroches-Noblecourt et al. 1985, scene 1, 24.
- 226 Desroches-Noblecourt et al. 1985, scene 25.
- 227 Desroches-Noblecourt et al. 1985, scene 22.
- 228 Desroches-Noblecourt et al. 1985, scene 16.
- 229 Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.100 and James & Davies 1985, fig.11, p.14; see also MacKay 1918, p.114 for this technique.
- 230 Davies 1917, pl.XII etc. and Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.115.
- 231 Wreszinski 1923 I, 2.a; Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.146 and Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.121.
- 232 Turin Inv.Suppl.8438, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1988, fig.264, p.192 and Curto 1984, p.209.
- 233 Turin Inv.Suppl.7886, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1989, fig.328, p.219 and Curto 1984, p.188-189.
- 234 BM.EA.37977, in James & Davies 1985, fig.25, p.27; James 1985, fig.25, p.27; Abbate 1972, p.88; Strouhal 1992, fig.113, p.108-109; Westendorf 1968, p.123 and Manniche 1988, No.73, pl.51.
- 235 MMA.fac.30.4.192, in Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.98, queried Tuth.III-Am.II date surely mistaken since coiffures and facial features clearly from reign of Amenhotep III.
- 236 Winlock 1926, fig.10, p.13.
- 237 MMA.26.2.55, Dra Abu el-Naga, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.67, p.128.
- 238 MMA.17.2.6, in Hayes 1959 II, fig. 94, p.172.
- 239 Tylor & Griffith 1894, pl.III, p.12, reference to Paheri's shaven style as "plebeian" in contrast to his "aristocratic" long style totally misleading, since hair length cannot be used to differentiate class any more than it can be used to indicate gender.
- 240 MMA.08.201.4, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.165, p.270.

- 241 Davies 1941, p.18, pl.XVI and MMA.Archive Photo T.1241.
- 242 Habachi 1965, fig.11 and Aldred 1988, fig.13, p.93; thanks to Mr.M.Jones for pointing out Aswan site.
- 243 Davies 1905 III, pl.XVI, XX.
- 244 Davies 1906 IV, pl.XVI, XVIII, XXII, XXIII-XXVIII.
- 245 Davies 1941, eg. Ramose's brother Amenhotep, p.15-16, pl.IX and May, Overseer of Royal Horses, p.17, pl.VIII; Nims 1965, p.74; Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.168; Aldred 1961, No.104, p.72 and Chicago House MMA. Photo Archive T.550.
- 246 Khaemhet in Wreszinski 1923 I, 203-204 and Chicago House MMA. Photo Archive T.826-827; officials in Wreszinski 1923 I, 205; Aldred 1980, fig.134, p.169 and Aldred 1973, fig.46, p.75; also Brussels MRAH.E.2484, in Kozloff & Bryan 1992, No.55, p.288 and Basle 1953, No.150; scribes in Smith 1981, fig.260, p.266 and Chicago House MMA. Photo Archive T.819-822.
- 247 Cairo Temp.Reg. 10:11:26:1, in Davies 1908 VI, pl.XXXIX, XXXVIII; Aldred 1961, No.112, p.75 and Aldred 1973, fig.5, p.21.
- 248 Davies 1905 III, pl.III.
- 249 Martin 1991, fig.104, p.161.
- 250 MMA.18.2.5, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.167, p.273.
- 251 MMA.12.182.39, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.167, p.273.
- 252 As discussed in Aldred 1957, p.142 and above.
- 253 Davies 1905 III, pl.XXVIII-XXIX.
- 254 Davies 1906 IV, pl.XXIX.
- 255 KMV.ÄS.5814, in Kozloff & Bryan 1992, No.58, p.292-293; Berg 1987, p.213- 216; also KMV.ÄS.5815, in Kozloff & Bryan 1992, No.59, p.293-294.
- 256 Leiden Inv.AP.6, in Schneider & Raven 1981, No.84, p.96-98.
- 257 Chicago Field Museum 31289, in Martin 1987, No.13, p.11, pl.5.
- 258 Painted relief on 4th panel of 1st chamber, in Zivie 1990, fig.21, p.55.
- 259 Davies 1905 II, pl.XXIII.
- 260 Stela of Nebwawi, in Davies 1908 V, pl.XXI; stela of Animen, plLXXII and stela of Ptahmay, pl.XXIII.
- 261 Schimmel Collection, in Aldred 1973, No.75, p.150, also Cooney 1965, No.55, p.92-93.
- 262 Cairo CG.34138, XVIII dyn, Qurna stela, in Lecaue 1909, p.188-189, pl.LVII.
- 263 Boston MFA.1981.657, compare with MMA.44.2.3, shroud of Hori, with plain black form of long pointed Nubian style, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.202, p.320.
- 264 Desroches-Noblecourt 1963, fig.108, p.174; Aldred 1972, No.28 and Reeves 1990(ii), p.72.
- 265 UC.16311, in Stewart 1976, p.63, pl.51.5.
- 266 Davies & Gardiner 1926, pl.VI, XI, XVIII, XXXVI.
- 267 Davies 1933 I, p.25, pl.XIV and Davies 1933 II, pl.VI.
- 268 Forbes 1994, p.39.
- 269 Davies 1941, p.15-16, pl.IX and Chicago House MMA.Photo Archive T.1032-3, compare with Cairo CG.42127,

- in Legrain 1906 I, p.78-80, pl.76.
- 270 Davies 1941, p.2, note 5; see also Murnane 1983, "distinguished by his long flowing hair, unlike the formal wigs of the other guests", p.33, although Amenhotep's style is also more than likely false, as noted from hair tabs present on aforementioned sculpted example CG.42127.
- 271 Munich ÄS.11, in Berman ed. 1990, pl.18, fig.6.
- 272 Davies 1906 IV, pl.XXXV, XLV.
- 273 Davies 1905 II, pl.XXXI.
- 274 Stela of Thay, Cairo JE.34177, in Davies 1908 V, pl.XXII and Corteggiani 1986, No.64, p.108-109; stela of Pakha, in Davies 1908 V, pl.XXI and stela of Ay, pl.XXIII.
- 275 Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, 61.5, in Aldred 1973, No.140, p.204 and Cooney 1965, No.24, p.44.
- 276 Cairo JE.62001/Carter No.242, gold fan scene, in Edwards 1976, Cat.18, p.126-127, pl.11 and Littauer & Crowell 1985, pl.LXXVIII (lower).
- 277 Martin 1991, p.157, pl.VII.
- 278 Louvre B.6, in Zeigler 1990, p.55.
- 279 Leiden H.III.PPPP, in Martin 1991, figs.46-47, p.75; Martin 1989, p.88-89, pl.107; Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.201-203 and Michalowski 1969, fig.492.
- 280 ie. MMA.23.10.1, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.190, p.305 and Sydney Nicholson Museum Inv.No.R.1138, in Sowada 1994, p.137-143, pl.XII.1-4.
- 281 Martin 1977, p.15, pl.II.3; Martin 1989, p.85, scene 69, pl.86; Smith 1981, fig.333, p.344; see also Brooklyn Acc.No.47.120.1, in Brooklyn 1952, No.42; Fazzini et al. 1989, No.57; Fazzini 1975, Cat.70, p.86; Martin 1987, No.14, p.11, pl.5; Smith 1981, fig.335, p.345 and Brussels 1976, No.52, p.93.
- 282 Martin 1989, p.85.
- 283 Martin 1977, p.15, pl.II.4 and Martin 1989, p.79, pl.87-88.
- 284 Leiden Inv.C.1, in Vogelsang-Eastwood ed. 1994, cover illustration.
- 285 Berlin Inv.No.12411, in Priese ed. 1991, No.82, p.136-137 and Fechheimer 1914, pl.155.
- 286 Davies 1933 I, pl.II.
- 287 Term 'bipartite' best reserved for the tripartite style minus back section.
- 288 For reconstruction sketch of pointed-end form of style, see Corson 1980, p.34-35, pl.2.A, D.
- 289 Despite Hayes' comments that style "seems to have first come into fashion under Amenhotep II", 1959 II, p.158.
- 290 Berlin Inv.No.19286, in Priese ed. 1991, No.54, p.88.
- 291 Cleveland 20.2003, "XVIIIth dynasty couple", to be dated more precisely to late Tuth.III/Am.II on account of hairstyles.
- 292 MMA.19.2.3, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.87, p.158-159.
- 293 Cairo CG.42126/JE.36574, Karnak, in Legrain 1906 I, p.76-78, pl.LXXV; Nims 1965, p.91; Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.140; Terrace & Fischer 1970, No.24, p.113-116; Hildesheim 1984, No.6; Aldred 1961, No.68, p.62 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.113, p.278.
- 294 Terrace & Fischer 1970, p.113.
- 295 Louvre E.27161, in Zeigler 1990, p.59.

- 296 UC.15513, in Page 1976, p.70, pl.75.
- 297 MMA.17.190.1960, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.88, p.160-161.
- 298 Turin N.Suppl.8429, Deir el-Medina, in Aldred 1961, No.50, p.57; Bierbrier 1982, fig.45, p.63; Vandier 1958 III, pl.CXXXIX.5 and Curto 1984, p.205.
- 299 Berlin Inv.No.19289, Karnak, in Priese ed. 1991, No.55, p.89.
- 300 Berlin Inv.No.2298, Karnak(?), in Priese ed. 1991, No.56, p.90-91.
- 301 Cairo CG.42125, Karnak, in Legrain 1906 I, p.75-76, pl.LXXIV.
- 302 Fay's comment that "this wig first appears in sculpture in the round, with lengthened hair sections falling forwards over the shoulders, during the reign of Amenhotep III", in Boston 1982, p.175, somewhat misleading; although double style has pointed ends in two-dimensional scenes from reign of Amenhotep III onwards, sculpted forms only gain pointed ends at very end of this reign.
- 303 Brooklyn Acc.No.40.523, in Brooklyn 1952, No.30; Fazzini et al. 1989, No.41; Vandier 1958 III, pl.CXLIII.3, CLXVIII.5 and Kozloff & Bryan 1992, No.47, p.255-256 (using unsatisfactory 'bipartite' term).
- 304 Cairo JE.87911, Zagazig, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.152.
- 305 Turin 5484, in Vandier 1958 III, pl.CLXVIII.1; Aldred 1961, No.81, p.66; Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1989, fig.159, p.103; Garolla 1988, p.28 and Kozloff & Bryan 1992, No.43, p.249-250 (again 'bipartite'); see also Champollion, *Lettres à M.le duc de Blacas, Première lettre*, in which this style described as "a coiffure divided into infinitesimal tiny braided tresses, a style still in use among the Barabras of Nubia" p.40-41, quoted by Delange in Kozloff & Bryan 1992, p.14.
- 306 Cairo JE.44861, Karnak, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.148; Terrace & Fischer 1970, No.25, p.117-120; Kozloff & Bryan 1992, No.44, p.251-252 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.131, p.281; Luxor J.4 (ex-Cairo JE.44862), Karnak, in Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.156; Luxor 1978, No.117, p.52 and Aldred 1961, No.96, p.70 (wrongly numbered as Cairo JE.44861).
- 307 Louvre E.14241, in Kozloff & Bryan 1992, No.38, p.242-243, pl.22 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.CXLVIII.4.
- 308 BM.EA.1210, in Kozloff & Bryan 1992, p.243, note 4.
- 309 Private collection in Kozloff & Bryan 1992, No.40, p.244-246.
- 310 UC.14632, Bubastis, in Page 1976, No.78, p.74-75 and Kozloff & Bryan 1992, p.253, note 4.
- 311 MMA.25.4, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.159, p.264.
- 312 Gallatin Collection, in Aldred 1961, No.99, p.71.
- 313 Louvre E.11519.
- 314 Private Collection in Kozloff & Bryan 1992, fig.II.12, p.55.
- 315 Cairo JE.33255, Sakkara, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.153; Corteggiani 1986, No.61, p.104; Smith 1981, fig.273, p.276 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.127, p.281.
- 316 MMA.31.4.1, Thebes, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.160, p.265 and Peck 1978, p.73, pl.XIII.3.
- 317 Berlin Inv.No.2001, in Peck 1978, p.73, pl.XIII.3.
- 318 Berlin Inv.No.22621, Amarna house 0.47.7, in Peck 1978, p.73-75, pl.XII.2, 4, XIII.2, and Fay 1982, "the voluminous double wig...points to the reign of Amenhotep III as a date for this... sculpture. Someone apparently took the statue to the new capital", p.58-59.
- 319 Detroit Institute of Arts 31.70, in Peck 1978, p.73-75, pl.XII.1, 3, XIII.1.

- 320 Peck 1978, p.75.
- 321 Louvre E.11154, in Kozloff & Bryan 1992, No.41, p.246-248; Zeigler 1990, p.65; Fechheimer 1914, pl.89 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.CL.1.
- 322 Louvre E.11153, in Kozloff & Bryan 1992, fig.41.a, p.257; Vandier 1958 III, pl.CL.2 and Abbate 1972, No.65, p.112; see also Corson 1980, p.35, pl.2.A, D.
- 323 Cairo JE.59291, in Aldred 1961, No.143, p.84; Terrace & Fischer 1970, No.29, p.129-132; Vandier 1958 III, pl.CLXXI.5 and Peck 1978, p.73.
- 324 Cairo JE.53249, in Aldred 1961, No.142, p.84; Vandier 1958 III, pl.CLXV.4 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.135, p.282.
- 325 Cairo CG.779.A/JE.31630, in Borchardt 1930 III, p.87-89; Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.195; Vandier 1958 III, pl.CXLV.2; Smith 1981, fig.264, p.269 and Corteggiani 1986, p.126.
- 326 Cairo CG.849, in Borchardt 1930 III, p.121, pl.154 and Aldred 1961, p.93.
- 327 Chicago Field Museum of Natural History 31718, in Boston 1982, No.198, p.175.
- 328 Birmingham 69'96, in Aldred 1961, No.98, p.70-71; Westendorf 1968, using inappropriate description of "effeminate traits...reinforced by the elaborate coiffure", p.110-111 and Ruffle 1967, pl.V, in referring to examples from reign of Amenhotep III stating that "the ringlets are usually cut short at shoulder level...I know of only a few examples in which the wig falls forward over the dress which can be dated before the Amarna period...For this reason I should prefer to assign this sculpture to the end of the Eighteenth dynasty", p.39-41.
- 329 Cairo JE.36988, usurped by XXII dyn. prince Sheshonq, in Legrain 1914 III, p.3-4, pl.IV; Corteggiani 1986, No.96, p.150 and Brussels 1960, Cat.40, fig.32.
- 330 BM.EA.36, Thebes, in James & Davies 1983, fig.43, p.37; Stead 1986, fig.20, p.17; Aldred 1961, No.175, p.93; Martin 1977, p.17, note 17 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.CXLVI.1.
- 331 Leiden Inv.AST.1, in Boeser 1913 V, No.12, p.5-6, pl.IV; Braat & Klaasens 1968, pl.50; Schneider & Raaven 1981, No.81, p.91-92; Vandier 1958 III, pl.CLXVII.6; Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.207; Amiet et al. 1981, fig.137, p.283 and Strouhal 1992, fig.201, p.188 (mistaking him for artist of same name from Deir el-Medina).
- 332 Leiden Inv.AST.3, in Boeser 1913 V, No.11, p.5-6, pl.VI; Braat & Klaasens 1968, pl.49; Schneider & Raaven 1981, No.81, p.91-92; Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.206; Vandier 1958 III, pl.CLXVII.2; Amiet et al. 1981, fig.159, p.287 and Martin 1991, fig.105, p.163.
- 333 Martin 1978, p.9, pl.IV.2 for head of statue; Martin 1977, p.17, pl.III.4; Martin 1989, p.108, pl.151-152 and Martin 1991, fig.57, p.86 for dyad figure.
- 334 Boston MFA.42.467; note similarity to earlier figures of Amenhotep, son of Hapu, Cairo JE.44861/Luxor J.4.
- 335 Cairo Exhibition Nos.578/579, Karnak, in Freed 1987, p.27.
- 336 Ox.Ash.1964.296, in Moorey 1983, fig.15, p.40.
- 337 Copenhagen NCG.AEIN.1547, Thebes(?), in Koefoed-Petersen 1950, No.39, p.25, pl.42-44 and Reeves & Taylor 1992, p.17.
- 338 MM.No.4348, Rifeh, in Petrie 1907, p.22, pl.XXVII, his "late XVIIIth dynasty" date confirmed by the pointed ends of the style.
- 339 Hanover Kestner Museum 2153, in Brunner-Traut et al. 1984, No.87, p.111 and Basle 1953, No.211, p.69 and cover.
- 340 Avignon Musée Calvet, A.132.

- 341 Leiden Inv.AM.99, Thebes or Amarna, in Schneider 1977 II, No.3.2.4.8, p.79-80 and III, pl.29.
- 342 Luxor J.136, Dahamsha, in Luxor 1978, No.123, p.54.
- 343 Louvre C.282, in Berman ed. 1990, p.79, pl.19, fig.10.
- 344 Davies 1925, p.53, pl.V-VIII; also Wreszinski 1923 I, 361 and Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.128, 131.
- 345 Davies 1941, frontispiece, pl.VI, XIV, XVIII, XIX, XXI, XXXIX, XL, XLVIII; Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.166-167 and Chicago House MMA.Photo Archive T.2694, T.552; compare with Davies 1941, pl.XLI for single example of Ramose in style with slightly pointed-ends.
- 346 Davies 1941, p.16, pl.XI, XLVII and Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.169-170.
- 347 Davies 1941, p.17, pl.VIII and Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.168
- 348 Davies 1941, p.16, pl.XI and Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.169, 171, 173.
- 349 Davies 1941, p.17, pl.VIII and Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.168.
- 350 Davies 1941, p.13-14, pl.VII, XLVI; Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.174; Smith 1981, fig.268, p.263 and Chicago House MMA.Photo Archive T.547/T.1035.
- 351 eg. Berlin Inv.No.2063 in Fechheimer 1914, pl.139; also Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.153 and Chicago House MMA.Photo Archive T.811.
- 352 MMA.36.3.272, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.166, p.272 and Lansing & Hayes 1937, fig.6, p.272.
- 353 Davies 1908 VI, pl.I, XXXIX.
- 354 Davies 1933 I, pl.XLI and 1933 II, pl.VI.
- 355 Martin 1991, p.159, pl.VIII, and fig.110, p.174 for less elaborate example.
- 356 Martin 1991, fig.25, p.61, fig.43, p.73; see also Leiden H.III.QQQQ/Berlin Inv.No.22663/KMV.ÄS.214, in Martin 1991, fig.49, p.77; BM.EA.551 in Martin 1991, fig.25, p.61 and BM.EA.552.
- 357 Martin 1991, fig.24, p.60.
- 358 Martin 1977, p.15, pl.II.3; Martin 1989, p.85, pl.86, scene 69 and Smith 1981, fig.333, p.334.
- 359 Martin 1991, fig.18, p.54 and Martin 1989, pl.34.
- 360 Martin 1994, p.4.
- 361 Cairo SR.11732, Sakkara, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.197; Otto 1968, pl.6 and Corteggiani 1986, No.79, p.126-127.
- 362 Cairo JE.11785, in Brussels 1960, Cat.44, fig.35, p.27.
- 363 Berlin Inv.No.7278, in Priese ed. 1991, No.83, p.138-139; Martin 1987, No.42, p.20, pl.15 and Fechheimer 1914, pl.140.
- 364 UC.14479.
- 365 Smith & Redford 1976, p.77.
- 366 Cairo CG.42088, in Legrain 1906 I, p.51, pl.LIII; Kozloff & Bryan 1992, fig.32.b, p.223; Berman ed. 1990, pl.25, fig.28; Vandier 1958 III, pl.CVI.1 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.92, p.274.
- 367 Cairo JE.49528, in Aldred 1961, No.109, p.73-74; Aldred 1973, fig.11, p.31; Aldred 1980, fig.149, p.183; Kozloff & Bryan 1992, fig.v.7, p.128; Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.176 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.CVIII.6.
- 368 Cairo No.253, in Reeves 1990(ii), p.108 and Desroches-Noblecourt 1963, fig.30, p.54.

- 369 MMA.14.10.2.ab, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.37, p.69.
- 370 Turin N.Suppl.8318, in Kozloff & Bryan 1992, figs.x.2.a-b, p.306.
- 371 Cairo JE.72203, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.200.
- 372 Inner coffin, BM.EA.1001, TT.383, in Kozloff & Bryan 1992, No.64, p.320- 321; middle coffin Boston MFA.09.286, in Kozloff & Bryan 1992, No.63, p.319- 320; outer coffin, New York Vassar College Art Gallery No.89.19.1, in Kozloff & Bryan 1992, No.62, p.318-319.
- 373 Berman in Kozloff & Bryan 1992, p.318.
- 374 MMA.19.3.206, Amenhotep I, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.29, p.59.
- 375 MMA.44.4.73, Tuthmosis III, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.68, p.130.
- 376 Brooklyn Acc.No.86.226.21, Amenhotep III, in Kozloff & Bryan 1992, No.71, p.329-330 and Fazzini et al. 1989, No.42.
- 377 Leiden Inv.AST.15, Sakkara, in Schneider 1977 II, 3.2.1.53, p.72 and III, pl.26 and Schneider & Raven 1981, No.91, p.101-102.
- 378 eg. Cairo CG.51025 in Corteggiani 1986, No.56, p.97-98 and MMA.30.8.58, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.158, p.263 and Kozloff & Bryan 1992, fig.x.8, p.310.
- 379 eg. MMA.47.57.2, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.178, p.289 and Aldred 1973, No.169, p.220.
- 380 Cairo JE.39590, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.172.
- 381 Cairo JE.88902, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.151.
- 382 Berlin Inv.No.2297, Sakkara, in Priese ed. 1991, No.90, p.150-151; Vandier 1958 III, pl.CXLVIII.3 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.138, p.283.
- 383 Cairo CG.42187, Karnak, in Legrain 1909 II, p.54-55, pl.XLIX.
- 384 Leiden Inv.AST.10, in Schneider & Raven 1981, No.87, p.100.
- 385 Turin Inv.Cat.3051, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1989, fig.247, p.160.
- 386 Cairo CG.758/JE.21872, in Borchardt III, p.98, pl.147 and Hildesheim 1984, No.70, p.150-151.
- 387 Davies 1948, p.40.
- 388 Amsterdam APM.Inv.9114, XX dyn, Thebes.
- 389 Houston University of St.Thomas, c.1150 BC, Hermopolis, in Cooney 1965, No.64, p.109.
- 390 Reign of Ramses II, in Martin 1991, fig.83, p.124 (notice Raia's hair-line).
- 391 BM.EA.705, sycamore door scene, c.1300 BC.
- 392 UC.14495, unprovenanced stela of Shedsuhor, XX dyn(?), in Stewart 1976 I, p.33, pl.25.
- 393 Hanover Kestner Museum S.14, Abusir, in Basle 1953, No.153, p.58 and Brunner-Traut et al. 1984, No.99, p.124.
- 394 Davies 1927, pl.V-VII, XI, XIII, XVI-XVII for Userhet, pl.XI, XIII, XV-XVIII for other priests; see also Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.141.
- 395 Aldred 1980, fig.166, p.201 and Smith 1981, fig.367, p.375.
- 396 Reign of Ramses II, in Wreszinski 1923 I, 72.
- 397 Davies 1948, p.35, 40, pl.XXII, XXX and Manniche 1987, fig.57, p.71; for funeral with shaven son see Davies 1948, p.36, pl.XXV and Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.151.

- 398 Reign of Ramses IX, in Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.154.
- 399 Reign of Ramses I/Seti I, in Kitchen 1982, fig.52, p.166-167 and Otto 1968, pl.51; see also Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.139.
- 400 Murnane 1980, fig.23, p.35.
- 401 eg. Cairo JE.43591, Thebes, in Griggs ed. 1985, No.38, p.59; MMA.21.2.6, Deir el-Medina, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.244, p.389 and Ox.Ash.1894.106.d, Koptos.
- 402 eg. Berlin Inv.No.21446, in Brunner-Traut et al. 1984, No.36, p.52.
- 403 Cairo Temp.Reg.14.6.24.20, XX dyn, Asasif, in Griggs ed. 1985, No.39, p.60 and Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.229.
- 404 BM.EA.5620, Thebes, in James 1985, fig.46, p.43.
- 405 Brooklyn Acc.No.35.1315, XIX-XX dyn, in Martin 1991, fig.123, p.202.
- 406 Neuchâtel 428, reign of Ramses IV, in Malek 1988, pl.XX.
- 407 Reign of Ramses II, in Manniche 1987, fig.59, p.72.
- 408 Cairo CG.25029, c.Ramses IV, from tomb of Ramses VI(sic) (KV.9), in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.231.
- 409 Macclesfield Museum No.1873.77, in David 1980, No.E.24.
- 410 Reign of Ramses II, Sakkara relief, in Martin 1991, fig.90, p.131.
- 411 c.Ramses III-IV, in Otto 1968, pl.12.
- 412 Turin Inv.Suppl.1464, reign of Ramses II, in Romer 1984, pl.16.
- 413 Turin Inv.Suppl.6139, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1988, fig.223, p.164.
- 414 Zivie 1979, pl.10, 23, 24.11; Michalowski 1969, fig.574 and el-Saghir 1990, p.71.
- 415 MM.No.4588, in Bierbrier 1982, fig.17, p.31.
- 416 Reign of Ramses II, in Manniche 1987, fig.56, p.70.
- 417 Cairo JE.69409, Deir el-Medina, in Griggs ed. 1985, No.10, p.30.
- 418 eg. workshop in Sakkara tomb scenes of Khay, in Martin 1991, fig.90, p.131.
- 419 eg. relief of "the guardian Anena", Pittsburgh Museum of Art 72.18.1, XIX dyn, Memphis, in Martin 1982, p.81-82, pl.IX.1; servants Tjeneramun, Djedamunnakhtu etc. in Sakkara tomb scenes of Tia and Tia, in Martin 1991, fig.67-69, p.107-108; temple bearers of Ramses III, Medinet Habu, in Murnane 1980, fig.59, p.74.
- 420 eg. men in tomb of Ipy (TT.217), in Davies 1927, pl.XXVIII; Romer 1984, pl.3 and Nims 1965, p.151.
- 421 eg. "paysans" in tomb of Panehesy (TT.16), in Mekhitarian 1978, p.145.
- 422 eg. men in tomb of Ipy (TT.217), in Davies 1927, pl.XXXVII and Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.150.
- 423 eg. lost Sakkara tomb of Khaemwese, Hanover Kestner Museum 1935.200.183, in Martin 1991, fig.124, p.204; slaughterhouse scene, Medinet Habu, in Murnane 1980, fig.29, p.45.
- 424 eg. workers in tomb of Ipy (TT.217), in Davies 1927, pl.XXVIII-XXIX and Smith 1981, fig.369, p.376.
- 425 eg. Cam.Fitz.EGA.4324-1943 recto, in Brunner-Traut 1979, No.14, p.40, pl.XII; Bierbrier 1982, fig.28, p.47; Hornung 1990, p.42 and Siliotti & Leblanc 1993, p.36.
- 426 eg. fishermen of Ipy (TT.217), in Davies 1927, pl.XXXVII and Mekhitarian 1978, p.147.

- 427 eg. yoke-bearer, Cam.Fitz.EGA.106.1949, in Brunner-Traut 1979, No.15, p.42, pl.XII; also head of a man, five thick strokes indicating wreath of hair, Cairo SR.11202, XX dyn(?).
- 428 Turin No.50001, in Strouhal 1992, fig.54, p.48; Manniche 1988(ii), p.106-115, suggesting figure an 'ordinary' man, whilst Störk 1977, 5-6, believes him to be a priest.
- 429 Luxor J.141, in Luxor 1978, No.227, p.91; also Lipinska 1966, p.67, pl.I.
- 430 Turin N.Cat.3018, in Curto 1984, p.235; Leclant 1961, p.100, pl.XXX; Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1989, fig.262, p.171 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.CLIV.2.
- 431 Smith Collection No.189, in Björkman 1971, p.29-32, pl.4-5.
- 432 Louvre E.16538, from royal statue, c.1300-1200 BC, in Bruyère 1952, No.234, fig.176, referring to its "forme capsulaire libyenne", p.103 and in Louvre 1982, No.5, referred to as "type nubien", p.10 although it is simply short round style with curled detail.
- 433 Ox.Ash.1933.618, wood, rawhide, inlays of faience, carnelian and gold leaf, Deir el-Bahari (TT.320); thanks to Dr.H.Whitehouse for access and information.
- 434 BM.EA.2280, unprovenanced.
- 435 eg. Cairo CG.616, Tanis, in Borchardt 1925 II, p.162-163, pl.112; Terrace & Fischer 1970, No.32, p.141-144; Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.202; Freed 1987, No.3, p.134; Griggs ed. 1985, No.60, p.84; Corteggianni 1986, No.83, p.131-132 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.CXXVI.2; Cairo JE.44668, Armant, in Griggs ed. 1985, No.69, p.93; Cairo CG.575, in Borchardt 1925 II, p.123-125, pl.98; Vandier 1958 III, pl.CXXVII.1; Boston MFA.89.558, in Vandier 1958 III, pl.CXXVII.2 and BM.EA.67, in James & Davies 1983, fig.49, p.42.
- 436 Louvre A.24 in Ziegler 1990, p.49 and Turin Inv.Cat.1383, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1989, fig.184, p.118.
- 437 Cairo CG.42149, in Legrain 1909 II, p.14-15, pl.XII.
- 438 Cairo CG.42152, Karnak, in Legrain 1909 II, p.17-19, pl.XV; Vandier 1958 III, pl.CXXXII.1, 3; Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.227; Aldred 1980, fig.164, p.199 and Fechheimer 1914, pl.88.
- 439 BM.EA.947, in James & Davies 1983, fig.52, p.45 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.CLVIII.1, 5.
- 440 Cairo CG.42171/JE.36922, Karnak, in Legrain 1909 II, p.37-38, pl.XXXV and Vandier 1958 III, pl.CLXVI.5.
- 441 BM.EA.37993, c.Ramses VIII, in James 1985, fig.36, p.36 and Bierbrier 1982, fig.4, p.14.
- 442 Early XIX dyn, in Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.138.
- 443 Berlin Inv.No.2061, in Priese ed. 1991, No.89, p.148-149.
- 444 Turin Inv.Cat.1452, XIX dyn, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1988, fig.235, p.172.
- 445 MMA.19.3.210, late XX dyn, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.268, p.422.
- 446 Cam.Fitz.EGA.3133.1943, in Brunner-Traut 1979, No.9, p.35, pl.VII.
- 447 Cam.Fitz.EGA.3111.1943, in Brunner-Traut 1979, No.12, p.38, pl.X.
- 448 Edinburgh RMS.No.1907.712.6, XIX dyn, Deir el-Bahari, in Naville 1913 III, pl.XIV.3.
- 449 eg. sculptor's trial piece, MMA.90.6.144, in Hayes 1959 III, fig.233, p.369.
- 450 Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.154; Hassanein & Nelson 1976, p.28, fig.3, p.30; Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1988, fig.211, p.156 and Siliotti & Leblanc 1993, p.57.
- 451 Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1988, fig.217, referring to "a short, helmet shaped wig", p.159; also Siliotti & Leblanc 1993, p.81.

- 452 BM.EA.9901.5, in James 1985, fig.60, p.55; Faulkner 1985, p.54 and Abbate 1972, p.133, pl.81.
- 453 eg. Cairo JE.4872, procession leaders in Sakkara relief scene, XIX dyn, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.214 and Hildesheim 1984, No.46, p.105.
- 454 Berlin Inv.No.2+3/63, 1/64, in Berlin 1967, No.805, p.75-76.
- 455 eg. cavalry of Ramses II in Abydos temple reliefs, in Aldred 1980, fig.160, p.195.
- 456 eg. workers of Ipy (TT.217); farm workers, in Davies 1927, pl.XXX-XXXI, XXXIV and Smith 1981, fig.371, p.378; fishermen in Davies 1927, pl.XXX-XXXII, XXXV and Smith 1981, fig.370, p.377; vintners, in Davies 1927, pl.XXX-XXXIII and Smith 1981, fig.370, p.377.
- 457 Davies 1982, p.69-76 for summary of blue crown (khepresh) and its evolution from cap-crown.
- 458 Borchardt 1905, p.82; for use of stylised curls on similar headwear, see Johnson 1991, p.50, 61.
- 459 von Bissing 1907, p.159-161, referring to Wilkinson 1988 II, p.324.
- 460 Borchardt 1905, p.82; Aldred 1980, fig.152, p.188 and Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.223.
- 461 Murnane 1980, fig.28, 50, p.44, 64; also tomb of Amonhirkhopshef (QV.55), in Abbate 1972, p.135, pl.83; Hassanein & Nelson 1976, p.28.g-h, fig.1-2, p.30; Campbell 1910, p.69 and Siliotti & Leblanc 1993, p.57.
- 462 Louvre E.27431, in Zeigler 1990, p.48.
- 463 Louvre A.72, XIX dyn, in Vandier 1958 III, pl.CXLV.6.
- 464 Copenhagen NCG.AEIN.1548, Memphis(?), in Koefoed-Petersen 1950, No.40, p.26, pl.45-47 and Reeves & Taylor 1992, p.21.
- 465 Cairo CG.42147, Karnak, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.209; also Legrain 1909 II, p.12, pl.IX-X.
- 466 eg. Louvre AF.428, schist, and Louvre N.445, terracotta with blue sidelocks; also Northampton X.685, faience glaze with rest of style painted black.
- 467 Yoshimura & Takamiya 1994, p.19, see also Louvre N.518, Sakkara(?).
- 468 Florence Archaeological Museum Inv.No.2607, pillar relief from Memphite tomb of Pahemneter.
- 469 Otto 1968, pl.VI; Michalowski 1969, fig.510 and Baines & Malek 1984, p.115.
- 470 BM.EA.10470.12, XIX dyn.
- 471 Abbate 1972, p.130, pl.79; Sadek 1990, p.63 and Fletcher 1994(ii), fig.217, p.131.
- 472 MMA.14.6.212, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.246, p.391.
- 473 Murnane 1980, fig.38, p.54.
- 474 Hornung 1990, p.61 (after Guilmant).
- 475 Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.219 and Michalowski 1969, fig.509; see also Corson 1980, p.34-35, pl.2.C. for reconstruction sketch of similar example.
- 476 eg. Wilkinson 1988, fig.314, p.359; location on e.wall of hypostyle hall in Murnane 1988, p.265 and Porter & Moss 1972 II, p.483.
- 477 Weeks in Reeves ed. 1992, fig.12, p.115.
- 478 Deir el-Medina door jamb, in Bruyère 1952, No.235, fig.177, p.103.
- 479 Hassanein & Nelson 1976, No.3, p.31, fig.4, p.32; Campbell 1910, p.69, 72; Siliotti & Leblanc 1993, p.54; Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1988, fig.211, p.156; Milton 1980, p.50 and Bruyère 1925, pl.XXVI.2.

- 480 Siliotti & Leblanc 1993, p.83 and Bruyère 1925, pl.XXVI.4.
- 481 Turin Inv.Suppl.5637, Valley of Queens, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1988, fig.220, p.161 and Siliotti & Leblanc 1993, p.82.
- 482 Bruyère 1925, pl.XXVII.5.
- 483 See Murnane 1980, fig.26, p.41 for processional scene; fig.22, p.33 for sons carrying throne; fig.8, 13, p.13, 18 for sons fighting Libyans; fig.53, p.68 for bull hunt, also in Aldred 1980, fig.165, p.200 and Nims 1965, p.171.
- 484 Romer 1984, p.142, pl.30 and Romer 1981, p.97.
- 485 BM.EA.5620, Thebes, in James 1985, fig.46, p.43.
- 486 For reconstruction sketch see Corson 1980, p.34-35, pl.2.II.
- 487 BM.EA.26, in James & Davies 1983, fig.50, p.42.
- 488 Cairo CG.42150, Karnak, in Legrain 1909 II, p.15-16, pl.XIII; Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.225; Corteggiani 1986, No.89, p.139-140 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.CXXXI.3; compare Cairo CG.67841, in Vandier 1958 III, pl.CXXXIII.3.
- 489 Cairo JE.37595, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.228.
- 490 Turin Inv.Cat.1932, XX dyn, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1989, fig.256, p.166.
- 491 MMA.11.155.3.b, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.208, p.331 and Hibbard 1980, fig.93, p.48.
- 492 Louvre C.213.
- 493 Nims 1965, p.123.
- 494 Aldred 1980, fig.153, p.188.
- 495 Florence Inv.No.2468, in Westendorf 1968, p.178; Milton 1986, p.149 and Agostini, nd. p.11.
- 496 Louvre B.7, in Zeigler 1990, p.52.
- 497 Piazza del Popolo, Rome, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1988, fig.182, p.134.
- 498 Aldred 1980, fig.154, p.188.
- 499 MMA.14.6.209, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.229, p.363; see also unnamed king, BM.EA.50710, in James 1985, fig.48, p.45.
- 500 Hornung 1990, fig.32, p.65.
- 501 Hornung 1990, fig.93, p.134 (watercolour by Hay).
- 502 Hassanein & Nelson 1976, p.28, "perruque à ailes latérales", fig.5, p.30; Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1988, fig.212, p.156 and Campbell 1910, frontispiece.
- 503 Siliotti & Leblanc 1993, p.83.
- 504 Murnane 1980, fig.57, p.72.
- 505 Murnane 1980, fig.48, p.62.
- 506 Murnane 1980, fig.12, p.17.
- 507 Murnane 1980, fig.6, p.9.
- 508 Boston MFA.88.997.
- 509 Romer 1984, pl.29 and Hornung 1990, p.78 (after Guilmant).

- 510 BM.EA.5620, Thebes, in James 1985, fig.46, p.43.
- 511 Aldred 1980, fig.160, p.195.
- 512 Murnane 1980, fig.11, p.16 (or perhaps some form of protective head-covering ?).
- 513 Bierbrier 1982, fig.41, p.59 and Westendorf 1968, p.188, 190-191.
- 514 Davies 1927, pl.XXV-XXVI; Wilkinson & Hill 1983, fig.32, p.34-35 and Scott 1984, fig.35 & cover.
- 515 Martin 1991, fig.84, 87, p.128-129.
- 516 Davies 1927, pl.V, VIII-X, XII, XV; Aldred 1980, fig.156, p.191; Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.142 and el-Saghir 1990, p.73.
- 517 Hornung 1990, fig.130-131, p.178.
- 518 Hornung 1990, fig.132, p.179.
- 519 BM.EA.9901.5, funerary papyri, in James 1985, fig.60, p.55; Faulkner 1985, p.54 and Abbate 1972, p.133, pl.81.
- 520 BM.EA.9901.3, in James 1985, fig.59, p.54 and Faulkner 1985, p.34.
- 521 Cairo JE.43566, Deir el Medina stela, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.221.
- 522 BM.EA.165, c.Ramses II, in Martin 1991, fig.77, p.116.
- 523 Sakkara tomb of Tia & Tia, in Martin 1991, fig.66, 74, p.104, 111.
- 524 c.Ramses II, in Davies 1948, pl.VIII and Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.152.
- 525 XX dyn, in Wreszinski 1923, 349.
- 526 Cairo JE.67878, in Griggs ed. 1985, No.3, p.23.
- 527 MMA.26.7.1406, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.240, p.382 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.CXXXIX.4.
- 528 Leiden AST.5, XIX dyn, in Schneider & Raven 1981, No.88, p.100.
- 529 MMA.33.2.1, c.Ramses II, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.219, p.351 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.CLXVI.3.
- 530 MMA.15.2.1, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.220, p.353; Vandier 1958 III, pl.CXLIV.3 and Aldred 1980, fig.161, p.196.
- 531 Louvre C.213, c.1300 BC, Serapeum, Sakkara, in Zeigler 1990, p.48.
- 532 Cairo JE.4872, c.1300-1200 BC, Serapeum, Sakkara, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.214; Terrace & Fischer 1970, No.33, p.145-148 and Hildesheim 1984, No.46, p.104-105.
- 533 Brooklyn Acc.No.36.261, XIX dyn, Sakkara, in Fazzini et al. 1989, No.63; see also Martin 1987, No.95, p.38, pl.36; Brussels 1976, No.58, p.99 and Fazzini 1975, Cat.80, p.93.
- 534 Cleveland 63.100, c.Ramses II, in Cleveland nd, p.13.
- 535 BM.EA.265, early XIX dyn, in Bierbrier 1982, fig.14, p.28.
- 536 BM.EA.1516, XIX dyn, in Bierbrier 1982, fig.16, p.30.
- 537 BM.EA.272, XIX dyn, in Bierbrier 1982, fig.77, p.109 and Janssen & Janssen 1990, fig.41, p.114.
- 538 Cairo Temp.Reg.14:6:24:20, XX dyn, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.229 and Griggs ed. 1985, No.39, p.60.
- 539 eg. Cam.Fitz.EGA.4298-1943, in Brunner-Traut 1979, No.1, p.22, pl.I; also UC.33211, head of nobleman, in Page 1983, No.30, p.23.
- 540 Hornung 1990, p.172; Smith 1981, fig.372, p.379; el-Saghir 1990, p.70 and Koenig 1990, p.82; also tomb door scene, Cairo JE.27303, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.215; Corteggiani 1986, No.86, p.135-136 and Griggs ed.

- 1985, No.44, p.66-67.
- 541 Zivie 1979, pl.10, 23-24; Michalowski 1969, fig.574 and el-Saghir 1990, p.71.
- 542 Koenig 1990, p.83 and Michalowski 1969, fig.570.
- 543 Otto 1968, pl.12; Koenig 1990, p.84; Janssen & Janssen 1990, cover illustration; Bierbrier 1982, fig.51, p.74; Strouhal 1992, fig.25, p.25; Romer 1984, pl.24; Westendorf 1968, p.186; also fragments BM.EA.1329/1291 in James 1985, fig.34-35, p.35.
- 544 Davies 1927, p.47-48, pl.XXVII.
- 545 BM.EA.10470.3, in Faulkner 1985, p.14 and Price 1970, p.149.
- 546 BM.EA.10470.4, in Rossiter 1979, p.31; for white-haired figure only, see James 1985, fig.62, p.56 and Price 1970, p.149.
- 547 Louvre E.26012, c.1300-1200 BC. in Louvre 1982, No.6, p.12.
- 548 Brooklyn Acc.No.80.113, TT.359, in Fazzini et al. 1989, No.66.
- 549 Cairo JE.43591, Thebes, in Griggs ed. 1985, No.38, p.59.
- 550 BM.EA.305, in James & Davies 1983, fig.58, p.52.
- 551 MMA.15.2.1, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.220, p.353, although rear not illustrated.
- 552 For exception see kneeling figure of Hori, priest of Horus under Ramses II, Copenhagen NCG.AEIN.1492, Abydos(?), in Koefoed-Petersen 1950, No.59, p.35-36, pl.70-71.
- 553 Cairo JE.37406, Karnak, in Griggs ed. 1985, No.37, p.58.
- 554 Cairo CG.42172, Karnak, in Legrain 1909 II, p.38, pl.XXXVI.
- 555 Cairo CG.42185/42186, c.Ramses II, Karnak, in Legrain 1909 II, p.49-50, pl.XLVII-XLVIII and Vandier 1958 III, pl.CLI.6.
- 556 Munich G.1 WAF.38, Ramses II, Karnak, in Brunner-Traut et al. 1984, No.32, p.45-49; Basle 1953, No.132, p.53; Janssen & Janssen 1990, fig.29, p.73 and Fechheimer 1914, pl.86-87; also Cairo CG.42155, Ramses II, Karnak, in Legrain 1909 II, p.21-23, pl.XVIII.
- 557 Turin Inv.Cat.3016, XX dyn, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1989, fig.249, p.160.
- 558 Turin Inv.Cat.3038, XIX dyn, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1989, fig.255, p.165.
- 559 Louvre A.72, XIX dyn, in Vandier 1958 III, pl.CXLV.6.
- 560 Cairo CG.628, in Borchardt 1925 II, p.175, pl.115; Rachelwitz 1960, p.93, pl.50 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.122, p.280.
- 561 Berlin Inv.No.6910, XIX dyn, in Fay 1982, p.102-103; Boston 1982, No.196, p.173-174; Fechheimer 1921, pl.59; Basle 1954, No.124, p.50-51; Brunner-Traut et al. 1984, No.49, p.62 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.CXLIV.2.
- 562 Munich 37, XIX dyn, in Basle 1954, No.126, fig.19, p.51.
- 563 Munich G.1 WAF.25, XIX dyn, West Thebes, in Schoske et al. 1990, No.43, p.88 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.CLXXI.1.
- 564 Louvre A.63, XIX dyn, Deir el-Medina, Pendua and colleague Didi in same styles, in Zeigler 1990, p.57; Turin Inv.Suppl.6127, XIX dyn, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1989, fig.241, p.156; Bierbrier 1982, fig.1, p.2; Westendorf 1968, p.173 and Garolla 1988, p.39.
- 565 MMA.07.228.94, XIX dyn, Thebes, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.238, p.381 and Scott 1980, fig.33.

- 566 Leiden AST.11, XIX dyn, Sakkara, in Schneider & Raven 1981, No.89, p.101.
- 567 Luxor J.51, Thebes, in Luxor 1978, No.236, p.95.
- 568 Luxor J.148, XIX dyn, Theban area, in Luxor 1978, No.233, p.94.
- 569 MMA.51.173, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.239, p.380-382 (use of term 'effeminate' inappropriate), and Vandier 1958 III, pl.CLXI.1.
- 570 Turin Inv.Cat.3047, late Ramses II-Merneptah, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1988, fig.221, p.162.
- 571 Turin Inv.Cat.3048, XIX dyn, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1989, fig.254, p.164 and Romer 1984, pl.13 for detail.
- 572 Louvre N.1575, in Zeigler 1990, p.55.
- 573 Turin Inv.Cat.3032, XX dyn, in Bierbrier 1982, fig.61, p.87; Garolla 1988, p.70; Donadoni-Roveri, ed. 1988, fig.230, p.168 and Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1989, fig.257, p.167.
- 574 Cairo JE.21858, XIX dyn, in Hildesheim 1984, No.62, p.134-135.
- 575 Martin 1991, fig.94, p.137.
- 576 Cairo JE.27232, XIX dyn, in Griggs ed. 1985, No.50, p.73.
- 577 Leeds City Museum D.426.1960, c.Ramses XI, in David & Tapp ed. 1992, figs.11-13, p.60-61 and Taylor 1989, fig.30, p.38.
- 578 Outer coffin, Cairo JE.27308, in Griggs ed. 1985, No.54, p.78 and Freed 1987, No.51, p.183; inner coffin lid, Cairo JE.27308, in Griggs ed. 1985, No.55, p.79.
- 579 MMA.86.1.2.a-b, inner coffin, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.265, "the wig is of the graceful shawl type worn by gentlemen of the mid-XVIIIth dynasty", p.417; also Cairo JE.27308, outer coffin, in Griggs ed. 1985, No.54, p.78 and Freed 1987, No.51, p.183.
- 580 Cairo Temp.Reg.5:12:25:3, XIX dyn, in Griggs ed. 1985, No.57, p.81 and Freed 1987, No.49, p.181.
- 581 Cairo JE.27251, in Griggs ed. 1985, No.52, p.75 and MMA.86.1.22, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.272, p.426.
- 582 MMA.44.4.72, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.241, p.383.
- 583 Boston MFA.1971.292, unprovenanced, in Boston 1988, No.75, p.137-138.
- 584 Cam.Fitz.E.1.1823, XX dyn, KV.11.
- 585 Berlin Inv.No.1/72, XIX dyn, Asyut, in Fay 1982, p.1.
- 586 Martin 1991, fig.95-96, p.142, 145.
- 587 eg. Bruyère 1939, p.168-175, pl.XXI; Brooklyn Acc.No.54.1, in Boston 1982, No.409, p.300; BM.EA.61083 in Stead 1986, fig.88, p.67; Turin Inv.Cat.3080, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1989, fig.258, p.168; Luxor J.147, in Luxor 1978, No.230, p.93 and Bastis Collection, in Boston 1988, No.90, p.149; for interesting discussion on role of tripartite style in determining gender of busts, see Friedman in Lesko ed. 1994, p.114-116.

XVIIIth dynasty

The choice of styles available to women at this time is particularly wide, and although the tripartite and full/enveloping styles are by far the most popular forms to be represented, the bouffant, the layered and various forms of Nubian and short round styles are all found in addition to the shaven head ¹.

The tripartite style ² is extensively featured in the statuary and relief of the early and late parts of the dynasty, although it is temporarily unfashionable between the reigns of Amenhotep II to Tutankhamen.

An early sculpted variant is the rather curious style worn by a small limestone statuette of Queen Tetisheri ³, the authenticity of which has been questioned largely on account of the unusual nature of the costume and hairstyle, since "this wig is unique amongst royal coiffures" ⁴ and does not belong to the repertoire of styles available to royal women at the time. Although its frontal appearance does conform to the rather top-heavy form of tripartite style fashionable in the early part of the dynasty, a back view reveals its unusual 'quadripartite' nature, two thin lappets hanging down from the sides of a partly shaven scalp rather than a single section of hair falling down at the back. The whole style would seem to owe more to so-called concubine figures of the Middle Kingdom ⁵, which seem hardly appropriate for a royal personage.

The thick tripartite style with hair set behind the ears, so popular in the Middle Kingdom, is now only occasionally found at the very beginning of the period as noted in the case of a large painted figure of Mutnofret, mother of Tuthmosis II ⁶. The new form which replaces it is even thicker, completely hiding the ears beneath the mass of hair, and particularly popular for representations of royal women. Examples include two limestone figures of unidentified royal women ⁷ (fig.455) and the granite figures of Queen Isis, mother of Tuthmosis III ⁸ (fig.456) and Tuthmosis IV's mother Tia ⁹ (fig.319), with rather more stylised forms used for the coffins of the queens Ahhotep II ¹⁰, MeryetAmun ¹¹ and Ahmose Nofretari ¹².

Non-royal examples of the heavy tripartite style are generally more intricate in their styling, and "the back commonly comprises three large plaits, one lying on top of the other two" ¹³. This divided and plaited back section is clearly visible on the upper part of a small statuette ¹⁴, with further examples worn by the ladies Taweret ¹⁵ (fig.457), Ibentina ¹⁶, Tetisonb ¹⁷, and several anonymous contemporaries ¹⁸, in addition to dyad figures of mother and daughter Idjeret and Ruia ¹⁹ (fig.458), Mut ²⁰, Abuybuy ²¹, Senay ²² (fig.369), Tentwadj ²³ and Baketra ²⁴, the unnamed wife of Nufer ²⁵ (fig.341), another anonymous spouse ²⁶ (fig.368) and two unnamed ladies on a group figure ²⁷. The usual form of surface decoration takes the form of vertical striations filled in with cross-hatching to suggest the plaited nature of the individual braids. Some examples also feature further embellishment in the form of two shorter braids set at each side of the face in order to frame it, and although in most cases kept narrow to blend into the rest of the style, a number are rather thick and carved separately from the rest of the hair ²⁸.

The popularity of the thick tripartite style is relatively short-lived however, and by the reign of Amenhotep II it has been superseded by the full/enveloping style (discussed below). The relatively few tripartite examples from the middle of the dynasty demonstrate a return to the traditional, less bulky form which once again reveals the ears, a rare example of which is worn by a fragmentary limestone colossus originally from the funerary temple of Amenhotep III (fig.18). Although it has been stated that "the nature of the wig worn by the lady indicates that she is probably a goddess rather than a queen"²⁹, a fact which has recently been confirmed³⁰, 'the nature of the wig' does not necessarily prove the divine nature of the figure since royal women do wear this style, most notably Amenhotep III's wife Tiy on the so-called 'Sinai Head'³¹, a tiny wooden statuette³² and figure of the queen with the body of Taweret³³, all three examples featuring a tile-like arrangement of curls. A plain tripartite style is worn by Nefertiti on a group statue³⁴, her sister(?) Mutnodjmet, wife of Horemheb, preferring the curled form on her dyad figure³⁵.

The style regains widespread popularity at the end of the dynasty, albeit in significantly longer form with the hair now covering the breasts and regularly reaching waist-level, as clearly illustrated by two limestone figures of Merit (fig.459-460). In both cases the length of hair is greatly extended, close inspection also revealing a renewed interest in the use of side braids to frame the face, the ends of which are tightly twisted to hang down³⁶. The unfinished state of the figures also demonstrates the way in which the plaited detail was added, the vertical striations filled in with delicate cross-hatching starting at the bottom and rising up each lappet (fig.459).

Despite its fluctuating popularity as a fashionable hairstyle, the tripartite style continues to be used for funerary items, as noted from the plain styles of the shabti figures of Ikhem, Mistress of the House³⁷, Senmut's relatives Ahotep and Hatnufer³⁸, Ipay, Royal Nurse and Chantress of Amun³⁹ and Djymyra⁴⁰ (fig.461), her striated style similar to that adorning the beautiful gilded mask of Thuya⁴¹.

Two-dimensional representations of the tripartite style generally maintain traditional proportions throughout the dynasty, although as in sculpted examples, relief and painted forms are most frequent in the early and later years, falling out of favour between the reigns of Amenhotep II and Tutankhamen. Haynes states that during this period "if it is portrayed at all it is only on the mother or grandmother of the tomb owner. Moreover, throughout the New Kingdom this style is shown only on venerated female figures as a gesture of respect"⁴². However, her statement is rather sweeping, since the style is frequently worn by a range of working figures largely exempt from the vagaries of fashion by virtue of their status.

One of the earliest New Kingdom representations of the tripartite style is found on a figure of Queen Tetisheri on the stela of her grandson Ahmose, first king of the XVIIIth dynasty⁴³. It is also worn by other royal women such as Queen Ahmes (with striated detail)⁴⁴, her daughter Hatshepsut⁴⁵, and two daughters of Tuthmosis III (in contrast to the new full style of their mother Merytre Hatshepsut)⁴⁶. The form is the same basic style which is found in contemporary funerary scenes, as worn by Medja⁴⁷ (fig.351), the wife of Royal Steward User (TT.21)⁴⁸ and women in the el Kab tomb of Paheri, the same

plain style worn by his wife, banquet guests and servants alike ⁴⁹. Other plain forms are noted in the scenes of Rekhmire (TT.100) ⁵⁰, Minnakht (TT.87) ⁵¹ and Kenamun (TT.93) ⁵², a fragmentary figure from an unknown tomb wearing a style with an early form of side tendril hanging down in front of the ear ⁵³ (fig.462).

In the middle years of the dynasty the tripartite style is rarely employed in representations of noblewomen and the wives of officials, the few examples found in the tomb scenes of Nebamun and Ipuki (TT.181) as worn by Netermose, mother of Ipuki, and Nebamun's mother Thepu ⁵⁴. Similarly in the scenes of Ramose (TT.55) the tripartite style is reserved for his mother Apuya, with tabs of her own hair beneath indicating the use of a wig ⁵⁵.

Between the reigns of Amenhotep III and Tutankhamen the style is largely confined to figures of royal women, being only one of the many forms of headwear available to them ⁵⁶. Tiy wears the tripartite style with curled detail on the golden shrine reliefs from KV.55 ⁵⁷ and in the tomb reliefs of Kheruef (TT.192) ⁵⁸, whilst a plain form is worn in the tomb scenes of Userhet (TT.47) ⁵⁹ and Huya ⁶⁰, and in scenes from her husband's funerary temple ⁶¹ and others at Karnak ⁶². Nefertiti adopts the curled form in a number of relief scenes from Karnak ⁶³ (fig.463) and the Amarna Royal Tomb ⁶⁴, with a plain form adopted on one of the boundary stelae ⁶⁵, and scenes from Amarna ⁶⁶ (fig.464) and Karnak ⁶⁷. Ankhnesenamun likewise includes the tripartite style amongst her array of coiffures, especially noted in scenes on the small golden shrine of her husband ⁶⁸.

By the end of the dynasty the style once again regains popularity in depictions of non-royal élite women, particularly in the more conservative tomb scenes of the Sakkara necropolis. Relief examples reflect the taste for longer lengths with more elaborate detail, as noted from the tomb scenes of Maya and Merit, the latter's style reaching down to her hips ⁶⁹ and their female bearers wearing waist-length versions ⁷⁰. Waist to hip-length tripartite styles are also found in the tomb scenes of Horemheb ⁷¹ and Paatenemheb ⁷² (fig.465-466) and on fragmentary scenes from lost Memphite tombs ⁷³.

Another form of tripartite style found in the first half of the dynasty (having first briefly appeared in the Middle Kingdom) involves the use of individual strands of hair falling down over the shoulders to partly fill in the gap between the front lappets and back section of hair. Haynes identifies this as a distinctly separate style, and referring to it as the 'partial tripartite' she notes that "as this style is popular only during the period when the tripartite is losing its favour and the enveloping [full] coiffure is becoming the dominant fashion, it likely represents a transitional phase between the two" ⁷⁴.

The partial tripartite style is found in two dimensions only, in scenes dating from the early part of the dynasty to the reign of Amenhotep II. Examples include the style of the daughter of steward User (TT.21) in contrast to the traditional tripartite worn by her mother ⁷⁵. The stela of Nebnakhtu also illustrates this tendency to show the elder female in a standard tripartite style whilst the partial is worn by the younger, Nebnakhtu's wife Sheritre wearing a standard form as she pays homage to a deceased male relative; her tripartite style then takes on partial form as she stands before her mother-in-law Iuty who in turn wears the standard version ⁷⁶. However, it was not always felt necessary to depict the younger women in

partial forms, as noted from scenes in which banquet guests wear the partial form in contrast to their young servants whose styles remain the standard tripartite type ⁷⁷.

By the reign of Amenhotep II elder figures have adopted the partial style as younger ones prefer the new full coiffure, as noted on the stela of the charioteer Nenwaf, his wife Irenena in a partial style and daughter Demiwedja wearing a full style ⁷⁸, an arrangement also found in the contemporary funerary papyrus scenes of scribe Nebked ⁷⁹ (fig.333). The tomb scenes of Sennefer (TT.96) provide further examples, his second wife Meryt "shown with at least three different styles" ⁸⁰ including the partial style ⁸¹ (fig.467) and a further form of the tripartite in which the solid blocks of hair are divided into numerous thin braids ⁸², described as "differing from the...tripartite wig...in that the section of hair at the back includes less hair than either of the ones at the sides" ⁸³ (fig.467).

Although again restricted to two-dimensional representations, this 'braided tripartite' is to some extent a blend of the partial tripartite and the heavy tripartite of statuary, complete with distinct plaited back section ⁸⁴. Robins has suggested that the braided tripartite style is restricted to "daughters who seem to have reached adult status but were perhaps not yet married. The same style could be worn by young maidservants, and perhaps indicated that they too were at a stage in life between childhood and mature adulthood" ⁸⁵. However, since the style is worn by both Meryt and Henetnofret, wife of Nebamun and later Ipuki (TT.181) ⁸⁶, it is clear that it is also worn by married women and is not necessarily indicative of maturity. Nevertheless, the braided tripartite is generally worn by daughters, servants and musicians, as noted from the funerary scenes of Wah (TT.22) ⁸⁷, Rekhmire (TT.100) ⁸⁸ (fig.468), Kenamun (TT.93) ⁸⁹, Amenhotepise (TT.75) ⁹⁰, Nakht (TT.52) ⁹¹, Djehuti (TT.45) ⁹², Djoserkaresonb (TT.38) ⁹³, Menna (TT.69) ⁹⁴, Nebamun (TT.181) ⁹⁵ (fig.469) and another official of that name ⁹⁶ (fig.470).

The swept-back form is also represented in two dimensional scenes, the hair pushed back over both shoulders to fall in one piece an expedient measure as the figure performs some manual task. Examples include a female bearer personifying the temple of Amun ⁹⁷, a woman pulling flax in the tomb of Paheri ⁹⁸, banquet guests of Rekhmire putting on floral collars (TT.100) ⁹⁹, guests of Nakht holding fruit (TT.52) ¹⁰⁰, women singing ¹⁰¹, clapping ¹⁰² and playing the lute ¹⁰³ in the scenes of Kenamun (TT.93), and his mother Amenemopet nursing the young Amenhotep II ¹⁰⁴. Other figures with the swept-back style include mourners with upraised or outstretched arms, as found in the tomb scenes of Nakht (TT.161) ¹⁰⁵ and Horemheb ¹⁰⁶ (fig.471). The wife of Khaemhet (TT.57) is shown with three of her thick braids swept back over her left shoulder as she raises her right arm ¹⁰⁷, and this partly swept-back style is also represented in small-scale sculpture in the form of mirror handles portraying young women wearing little more than earrings; whilst holding a bird or kitten in their left hand they push back their hair with the right, their styles striated ¹⁰⁸ (fig.472), crimped ¹⁰⁹ or elaborately braided ¹¹⁰.

A further 'style' peculiar to acrobats and dancers for obvious reasons has the hair hanging down en masse whilst the head

is upside-down, examples noted from the tomb scenes of Amenemhat (TT.53)¹¹¹ and Kheruef (TT.192)¹¹², the Karnak temple scenes of Hatshepsut¹¹³, Amenhotep IV¹¹⁴ and Tutankhamen, with further examples rather surprisingly represented in small-scale sculpture¹¹⁵.

The other major style of the time is the 'full' style, also referred to as the 'enveloping'¹¹⁶ or 'gala'¹¹⁷ style. Although first appearing in the XIIIth dynasty in both sculpture (fig.232, fig.280) and two-dimensional scenes (fig.247, fig.279) (as discussed above), it becomes the dominant form of female coiffure during the period between the reigns of Amenhotep II and Ay. An early sculpted example worn by Tenethat, wife of scribe Nebwa'aw¹¹⁸, demonstrates the characteristic way in which the shoulders and upper arms are completely hidden in a single mass of long straight hair which is generally dressed in individual braids, twisted or plaited at the ends to form a fringed border¹¹⁹. Exactly the same style is found on a painted limestone dyad figure of the lady Hatshepsut¹²⁰ (fig.473-474), a rear view clearly showing the continued use of the three plaited braids which hang down from the crown area¹²¹ first noted in sculpted forms of the 'heavy' tripartite style. The same style complete with back plaits is worn by Henutida, Singer of Amun¹²² (fig.475) and an unnamed woman on a painted dyad, the zig-zag texture of her crimped braids visible through the black paint¹²³.

By the reign of Amenhotep III this most fashionable coiffure had been adopted by royal women¹²⁴, as noted from figures of Queen Mutemwia on the left side of the Memnon colossi figures of her son Amenhotep III, his wife Tiy similarly coifed on his right side¹²⁵. Tiy also wears a full crimped style on the colossal limestone dyad from her husband's funerary temple¹²⁶, and on smaller examples in granite¹²⁷ (fig.476), granodiorite¹²⁸, peridotite¹²⁹, steatite both plain (fig.477) and glazed (fig.478)¹³⁰, and faience¹³¹, the granodiorite and glazed steatite figures also displaying distinct hair-lines. One of Tiy's daughter's Henuttaneb wears the full style on the aforementioned colossal dyad¹³² (fig.479), a small figurine head with the same coiffure identified as the princess due to similarities with the latter figure¹³³.

A large number of wooden figurines of court ladies with the full style include Henutnakhtu¹³⁴ (fig.480), several unnamed women¹³⁵ and Tiy's mother Tuyu, Chief of the Entertainers of Min¹³⁶ (fig.481), her style incorporating the three back plaits which are also found on the styles of a number of other women¹³⁷ (fig.482) including Nai¹³⁸ (fig.483-484) and Res¹³⁹. A similar coiffure also adorns the wooden figurine of Tuty¹⁴⁰ (fig.485-486), one of five such figures found in a tomb at Kom Medinet Ghurab which possibly formed a communal grave for members of Amenhotep III's harem¹⁴¹. Tuty's full style subtly incorporates the three back plaits, defining them only by a contrasting carving technique of zig-zag lines set against the bulk of cross-hatched braids which also make up the full style of the Singer Mi¹⁴². The "wondrously elaborate wig"¹⁴³ of companion figure Teye, Chief of Weavers, is rather more intricately carved into finely crimped sections with the three back plaits carved very distinctly as separate plaits (fig.487-488).

The full style is also extensively featured in stone sculpture, that of Nebesen's wife Nebetta retaining some of its black pigment. It has also been noted that "a double strand of hair is pulled back from the center of the forehead atop the rest of

the wig" ¹⁴⁴, and despite the intrusion of a back pillar this pulled-back strand indicates the intended presence of back plaits. Many other figures with visible back plaits also have this feature, which gives the impression of a wide band set along the centre parting from where the hair is pulled back to make the plaits, as noted on a number of the aforementioned wooden figurines and the steatite dyad figure of Manana, her "extravagant wig of chevroned curls" revealing her natural hair-line beneath ¹⁴⁵ (fig.371). Rather more plain forms are noted from the tomb statue of Tiyi, wife of Khaemhat (TT.57) ¹⁴⁶, the naos figure of Tawy, mother of Merptah and Ptahmose ¹⁴⁷ (fig.329), and in the case of Tahery, wife of Sculptor Bak, a "fashionably massive wig envelops her shoulders and terminates just above her breasts" ¹⁴⁸.

Examples from the post-Amarna period include an unnamed dyad figure with a highly intricate crimped style ¹⁴⁹ (fig.489) and a similarly coiffured woman with an elderly face, and although back plaits are no longer featured in the later part of the dynasty, their use in the latter case might suggest a style worn in the woman's youth ¹⁵⁰. Her coiffure also has two face-framing side braids, as noted in a number of early XVIIIth dynasty tripartite styles, although first used for sculpted forms of the full style around the reign of Ay and continuing into the next dynasty ¹⁵¹. The full styles of Nay, Chantress of Amun ¹⁵² (fig.385) and Amenias, also a Chantress of the God and first wife of Horemheb, again feature side braids ¹⁵³, as does the style of Nakhtmin's wife (fig.490), "her pensive face...almost hidden by an enormous wig, the mass of which is lightened by the elaborate coiffure" ¹⁵⁴. The flawless carving of the detail gives a clear example of the style's structure, a side view impressing by the sheer volume of hair.

The full style is also featured on mummy masks and shabti figures during the second half of the dynasty in the same way that the double style is used for male funerary equipment. The shabti of Isis, Singer of the Aten, dates to the end of Amenhotep III's reign and has a plain style with braided ends and back plaits ¹⁵⁵ (fig.491), the slightly later mummy mask of a Theban lady employing "...not the traditional striped headdress...but a wig and jewelry of the most up-to-date designs, seen on ladies of the court only from the second half of the Eighteenth Dynasty onward. The wig, a prodigious affair made up of innumerable crinkly black locks" ¹⁵⁶ also has face-framing side braids which would suggest a date at the end of the dynasty (fig.492).

The full style is extensively featured in painting and relief from the reign of Amenhotep II until the end of the dynasty, although contrary to the assumption that it is in the reign of Amenhotep II that "the first enveloping hairstyles are seen" ¹⁵⁷, they are in fact found not only in the XIIth (discussed above) but also in the early part of the XVIIIth dynasty. A plain form is worn by Ahmose Nofretari on the Donation Stela of King Ahmose ¹⁵⁸, Tuthmosis III's wife Merytre Hatshepsut wears a plain black version in the chapel of Hathor from Deir el-Bahari (in contrast to her daughters' tripartite styles) ¹⁵⁹, and Ahhotep has a lightly striated style, unusually coloured yellow, in reliefs from the tomb of her brother(?) Senmut (TT.71) ¹⁶⁰ (fig.493). By the reign of Amenhotep II however, examples are more numerous, and include those of Meryt, wife of Sennefer ¹⁶¹, Djhut's mother Esi and their banquet guests (TT.45) ¹⁶² and women in the tomb scenes of Nefronpet (TT.43), the full style worn here alongside the partial tripartite form ¹⁶³.

By the reign of Tuthmosis IV "the enveloping coiffure is now worn almost exclusively, the only variations being the length, width and spacing of the coiled ends of the tresses" ¹⁶⁴. The braided tripartite styles are still found however, as noted from the scenes of Amenhotep III (TT.75) in which wife Roy and second daughter Hentawy wear full styles in contrast to the first and third daughters whose hair is set in the braided tripartite form complete with distinct back braids; in such circumstances it is tempting to agree with the suggestion that they wear alternating styles simply "for variation's sake" ¹⁶⁵. In the contemporary tomb scenes of Police Chief Nebamun (TT.90) his wife Ty, their daughter, the 'Ornament of the King', Nebetawy and her sisters all wear full styles ¹⁶⁶, with two other 'royal ornaments', daughters of Menna (TT.69) ¹⁶⁷, wearing both the standard length form and a shorter, slightly longer than shoulder-length version which is quite popular for both younger daughters, servants (fig.494) and entertainers (fig.495) ¹⁶⁸ during the reigns of Tuthmosis IV and Amenhotep III. Both women also have a number of face-framing side braids which hang alluringly over the forehead and eyes ¹⁶⁹, these side braids being found earlier in two dimensions than in sculpted form (as discussed above). Furthermore, the elder of the two women has excess hair spilling down at both sides of the face ¹⁷⁰, a feature also noted in the case of Menna's wife Hentawy ¹⁷¹ and a number of female guests in the tomb scenes of Nebamun ¹⁷² (fig.496) in addition to his two dancers with shorter full styles ¹⁷³ (fig.495). Although the full style of Tawi, wife of Nakht (TT.52), is most often shown as a regular full style ¹⁷⁴ sometimes with thin side braids ¹⁷⁵, in one particular example the three back plaits are clearly visible, hanging down behind the rest of the style to mirror aforementioned sculpted examples ¹⁷⁶.

Two-dimensional representations of royal women occasionally feature the full style, as in the case of Amenhotep III's mother Mutemwia in the tomb scenes of Hekareshu (TT.226) ¹⁷⁷, his wife Tiy in the tomb of Huya ¹⁷⁸ and a chased relief image of Tiy (or Mutemwia ?) from a piece of funerary furniture ¹⁷⁹. Throughout the reign of this king the full style is the most popular choice of coiffure amongst fashionable women, as worn by the wife of Mayor Kenamun (TT.162) ¹⁸⁰ (fig.353), Baketamun, wife of Chancellor Meryra ¹⁸¹, the wife and daughter of Nebansu ¹⁸² and Merimeri's wife ¹⁸³, the longest examples being the hip-length styles of Ipu, wife of standard bearer Usi, and their four daughters ¹⁸⁴. There is also the continued use of the face-framing side braids, as noted in the tomb scenes of Nebamun and Ipu (TT.181), particularly in the case of Nebamun's mother Thepu ¹⁸⁵ (fig.497) and their banquet guests ¹⁸⁶, such braids also worn by Tamit, wife of the Deir el-Medina painter Maia ¹⁸⁷.

The exquisite painted scenes from the lost tomb of Nebamun provide further examples of the full black style, both with and without side braids, as worn by Nebamun's wife Hatshepsut (fig.498), their banquet guests (fig.494, fig.496) and musicians ¹⁸⁸, "a characteristic detail in some of them being the way some strands of hair have been separated from the rest and drawn over...across the top of the head" ¹⁸⁹ (fig.499). This feature is also to be found in a number of contemporary tomb scenes ¹⁹⁰, and more than likely represents the back plaits, which in certain cases do appear to be drawn from the front of the style. An 'en face' detail of two of Nebamun's musicians ¹⁹¹ (fig.500) and several other examples ¹⁹² give an indication of how these styles would have appeared from the front.

The full style continues its dominance into the reign of Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten, and in the case of the coiffures of Ramose's wife Meryptah ¹⁹³ and relatives Werel ¹⁹⁴ and May ¹⁹⁵ (TT.55) "it is a pleasure to dwell on...the mechanically perfect ripples of the abundant hair...The full wigs, with their mass of converging and diminishing ripples, are a test for eye and hand, but the chisel has not once faltered or failed" ¹⁹⁶. There also now begins the trend, in certain cases, to show the back of the hair as bulging out above the fringed border in order to emphasise the sheer amount of hair involved in such a style, as in the case of aforementioned examples from Ramose's tomb and the style of Vizier Aper-el's wife Ouriai ¹⁹⁷. In the portrayal of the full coiffures of some of the Amarna ladies the swelling of hair is even more pronounced, as noted from depictions of Panehesy's sister Abneba ¹⁹⁸, Huya's wife Tuy and sister Unher ¹⁹⁹, and Ay's wife Ty ²⁰⁰ (fig.354), although this feature was by no means universal to judge from the majority of full styles dating from this time, including those of Meryra's wife Senre ²⁰¹, women at court ²⁰² and temple musicians ²⁰³. In one Amarna relief scene the musicians' full styles appear to swing as they move their heads in time to the music ²⁰⁴ (fig.501).

The full style with elaborate side braids continues to feature in post-Amarna tomb and stela scenes, fine examples noted from the tomb of Royal Scribe Neferhotep dating from the short reign of Ay (TT.49). His wife Meryetre is depicted in both relief ²⁰⁵ and painted scenes ²⁰⁶ (fig.359) wearing quite long forms, the style of his mother Iwy being slightly shorter ²⁰⁷. The votive stela of High Priest Userhet depicts his wife Nefertiry in a similarly fine full style ²⁰⁸ (fig.305).

Examples from the Sakkara necropolis dating to the very end of the dynasty also continue to portray the full style with side braids, despite the significant revival of the new longer tripartite; Maya's wife Merit wears the full style with side braids in her tomb reliefs ²⁰⁹ although favouring the tripartite in her aforementioned funerary sculpture (fig.459-460). Other finely carved examples complete with side braids include those worn by the wife of General Amenemnet ²¹⁰ (fig.362), Ry's wife Maia (fig.502) and their daughter(?) ²¹¹, the wife (fig.307) and daughters (fig.503) of Paatenemheb ²¹² and an unusual depiction of Horemheb's first wife Amenia in mummy form (fig.16) (her full style favourably comparing with the aforementioned mummy mask, fig.492) ²¹³. A similar scene portrays an unnamed devotee of Hathor ²¹⁴ although side braids are not featured, and are also missing from the full styles of Iouy, wife of Royal Scribe Iemouia ²¹⁵ and Tahesy, wife of the Overseer of Craftsmen, Amenemnet ²¹⁶.

A second form of full style, possibly influenced by the full 'banded' style of the Middle Kingdom ²¹⁷, also appears at this time, and although previously undocumented ²¹⁸ the 'layered' style is strongly linked to the goddess Hathor (discussed above). The earliest example, made up of three layers, appears on a figure of the goddess in a relief scene from the Deir el-Bahari temple of Hatshepsut ²¹⁹ (fig.35) whilst its earliest incarnation on the mortal plane would appear to be in the later XVIIIth dynasty tomb scenes of Neferhotep (TT.49) as worn by his wife, the priestess of Hathor, Meryetre. Whilst retaining the standard full form complete with side braids, her hair is clearly divided horizontally into numerous thin layers, a fringe of black braids hanging down around the base in one scene ²²⁰. A further example is worn by an unidentified queen on an unprovenanced fragmentary relief scene ²²¹ (fig.504).

The other coiffure more usually linked to Hathor, the bouffant style or so-called Hathor wig, is still portrayed in the XVIIIth dynasty following its great popularity during the Middle Kingdom ²²². Early New Kingdom forms adorn the coffins of queens Ahhotep I ²²³ (fig.505) and MeryetAmun ²²⁴, a rear view of a similarly coifed colossal statue of the latter from Karnak revealing the back section continuing to hang down in a single straight piece ²²⁵ (fig.506). Further examples include smaller figures of two queens of Tuthmosis III in both human ²²⁶ (fig.507) and sphinx form ²²⁷, a queen of Tuthmosis IV(?) again in sphinx form ²²⁸ (fig.508), a funerary statuette of Mutiry ²²⁹ and a figurine of the singer Hatshepsut, her "curly hairstyle...reminiscent of the Middle Kingdom" ²³⁰.

Occasional portrayals of the style in two dimensions are provided by the depiction of another queen in sphinx form in the tomb scenes of Rekhmire (TT.100) ²³¹, with several harem women shown in the style in the Amarna tomb scenes of Tutu ²³² and Ay ²³³ (fig.873), Davies stating that "the women...have a peculiar mode of wearing the hair, by dividing it into one or more tresses curling at the ends. Nor is this mere *négligée*, for the women in the rooms below wear the hair in an ordinary Egyptian mode. This lock or tress is quite un-Egyptian, but it is familiar to us in men of Hittite race and known also in Syrian women" ²³⁴. He therefore concludes that these women must be foreigners largely on account of their hairstyle, although this is in fact the Egyptian bouffant style ²³⁵ adopted by Asiatic women.

In addition to these longer styles, shorter forms gain considerable prominence, particularly the so-called Nubian style which is best known as a male coiffure. It becomes a favourite of royal and non-royal women alike toward the end of the reign of Amenhotep III, the first royal woman thus portrayed being Tiy, favouring a four layered form on a painted limestone stela from the Amarna house of Panehesy ²³⁶. It is a style more often associated with her daughter-in-law Nefertiti, however, as noted from the tomb scenes of Ramose (TT.55) in which she appears in the Nubian style beside husband Amenhotep IV ²³⁷. It is also one of five headdresses she wears in reliefs from Karnak ²³⁸ (fig.509-510), although occurring here in less than 20% of examples ²³⁹, and furthermore only worn here in scenes where the king is absent ²⁴⁰, particularly those from the piers of the Hwt Bnbn or from gateways ²⁴¹. At Amarna however, the queen favours this style above all others, once again wearing it in scenes with the king ²⁴² (fig.511).

Akhenaten's minor wife Kiya also favours the pointed Nubian style, although her reliefs were subsequently recarved as figures of the princesses Meritaten or Ankhesenpaaten ²⁴³, and in addition to altering the texts her coiffure was recut into a form of wide sidelock, or 'modified Nubian wig' ²⁴⁴ (fig.512). Such alterations would have proved unnecessary had the princesses also worn the Nubian style ²⁴⁵, but they are never shown with this coiffure ²⁴⁶ despite Aldred's statement that "when they reach adolescence they assume the short Nubian wig" ²⁴⁷. As has been pointed out, "the association of the Nubian wig with females who have attained sexual maturity is surely correct" ²⁴⁸, and as such there are no depictions of any of the Amarna princesses wearing the 'true' Nubian style during the reign of their father. Ankhesenamun is only portrayed in this style when wife of Tutankhamen, as illustrated in the scene on the back of the golden throne ²⁴⁹ (fig.340) and on various vignettes on the small golden shrine ²⁵⁰.

Non-royal women also begin to wear the Nubian style during the reign of Amenhotep III, slightly pre-dating its adoption by royal women since "new styles generally appeared on works of art for private consumption before being incorporated into the formal royal artistic vocabulary, so the hairstyle does not demand a post-Amenhotep III date"²⁵¹. This is noted in the case of a drummer girl on a cosmetic spoon²⁵², and two royal attendants with fans wear the style on a terracotta plaque²⁵³ (fig.513), with similarly coifed fanbearers found in the tomb scenes of Ramose (TT.55)²⁵⁴, Iuya²⁵⁵ and Ay²⁵⁶. At the Amarna court the style is ultra-fashionable, as noted from various relief scenes²⁵⁷ (fig.514), including a group of ladies in alternating blue and black styles²⁵⁸ (fig.515), the style also worn by musicians of the period²⁵⁹.

The style is also featured in the small-scale statuary produced during the reigns of Amenhotep III and his son, a number of 'swimming girl spoons' shown with this fashionable style since "on the spoon girls, beautiful hair is an important feature"²⁶⁰. A particularly fine example has a two layered fringe, coloured black²⁶¹, whilst a small wooden statuette has a similar form set in three layers²⁶² (fig.516).

Certain sculpted examples of non-royal figures (ie. minus uraei) may well represent Kiya rather than the princesses as once thought (discussed above in a relief context). A small head with a three-layer fringe (originally assumed to be male²⁶³) has been identified as princess Ankhesenpaaten²⁶⁴ (fig.517), although in the absence of any identifiable examples of any of the princesses wearing this style from Amarna it might be possible that the head represents Kiya²⁶⁵, as might a very similar limestone example, again with three layers²⁶⁶ (fig.518). This is also true of the small figurine known as the 'Kissing King'²⁶⁷ which is generally assumed to depict Akhenaten with a daughter, "probably Merytaten"²⁶⁸ although "the female figure could also represent the queen Kiya because of the wig believed to be typical of her"²⁶⁹. The style is also used on items from the royal tomb KV.55, namely the sarcophagus²⁷⁰ (fig.519) and canopic jar lids²⁷¹ (fig.520), these items now generally believed to have been originally intended for Kiya's burial.

Although the bobbed style is virtually absent (the shorter form of full style providing an alternative of similar length), rare examples include a fragmentary statue of Hatshepsut's nurse²⁷² and a tiny silver and gold figurine²⁷³ (fig.521), a swimming girl wearing a unique version of bobbed style incorporating back plaits²⁷⁴.

The short round style is noted from both royal and non-royal figures in both sculpted and painted/relief scenes. Early examples are worn by Hatshepsut as pharaoh at Deir el-Bahari²⁷⁵ and Karnak²⁷⁶ (fig.522), its round form with horizontal rows following the traditional pattern whilst a vertically curled form is worn by a queen identified as Tiy on a small obsidian block relief²⁷⁷, and by Nefertiti on a relief block from Amarna as she kisses one of her daughters²⁷⁸ (fig.523). Other women wearing the style are mainly servants and musicians, the harpist of Paheri shown with a short, horizontally curled style topped by a feather²⁷⁹, the servants distributing flowers and floral collars in the scenes of Rekhmire (TT.100)²⁸⁰ and Djeserkaresonb (TT.38)²⁸¹ shown with wavy outlined styles to suggest curling hair. A similar coiffure with the addition of fringed edges, inspired by the contemporary elaboration of the full style in both its regular and shorter forms, is

worn by servants in the tomb scenes of Kenamun (TT.162)²⁸² and Nebseni (TT.108)²⁸³, and at Amarna a musician sports a short round, rather naturalistic style set in light horizontal waves²⁸⁴.

Sculpted examples of the short round coiffure include the curious style on the small yew wood head of Queen Tiy, once decorated with small blue beads²⁸⁵ (fig.524). These overlay the original silver khat headdress, the suggestion being that the alteration was made after the death of her husband Amenhotep III²⁸⁶, although "Whether the change of headdress from khat to round wig...indicates a change of the queen's status is at present only a matter for speculation"²⁸⁷. Examples of the short round style with horizontal curls include two heads of wood and gold on the arms of a chair of Princess Satamun²⁸⁸. A small calcite head with the soft features characteristic of the later part of the dynasty has a most unusual rounded style resembling earlier Old Kingdom examples, and although most of the striated hair falls vertically, a wide fringe section resembling the natural hair-lines of the late Vth dynasty is decorated with cross-hatching²⁸⁹ (fig.525). Wooden figurines also with the short round style include mirror handles²⁹⁰ (fig.526) and a few so-called concubine figures²⁹¹, also in limestone²⁹², with anthropomorphic pottery vessels likewise employing this "short, caplike coiffure"²⁹³ in both plain form and set with horizontal rows.

Both the short round and Nubian styles could incorporate sidelocks²⁹⁴ in the case of elder princesses²⁹⁵, young fan-bearers, attendants and musicians, in fact "young women who are acting as adults"²⁹⁶. An early relief example from Deir el-Bahari shows Hatshepsut's daughter Neferure with a short round style in horizontal rows embellished with a thin curling plait attached to the right side²⁹⁷. The aforementioned chair of Satamun shows the princess in gold relief with a similar style, although in this case the lock, shown on both the left and right sides of two back to back figures, is wider and falls straight down²⁹⁸. Other royal princesses (ms.w wr.w and msw nsw) in relief scenes from the tomb of Kheruef (TT.192) wear both long straight locks of striated detail against plain Nubian styles²⁹⁹ and locks with wavy detail against vertically curled Nubian styles³⁰⁰, in both cases the styles cut high into the nape of the neck although without the face-framing fringe.

The older Amarna princesses generally incorporate short thick, rather elaborate sidelocks into their short styles, as noted from a number of scenes from Amarna, including a depiction of Ankhesenpaaten offering bread, her slant-edged lock (re-?)painted red to contrast with her blue Nubian style beneath³⁰¹ (fig.527). Meritaten wears a short striated lock on the left of a short style on column decoration from the Great Palace³⁰², whilst in the tomb scenes of Meryra II her Nubian style is adorned by a much longer lock which follows the outer contour of her shoulder and upper arm³⁰³, similar to the style of an unnamed sister³⁰⁴ (fig.528). This same elongated sidelock is also worn by Ankhesenamun as queen on an ivory box scene³⁰⁵, whilst she is depicted on the small golden shrine with a short curled lock³⁰⁶. Certain fan bearers and court ladies also wear the long straight sidelock attached to short styles, as noted in the tomb reliefs of Ramose (TT.55)³⁰⁷ and on Karnak talatat³⁰⁸.

Sculpted figures with the short style and sidelock again include princesses, young noblewomen, attendants and musicians, an early example of a kneeling girl displaying a short lock on the right of a round style set in vertical layers ³⁰⁹. A much more elaborate crimped and braided lock form is featured on the fragmentary serpentine figure of Amenhotep III's daughter Isis ³¹⁰, an almost identical lock found on a similarly decapitated figure from Amarna ³¹¹. A beautifully detailed bust of an Amarna princess may indicate how the previous two pieces would originally have been completed, her thick crimped lock secured with a clasp and attached to the right of a short round curled style ³¹² (fig.529), the same style with shorter lock adorning the head of a dwarf steerswoman on an elaborate calcite vessel of Tutankhamen ³¹³ (fig.530). Two wooden figures of women, possibly from the harem of Amenhotep III, again feature these styles, the suggestion being that they "died rather young, for [they] wear the sidelock associated with youths" ³¹⁴, and both the naked figure of Nebetya ³¹⁵ and more modestly attired Tama ³¹⁶ (fig.531) have their long locks set with metal clasps. A calcite and steatite swimming girl figure has a similar coiffure ³¹⁷, a figurine of a nursing mother given a short curled style with elbow length sidelock ³¹⁸, whilst a cross-legged lute player has a short style adorned with a thick fall of hair on the right side ³¹⁹.

The similar locks of other figurines would simply seem to be a head of natural hair set in plaits, as noted from a wooden spoon featuring "Hathor's attendant carrying a wine jar" ³²⁰ and a wooden figurine of a young girl carrying a chest on her head, her "hair hanging in plaits" ³²¹.

The final form of 'style' available to XVIIIth dynasty women is the shaven or cropped head, worn mainly by religious personnel and servants. Painted and relief examples are not unknown, the 'God's Wife of Amun' depicted as shaven in the Karnak scenes of Hatshepsut ³²² (fig.532) and then in procession at the funeral of Montuirkhopshef (TT.20) ³²³. Two shaven women representing Isis and Nephthys kneel to present pots in the purification rituals of Amenemhet (TT.82) ³²⁴, Sennefer (TT.96) ³²⁵ and Rekhmire (TT.100) ³²⁶, and other shaven women are found in the tomb scenes of Kheruef (TT.192) performing dances alongside shaven men at the sed festival of Amenhotep III (and virtually identical to Old Kingdom dancers in the tomb of Ti) ³²⁷. Two further examples from Amarna depict princesses(?) with shaven heads ³²⁸ (fig.533), although the comment that one of the figures "is shown in right profile with shaved head, her sidelock presumably falling down at the left" ³²⁹ is unlikely, since other Amarna relief scenes depict the lock hanging down behind in such circumstances ³³⁰.

A number of sculpted forms of the shaven/cropped head are also to be found, one wooden figurine providing clear parallels with the Amarna relief examples, and "wearing neither hair nor wig on her head...her skull is clean shaven" ³³¹. The wig mount from the Sakkara tomb of Aper-el has the features of a young woman with cropped hair suggested by an application of black paint ³³², as in the case of another such mount found nearby ³³³ (fig.534). It would not be unreasonable either to assume that beneath her characteristic tall blue crown Nefertiti has a similarly cropped or shaven head in order to accommodate the restricted fit necessary to wear such a tall piece of headgear, an assumption made all the more likely when taken in conjunction with the wide range of styles adopted by the queen elsewhere which are

presumably wigs worn over a bare head ³³⁴.

XIX-XXth dynasty

Although the basic styles and a number of shorter forms are found throughout the later New Kingdom, the most common style is the longer tripartite, as portrayed in both sculpture and two-dimensional scenes.

A granite figure of Tuya, wife of Seti I, has a tripartite style set in crimped sections which cover the breasts ³³⁵ (fig.535), the same style set in braided sections decorating the queen's calcite canopic jar head ³³⁶ (fig.536). Ramses II's wife Nofretari adopts a plain style on colossal figures adorning her Abu Simbel temple façade ³³⁷, in contrast to the vertical rows of curls which decorate the same style of her smaller figures at Luxor ³³⁸, and that of a similar figure of Ramses' daughter Bentanta ³³⁹. A second daughter, Meritamon, wears a "tripartite wig, composed of blue painted locks in an echelon arrangement" ³⁴⁰ (fig.537), the hair-line replaced by a yellow band, and the same curled detail is also to be found on a fragmentary dyad of an unnamed queen ³⁴¹.

Striated tripartites are rather more common than curled forms, a fine example worn by a beautiful greywacke figure of an unnamed XIXth dynasty queen ³⁴². A number of wooden figures of the deified queen Ahmose Nofretari include that dedicated by the workman Wadjmose during the reign of Ramses II, the striated tripartite style not unlike the one the queen would have worn in life almost three centuries earlier ³⁴³, and similar to the style worn by a wooden figure of Henutudjebet ³⁴⁴.

Dyad figures also feature the tripartite style, and in the case of Nofretere, wife of workman Pendua, "the accurate reproduction of hairstyle...displays an external refinement recalling the elegance of the late Eighteenth Dynasty" ³⁴⁵. Seba's wife Weretdjennet ³⁴⁶, Mutemwia, wife of scribe Neferronpet ³⁴⁷, Niay's mother Mutnofret ³⁴⁸ and an unnamed woman ³⁴⁹ all have long crimped tripartite styles, and like Nofretere have side braids to frame the face. These braids are also found on a number of coffins which continue to portray the deceased in the fashions of the day, those of Sennedjem's wife Iyeferty ³⁵⁰ and daughter-in-law Isis ³⁵¹, Henutmehit, Priestess of Amun ³⁵² (fig.538) and Singer of Amun Tamutnefret ³⁵³ all portrayed with tripartite styles complete with conspicuous side braids. Shabti figures also wear this style, albeit in its more traditional form, as noted from a wooden figure "with hair arranged in the hieratic funerary manner" ³⁵⁴ and a similar bronze example of an unnamed woman ³⁵⁵.

The tripartite style is extremely common in the painted and relief scenes of the late New Kingdom, with plain relief forms noted in the Sakkara funerary reliefs of Ramses II's sister Tia ³⁵⁶ and in the tomb ³⁵⁷ and temple ³⁵⁸ scenes of Queen Tawosret. Other plain examples are worn by Renutet, wife of scribe Yuny ³⁵⁹ (fig.449), Bukanefptah and her female relatives ³⁶⁰ and Mutemwia, wife of the musician Raia ³⁶¹, whilst rather more elaborate versions with curled, crimped and braided detail are worn by Ramses II's daughter Bentanta ³⁶², Renut, wife of Royal Scribe Amenhotep ³⁶³ (fig.438) and Iyefret ³⁶⁴.

The vast majority of two-dimensional representations of this style however, come from painted scenes, some of the most beautiful examples to be found in the tomb of Queen Nofretari (QV.66)³⁶⁵. Thick black styles of fashionably longer length complete with fine crimped side braids are worn by Ipy's wife and daughter Dowesmiset and Urner³⁶⁶, a number of their banquet guests (TT.217)³⁶⁷, Inyeferti, wife of Sennedjem (TT.1)³⁶⁸ (fig.433), Kamena, wife of priest Nakhtamun (TT.341)³⁶⁹, the wife of Hunefer³⁷⁰, scribe Ani's wife Tutu³⁷¹, the priestess Anhai³⁷² (fig.539), Inherkha's wife Wa'ab³⁷³ (fig.442) and their female guests (TT.359)³⁷⁴, the style of Neferronpet's wife (TT.178) shown both with and without side braids³⁷⁵. Other tripartite styles minus side braids are worn by priestesses in the tomb scenes of Amenmosi (TT.19)³⁷⁶, women in procession from the tomb of Niay (TT.286)³⁷⁷ (fig.540), Inherkha's wife Wa'ab (fig.443-444) and the female relatives of Pashedu (TT.3)³⁷⁸ (fig.403), a number of these examples emphasising the amount of hair by portraying both front lappets in a continuation of a brief XVIIIth dynasty trend.

The hair is occasionally depicted in the swept back style to fall in one piece down the back, or sometimes over only one shoulder; the dyad figure of TjenetImenet has the right lappet of her copious style pushed over and behind her right shoulder (a visible hair-line indicating her use of a wig)³⁷⁹ (fig.541), whilst the waist length style of a naked fertility figure on a bed has the right lappet set behind the shoulder with the left side drawn up over the head³⁸⁰ (fig.542). Examples in two dimensions include the detailed style of Tutu in funerary papyrus scenes shared with husband Ani; as she bows before the gods at the weighing of the heart, her formerly tripartite style is pushed back behind the shoulders, leaving only her finely dressed long side braids free to hang independently³⁸¹ (fig.543), a similar form of coiffure again with only the long side braids falling in front of the shoulders worn by priestess Anhai in the same scene in her funerary papyrus³⁸². Other swept back styles are found on ostraca sketches of lute players (fig.544), their erotic nature heightened by a style which leaves the breasts uncovered³⁸³, as in the case of similarly coiffured figures in scenes from the so-called Erotic Papyrus³⁸⁴ (fig.406).

Further 'styles' involving the arrangement of hair as a largely expedient measure include the *wochenbettfrisur* worn by women in the birthing chamber as sketched on ostraca³⁸⁵ (fig.545-546), their loose hair fastened up on top of the head for the sake of convenience. The movements of dancers and acrobats cause their hair (as opposed to wigs) to be depicted as falling down vertically to the ground as they pose upside down³⁸⁶, with slightly less vigorous actions indicated by the hair shown swinging freely in the case of certain musicians and dancers³⁸⁷.

The full enveloping coiffure continues to enjoy considerable popularity into the XIXth dynasty amongst both royal and non-royal women, Queen Tuya wearing a wonderfully detailed full style of individual braids on a large granite figure³⁸⁸, and on subsidiary figures at Abu Simbel both Tuya³⁸⁹ and daughter-in-law Nofretari³⁹⁰ are shown with full styles complete with conspicuous side braids, the latter shown with a similar style on a red granite colossus at Luxor³⁹¹ (fig.547). Further examples with side braids are worn by the dyad figures of Renutet, Priestess of Hathor³⁹² (fig.548), the Singer of Amun Hatshepsut and her two daughters³⁹³ and the unnamed wife of a chief sculptor from Deir el-Medina³⁹⁴

(fig.551), no less elaborate full styles minus side braids worn by Naia³⁹⁵, Amenemopet's wife Hathor³⁹⁶ (fig.451) and an unnamed woman on a serpentine dyad³⁹⁷. Nursing mother figurines also occasionally wear the full style, as in the case of two rather rustic examples which have the style simply painted on in black³⁹⁸.

The full style also continues to be employed for a number of shabti figures and coffins, the steatite shabti of Henutlunu featuring a wide style with thick side braids³⁹⁹, as does the elaborate gilded mummy mask of Katebet⁴⁰⁰ (fig.549), the same full style on her coffin having been painted over the original male double style carved beneath⁴⁰¹ (fig.550).

By the second half of the New Kingdom however, the full style has been largely replaced by the tripartite form in two dimensional scenes⁴⁰², Queen Nofretari only occasionally shown in the full style in her painted tomb scenes (QV.66)⁴⁰³, as is Sennedjem's wife Ineferti (TT.1), some of Ipy's banquet guests (TT.217)⁴⁰⁴ and a group of priestesses in the tomb of Khons (TT.31)⁴⁰⁵ (fig.552). Other full black styles are depicted in the tomb scenes of the priests Amenmosi (TT.19)⁴⁰⁶ and Userhet (TT.51), the styles worn by the latter's wife Hatshepsut and mother Tawosret beautiful creations of loose black braids with delicate side braids framing their faces⁴⁰⁷ (fig.553). Painted examples of the full style are also to be found on ostraca sketches from Deir el-Medina, a scene of hairdressing(?) involving both the lady and two attendants with the same copious styles⁴⁰⁸ (fig.874), with two further examples depicting women in the birthing chamber, groomed and dressed following a successful birth⁴⁰⁹; in all three examples it will again be noticed that fullness has been emphasised by the depiction of hair at both sides of the face, a feature also noted in the case of two of the priestess/prostitute figures portrayed in the Erotic Papyrus⁴¹⁰ (fig.406).

Relief examples of the full style are generally quite plain, as in the case of some of the daughters of House Mistress Bkanefptah⁴¹¹, Ry, Chantress of Amun⁴¹² and the mother of Pay, who has an addition of side braids⁴¹³. A striated form is worn by Princess Tia in her Memphite tomb reliefs (fig.436), with more elaborate variations complete with side braids adopted by Ramose's wife Tetpu⁴¹⁴, the wife of priest Niay⁴¹⁵ and an unnamed lady⁴¹⁶ (fig.554).

The layered style associated with Hathor is found in a number of depictions of both royal and non-royal women in addition to its use for the goddess herself. Royal examples include the seven layered striated style worn by the deified queen Ahmose Nofretari on the stela of waab priest To⁴¹⁷, Ramses VI's daughter and God's Wife Isis IV wearing a nine layered example on her Koptos stela⁴¹⁸ (fig.555). Isis' style is very similar to that of an unnamed queen of Ramses III in the tomb scenes of Prince Paraherwenemef (QV.42), her full blue style set with a thick contrasting layer of white⁴¹⁹. Non-royal examples are found on the Abydos stela of Iay as worn by his wife and daughters⁴²⁰, whilst Kamena, wife of priest Nakhtamun (TT.341) is shown with an unusual tripartite variant with separate black braids (of natural hair?) hanging down beneath⁴²¹.

The bouffant style associated with Hathor is also occasionally found, as noted in the case of a small limestone bust of an unnamed queen of XIXth dynasty date⁴²² (fig.556), an ancestor bust of Mutemonet, mother of royal scribe Amenmose

⁴²³ (fig.557) and a small block figure of an unnamed woman ⁴²⁴ (fig.558).

Shorter styles are also found in the later New Kingdom, and usually take the outline of the Nubian style, cut high into the nape of the neck to fall in to points on the chest. MeryetAmun, a daughter and later wife of Ramses II, wears "a wig composed of numerous small plaits, terminating by the side of the face in curls. The wig is short at the back, being on a line with the jaw, but at the sides of her face it falls to the shoulders" ⁴²⁵ (fig.559), a plain form of which is worn by Ramses VI's daughter, the God's Wife Isis IV ⁴²⁶ (fig.560). Non-royal examples include the styles of Dhutemhab's wife Bekkhons (TT.45) ⁴²⁷, the wife of Ramses IV's butler Hori (in contrast to her husband's shaven pate) ⁴²⁸ and an ostrakon sketch of a young woman ⁴²⁹, an unusual sculpted form adorning the wooden figurine of Nehi ⁴³⁰.

The short round style is also occasionally featured, as worn by Queen Sitre in the Abydos chapel reliefs of husband Ramses I ⁴³¹ (fig.561) and by Queen Nofretari in coronation reliefs in scenes at her Abu Simbel temple ⁴³². Examples are also worn by the priestess/prostitute figure applying lip paint in the Turin Erotic Papyrus ⁴³³ and a dancer on a Sakkara relief block ⁴³⁴, with a rare sculpted example found on a wooden figurine of a harpist ⁴³⁵.

Sidelocks are attached to a variety of styles, sculpted forms including those found on a series of crude earthenware figures of servants/musicians peculiar to the late New Kingdom. Their styles range from the short style with long sidelock set on the right side ⁴³⁶ to others with shaven heads and the lock on the left side ⁴³⁷ (fig.563), a few also shown with tufts of hair over the brow and on the crown ⁴³⁸ (fig.564). A rather more traditional version of the short style with sidelock is an XVIIIth dynasty inspired coiffure of short vertically curled style with lock of thick crimped hair as featured on a fragmentary figure of a Ramesside royal woman ⁴³⁹ (fig.562), although two dimensional examples are rather more numerous. Tawosret has a long loose sidelock attached to a short round style in her tomb scenes (KV.14) ⁴⁴⁰, and the only surviving portrait of Beketwerel in the tomb of husband Amenmesse (KV.10) shows the queen in a short round style with the addition of what appears to be a short curled lock ⁴⁴¹. The women of Ramses III's harem have extremely long crimped sidelocks attached to their short curled styles ⁴⁴² (fig.432) and a similar form is featured on an ostrakon sketch of a Ramesside princess ⁴⁴³. A shorter lock is attached to the shoulder-length(?) style of a lute player again sketched on an ostrakon ⁴⁴⁴ (fig.565), whilst a highly unusual variant is worn on the side of the long swept back style of Sekhanefer, Chantress of Ra ⁴⁴⁵ (fig.396).

In contrast to the abundance of shaven male figures of late New Kingdom date, women with cropped/shaven heads are rarely portrayed. Two priestesses in the tomb of Khons (TT.31) are shown with shaven heads ⁴⁴⁶ (fig.552), and an amusing figure sketched on an ostrakon depicts Pay's rotund wife Meresger, "her hair, which normally would have been covered by a long wig, is close cropped...and the resultant stubble is shown by small black dashes" ⁴⁴⁷ (fig.566).

- 1 Although NK womens' styles are subject of number of studies, most notably Haynes 1978, p.18-24 (which examines two-dimensional representations only), they concentrate on basic tripartite and full styles and tend to ignore wide range of other styles available to women at this time.
- 2 See Vandier 1958 III, p.488-489.
- 3 BM.EA.22558, in Davies 1992, p.55-62; Smith 1981, fig.218, p.223; Sourouzian 1981, p.450; Aldred 1961, No.3, p.43 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.XCVI.1; see also Corson 1980, p.36-37, pl.3.L for reconstruction sketch.
- 4 Davies 1992, p.61.
- 5 As noted by Davies 1992, p.61; eg. private collection, in Bourriau 1988, No.118, p.124-125.
- 6 Cairo CG.572/JE.27575, Theban tomb of Wadjmose, in Borchardt 1925 II, p.121, pl.97; Vandier 1958 III, pl.CIV.5 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.77, p.272.
- 7 MMA.16.10.224, Deir el Bahari, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.26, "dated on stylistic grounds to the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty" p.55; Aldred 1961, No.8, p.44; Aldred 1980, fig.107, p.149; Davies 1992, p.61, note 37; also UC.16877, early XVIII dynasty, in Page 1976, No.59, p.53.
- 8 Cairo CG.42027/JE.37417, Karnak, in Legrain 1906 I, p.41-42, pl.XLII; Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.137; Vandier 1958 III, pl.CIV.1 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.78, p.272.
- 9 Cairo CG.42080, in Aldred 1961, No.69, p.62; Abbate 1972, p.81; Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.148-149; Corteggiani 1986, No.52, p.91-92; Vandier 1958 III, pl.CIII.1 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.87, p.274.
- 10 Cairo CG.61006, in Daressy 1909, p.8-9, pl.VIII-IX and Davies 1992, p.61.
- 11 Cairo JE.53140, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.127; Davies 1992, p.61 and Winlock 1932, p.20, 71, pl.XXII-XXIII, XXV-XXVI.
- 12 Cairo CG.61003, in Daressy 1909, p.3-4, pl.III and Davies 1992, p.61.
- 13 See Davies 1992, p.60-61, fig.C.2 for non-royal example and fig.C.2.a for royal example.
- 14 UC.16878, in Page 1976, No.93, p.84-85, choice of style restricting suggested "18 or 19 dynasty" date to former.
- 15 MMA.26.7.1404, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.31, p.61-62 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.CXLL4.
- 16 Cairo JE.63646 A/B, c.Hatshepsut-Tuth.III, from Deir el Medina tomb of Satnem (No.1379), in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.141.
- 17 Hanover Kestner Museum 1935.200.106, in Robins 1993, fig.74, p.171.
- 18 eg. unnamed dyad figures, Turin Inv.Cat.3096-7, in Robins ed. 1990, No.48-49, p.88-89; Berlin Inv.No.10675, in Fechheimer 1921, pl.53 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.CLXVII.1 and figure on kohl pot, Zurich Galerie Nefer, in Dayagi-Mendels 1989, p.63.
- 19 Turin Inv.Cat.3056, early XVIII dyn, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1989, fig.226, p.144 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.CXLV.3.
- 20 Turin Inv.Cat.3057, in Robins ed. 1990, No.50, p.90.
- 21 Cam.Fitz.E.21-1887, c.1550 BC.
- 22 Cairo CG.42126/JE.36574, Am.II-Tuth.IV, Karnak, in Legrain 1906 I, p.76-78, pl.LXXV; Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.140; Aldred 1961, No.68, p.62; Terrace & Fischer 1970, No.24, p.113-116; Hildesheim 1984, No.6, p.20-21; Nims 1965, p.91 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.113, p.278.
- 23 Berlin Inv.No.2298, in Priese ed. 1991, No.56, p.90-91.
- 24 Copenhagen NCG.AEIN.74, c.Tuth.III, Thebes, in Koefoed-Petersen 1950, No.33, p.22-23, pl.34-36 and Aldred

- 1961, No.40, p.53-54.
- 25 MMA.13.182.1.b, c.1500-1425 BC, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.86, p.157 and Metropolitan 1984, No.28.
- 26 Cleveland 20.2003.
- 27 Copenhagen NCG.AEIN.885, in Koefoed-Petersen 1950, No.57, p.33, pl.67.
- 28 eg. compare thin side braids of Tetisonb (Hanover Kestner Museum 1935.200.106, in Robins 1993, fig.74, p.171), or those of wife of Nufer (MMA.13.182.1.AB, c.1500-1425 BC, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.86, p.157 and Metropolitan 1984, No.28), with thick twisted braids of unnamed woman (Berlin Inv.No.10675, in Fechheimer 1921, pl.53 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.CLXVII.1).
- 29 BM.EA.948, in James & Davies 1983, p.35.
- 30 Base found in situ inscribed with name of Hathor, in Sourouzian 1993, p.14-15.
- 31 Cairo JE.38257, Serabit el Khadim, Sinai, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.144; Corteggiani 1986, No.55, p.96; Vandier 1958 III, pl.CVII.2-3; Hildesheim 1984, No.31, p.74-75; Aldred 1961, No.83-84, p.66-67; Kozloff & Bryan 1992, fig.26.a, p.210 and Robins 1993, fig.12, p.49.
- 32 Hildesheim RPM.53.b, in Kayser 1973, fig.59; Robins 1993, fig.7, p.40; Kozloff & Bryan 1992, No.27, p.211-212 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.CV.4.
- 33 Turin No.8788, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1989, fig.222, p.142 and Kozloff & Bryan 1992, No.105, p.402-403.
- 34 UC.004, in Aldred 1973, fig.41, p.64 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.CXII.1; although head missing lappets remain.
- 35 Turin Inv.Cat.1379, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1989, fig.236, p.152 and Garolla 1988, p.37.
- 36 Single figure, Leiden Inv.AST.2, in Boeser 1913 V, No.13, p.5-6, pl.V; Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.208-209; Vandier 1958 III, pl.CLXVII.4 and Vogelsang-Eastwood ed. 1994, fig.137, p.82; dyad figure, Leiden Inv.AST.3, in Boeser 1913 V, No.11, p.5-6, pl.VI; Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.206; Vandier 1958 III, pl.CLXVII.2; Robins 1993, fig.76, p.174; Martin 1991, fig.105, p.163 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.159, p.287; both figures in Schneider & Raven 1981, No.81, p.91-92.
- 37 MMA.44.4.73, c.Tuth.III, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.68, p.130.
- 38 MMA.36.3.231/47.105.2, c.Hatshepsut, in Lansing 1937, fig.50, p.38 and Hayes 1959 II, fig.137, p.230.
- 39 Leiden Inv.AST.14, Sakkara, in Schneider 1977 II, 3.2.1.4, p.57 and II, pl.18 and Schneider & Raven 1981, No.91, p.101-102.
- 40 Ox.Ash.Queen's College Loan No.13, in Moorey 1983, p.78.
- 41 Cairo CG.51009/JE.95254, KV.46, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.145 and Quibell 1908, p.28, pl.XIII.
- 42 Haynes 1978, p.20.
- 43 Cairo CG.34002, in Aldred 1961, No.4, p.43; Aldred 1980, fig.105, p.148; Corteggiani 1986, No.47, p.86 and Davies 1992, p.61.
- 44 Deir el Bahari Birth Colonnade, in Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.123 and Mekhitarian 1978, p.16.
- 45 Archives Lacau A.XV.5, Centre Wladimir Golenischeff, in Robins 1993, fig.2, p.25.
- 46 Cairo JE.38574-5, Deir el-Bahari Hathor chapel, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.138 and Winlock 1929, fig.35, p.33 (princesses only, including MeryetAmun II whom he mistakes for MeryetAmun I, sister-wife of Amenhotep I).
- 47 Louvre E.14543, Deir el Medina coffin scene, in Zeigler 1990, p.53.
- 48 c.Tuth.I, in Davies 1913, pl.XXVI.

- 49 Tylor & Griffiths 1894, pl.IV, VI for wife; pl.IV, VII, X for guests; pl.III-IV for servants and pl.VII for musicians.
- 50 c.Tuth.III-Am.II, in Davies 1943 II, pl.LXVI, etc; Aldred 1980, fig.129, p.165; Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.96 and Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.123.
- 51 c.Tuth.III, in Michalowski 1969, fig.402; Mekhitarian 1978, p.45 and Nims 1969, p.88.
- 52 Amenhotep II, dancing priestesses of Hathor, in Davies 1930 I, pl.XXXIX, XL, XLI; Davies 1930 II, pl.XLI.A and Stead 1986, fig.62, p.46.
- 53 UC.28722, unprovenanced, in Stewart 1979, pl.23 (although MK date must be amended to NK on stylistic grounds); compare style to partial tripartite with same side tendril worn by Suemniwet's wife Kat (TT.92), in Bryan 1995, p.15.
- 54 Davies 1925, p.35-36, pl.XVII, XXIX; Mekhitarian 1978, p.127 and Haynes 1978, p.19, note 16.
- 55 Davies 1941, p.16, pl.X-XI; Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.169-170 and Nims 1965, p.71.
- 56 See Green 1988, p.123-126 for tripartite style of royal women.
- 57 Cairo JE.13405, in Davis 1910, p.13, pl.23-24, 26-29, 31-33; Romer 1981, p.215 and Reeves 1990(ii), p.21.
- 58 Robins 1993, fig.5, p.33 and Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.152.
- 59 Brussels MRAH.E.2157, in Kozloff & Bryan 1992, fig.26.a, No.56, p.289; Aldred 1961, No.85, p.67 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.90, p.274.
- 60 Davies 1905 III, pl.IV, VI and Kozloff & Bryan 1992, fig.II.15, p.60.
- 61 Berlin Inv.No.23270, in Priese ed. 1991, Cat.57, p.92-93.
- 62 Munich ÄS.4231, identified as Tiy by Aldred 1973, No.30, p.115.
- 63 Cleveland 59.186, in Smith 1981, fig.299, p.309; Brooklyn Acc.No. 78.39 (formerly L.69.38.1), in Aldred 1973, No.25, p.111; see also Smith & Redford 1976, p.81, pl.13, 16.2, 19, 21-22.
- 64 Cairo Temp.Reg.10.11.26.4, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.166 and Aldred 1973, fig.34, p.57.
- 65 Boundary stela S. in Davies 1908 V, pl.XXVI, XXXIX and Aldred 1973, fig.18, p.35.
- 66 UC.038, in Pendlebury 1951, p.244, pl.CV.10; Samson 1972, p.41-42, pl.18 (referred to as 'Theban wig') and Aldred 1973, No.29, p.115; also Brooklyn Acc.No.73.67.2.
- 67 Smith & Redford 1976, pl.8, 10, 32.
- 68 Cairo JE.61481, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.178; Eaton-Krauss & Graefe 1985, pl.IX, XI, XVI and Green 1988, p.124.
- 69 Martin 1991, fig.115, p.182 and fig.113, p.180, pl.XI; notice standard lengths of styles worn by goddesses.
- 70 Martin 1991, fig.104, p.161.
- 71 Haynes 1978, pl.III.3 (after Quibell).
- 72 Leiden Inv.AMT.1-35, AP.52, in Schneider & Raven 1981, No.83, p.94-95.
- 73 Priestess, Hanover 1935.200.182, in Martin 1987, No.88, p.36, pl.34, 53, dated here to XIX dyn, but style would suggest end of XVIII dyn; also bearer, Cairo Temp.Reg.17:6:34:4, in Strouhal 1992, frontispiece.
- 74 Haynes 1978, p.19.
- 75 Davies 1913, pl.XIX and Haynes 1978, p.19, pl.L3.
- 76 Cairo JE.46993, early XVIII dyn, Sedment, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.128, such examples contradicting

- rather simplified statement of Haynes 1978 that "the coiffures of the wives and mothers are more traditional than those of lesser relations, as they wear only the plain tripartite", p.19.
- 77 eg. Berlin Inv.No.15003, in Priese ed. 1991, No.49, p.82.
- 78 MMA.12.182.3, Tuth.III-Am.II, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.93, p.169.
- 79 Louvre N.3068.
- 80 Haynes 1978, p.19.
- 81 Desroches-Noblecourt et al. 1985, p.50, 54, 72, 76 and Nims 1965, p.31.
- 82 Desroches-Noblecourt et al. 1985, p.18; Keimer 1953, p.428-431 likens style to modern Nubian hairstyles.
- 83 Manniche 1988, p.233, note 14, see also p.137-138.
- 84 For useful reconstruction sketch, see Corson 1980, p.38-39, pl.4.M.
- 85 Robins 1993, p.185.
- 86 Davies 1925, pl.IV-VIII; Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.128 and Wreszinski 1923 I, 361.
- 87 For musicians and servant, Aldred 1961, No.30, p.50 and Westendorf 1968, p.117.
- 88 For daughters, Davies 1943 II, pl.LXIII and Robins 1993, fig.57, p.143; for servants, Davies 1943 II, pl.LXIV-LXVI; Mekhitarian 1978, p.51; Manniche 1987, fig.29, p.41; Robins 1993, fig.79, p.179; Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.140; Smith 1981, fig.251, p.254 and Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.96.
- 89 For servants and musician, Davies 1930 I, pl.IX, X and Davies 1930 II, pl.X.A.
- 90 For daughters Mutnofret and Thay, see Davies & Davies 1923, pl.XIV and Wreszinski 1923 I, 238.
- 91 For musicians, see Davies 1917, p.58, pl.I, XV, XVI; Aldred 1987, fig.100, p.146; Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.147; Mekhitarian 1978, p.33 and Westendorf 1968, p.116.
- 92 Mekhitarian 1978, p.64.
- 93 For daughters and musician see Nims 1965, p.92; musicians, in Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.111; servants, see Davies & Gardiner 1936 I, pl.XXXVI; Mekhitarian 1978, p.67, 69; Nims 1965, p.97; Westendorf 1968, p.118 and Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.111.
- 94 For daughters, see Mekhitarian 1978, p.92 and Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.120.
- 95 For daughter Mutnofret, Boston MFA.TL.26.1991, in Davies 1925, p.53, pl.V- VIII; Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.128 and Wreszinski 1923 I, 361.
- 96 Lute player, BM.EA.37981, in Manniche 1988, pl.45.64 and Stead 1986, fig.81, p.60; two women clapping, BM.EA.37984, in James 1985, fig.27, p.29 and Manniche 1988, pl.45.64; servants, Avignon Musée Calvet A.51, in Manniche 1988, pl.46.65 and fragment formerly in de Benzion Collection, Manniche 1988, pl.46.66.
- 97 Reign of Hatshepsut, Karnak, in Nims 1965, p.55.
- 98 Tylor & Griffith 1894, pl.III.
- 99 Davies 1943 II, pl.LXIV-LXVI; Manniche 1987, fig.29, p.41; Robins 1993, fig.79, p.179 and Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.140.
- 100 Davies 1917, pl.XV-XVI; Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.147 and Nims 1965, p.97.
- 101 Davies 1930 I, p.40, pl.XXXIX.
- 102 Davies 1930 I, p.22, pl.LXVIII.A.
- 103 Davies 1930 I, p.21, pl.IX-X and Davies 1930 II, pl.X.A.

- 104 Davies 1930 I, p.19-22, pl.IX; Davies 1930 II, pl.IX.A and Aldred 1972, fig.29.
- 105 Manniche 1986, fig.12, p.77.
- 106 Louvre B.57 in Amiet et al. 1981, fig.143, p.284.
- 107 Wreszinski 1923 I, 202.
- 108 eg. Louvre N.1603, in Amiet et al. 1981, fig.125, p.280.
- 109 eg. Bologna Reg.No.1859, in Fechheimer 1921, pl.65; Vandier 1958 III, pl.CXLI.6-7 and Aldred 1961, No.166-167, p.91; also Berlin Inv.No.16400, Abusir, in Priese ed. 1991, No.145, p.239; Fechheimer 1914, pl.76 and Rubensohn & Knatz 1903, p.17.
- 110 eg. BME.A.32.733 in Hall 1929, pl.XXXIX.1-3, "the gesture of putting back the hair is very unusual in a statuette", p.236 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.124, p.280.
- 111 Wreszinski 1923 I, 179.
- 112 Kozloff & Bryan 1992, fig.IX.24, p.276; Strouhal 1992, fig.52, p.47; Price 1970, p.103 and Nims 1965, p.78.
- 113 Luxor J.151, in Luxor 1978, No.58, p.32; second example in Robins 1993, fig.37, p.103 and Nims 1965, p.55.
- 114 Luxor, in Smith 1981, fig.296, p.306.
- 115 eg. Brooklyn Acc.No.13.1024, in Breasted 1948, p.89, pl.84-85.b (referred to here as MK), and Berlin Inv.No.14202, in Breasted 1948, p.90, pl.85.a.
- 116 Vandier 1958 III, p.488-492 and Green 1988, p.121-2.
- 117 Aldred 1980, p.164.
- 118 MMA.19.2.3, Am.II-Tuth.IV, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.87, p.159.
- 119 For reconstruction sketch, see Corson 1980, p.38-39, pl.4.N.
- 120 Louvre E.27161, in Zeigler 1990, p.59 (front view only, printed in reverse).
- 121 For reconstruction sketch see Corson 1980, p.38-39, pl.4.Q.
- 122 Louvre A.62.
- 123 UC.15513, Am.II-Tuth.IV date, in Page 1976, No.75, p.70.
- 124 Green 1988, "There had always been a certain overlap between the appearance of the queen and that of high-ranking court ladies, but in this era it is more marked...They are represented in the same wigs and headdresses...as these women", p.562-563; also p.272.
- 125 Kozloff & Bryan 1992, fig.II.1, p.33, pl.1; Abbate 1972, p.76 and Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.162-163.
- 126 Cairo JE.33906, in Kozloff & Bryan 1992, fig.II.5, p.42; Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1989, fig.219, p.140; Vandier 1958 III, pl.CVIII.1; Price 1970, p.104; Robins 1993, fig.6, p.37 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.88, p.274.
- 127 Cairo CG.609, unprovenanced, in Borchardt 1925 II, p.158, pl.110.
- 128 English Private Collection, in Kozloff & Bryan 1992, No.13, "the queen's wig type...appears in private relief examples...we might add that Queen Tiy here shows, at her hairline in front, just the slightest indication of her own hair beneath the heavy wig", p.170-171.
- 129 Boston MFA.21.2802, Sudan, in Kozloff & Bryan 1992, No.15, p.175-177 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.CXXXVII (despite damage style clearly full).
- 130 Unglazed figure, Macclesfield No.1899.77, unprovenanced, in David 1980, No.10, p.59; glazed figure, Louvre E.25493/N.2312, in Kozloff & Bryan 1992, No.22, p.202-203..

- 131 Cairo CG.780, in Borchardt 1930 III, p.89, pl.141; Kozloff & Bryan 1992, fig.22.a, p.203 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.CXXXVI.1.
- 132 Cairo JE.33906, in Kozloff & Bryan 1992, fig.II.5, p.42 with detail, fig.24.a-b, p.207; Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1989, fig.219, p.140; Vandier 1958 III, pl.CVIII.1; Price 1970, p.104 and Robins 1993, fig.6, p.37.
- 133 UC.16486, in Kozloff & Bryan 1992, fig.22.b, p.203 and Page 1976, No.96, p.87; see also UC.16487, in Page 1976, No.161, p.118, dated here to XIX dyn. but very similar to last example.
- 134 Cairo JE.6056/CG.804, Sakkara, in Borchardt 1930 III, p.101-102, pl.148; Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.155; Hildesheim 1984, No.71, p.152 and Murray 1963, pl.L.4.
- 135 Berlin Inv.No.8041, Thebes, in Priese ed. 1991, No.92, p.153; Fechheimer 1914, pl.73 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.CXLI.5 and Brussels MRAH.E.5849, in Brussels 1934, pl.54.
- 136 Louvre E.10655, boxwood, Thebes (possibly KV.46), identified as Tuya by Kozloff & Bryan 1992, No.49, p.257; see also Vandier 1958 III, pl.CXLI.1; Aldred 1980, fig.128, p.164; Michalowski 1969, fig.496; Amiet et al. 1981, fig.128, p.281 and Fechheimer 1914, pl.70-72 (for view of front, side and rear).
- 137 eg. Cairo CG.803, Sakkara, in Borchardt 1930 III, p.101, pl.148; Haynes 1978, pl.I.7 and Garetto 1955, p.73, note 1; BM.EA.32772 in Hall 1929, p.238, pl.XLI.3-4 (although attributed here to XIX dyn); BM.EA.2375, in Hall 1929, pl.XXXIX.4-5; Brooklyn Acc.No.54.29, in Brooklyn 1976, No.9.B, p.7-8; Cairo Private Collection, in Fechheimer 1921, pl.61; Vandier 1958 III, pl.CLXXII.1 and Wreszinski 1923 I, 2.c; see also detached examples of full style with back plaits, Hanover Kestner Museum Inv.No.2872/No.1935.200.143, unprovenanced (thanks to E.van Rooij for this information).
- 138 Louvre N.871, pinewood, in Zeigler 1990, p.57; Vandier 1958 III, pl.CXL.6; Fechheimer 1921, pl.64 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.116, p.279.
- 139 Cairo CG.814, Gurob grave 22, in Borchardt 1930 III, p.108-109, pl.150 and Petrie 1890, p.38-39.
- 140 Brooklyn Acc.No.54.187, in Brooklyn 1956, No.9.A, p.7-8; Kozloff & Bryan 1992, fig.50.a, p.259 and Posener 1962, p.115.
- 141 Brooklyn 1956, p.8 and Kozloff & Bryan 1992, p.258; other two figures of Maia and Nebetya (with sidelock) in private collections.
- 142 Brooklyn Acc.No.47.120.3, in Kozloff & Bryan 1992, No.50, p.258-260, although Bryan mistaken in statement that "this pattern of wig decoration is unlike that on the other Ghurab figures whose wigs are either in finely carved tresses or in sculpted echelons", p.258; see also Brooklyn 1952, No.33; Vandier 1958 III, pl.CLXXIII.4; Fazzini 1975, Cat.60, p.79; Brussels 1976, No.38, p.78 and Smith 1981, fig.271, p.275.
- 143 MMA.41.2.10, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.161, p.266-267; also Lansing 1943, p.266-270 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.CLXXII.3.
- 144 Brooklyn Acc.No.40.523, in Kozloff & Bryan 1992, No.47, p.255-256; also Brooklyn 1952, No.30; Fazzini et al. 1989, No.41 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.CXLIII.3, CLXVIII.5.
- 145 Cairo JE.87911, Zagazig, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.152 and Kozloff & Bryan 1992, fig.49.a, p.258.
- 146 el-Saghir 1990, p.74 and Chicago House MMA.Photographic Archive T.1653.
- 147 Leiden Inv.AP.11, Memphis(?), in Bosse-Griffiths 1955, pl.XIV and Kozloff & Bryan 1992, fig.37.a, p.242.
- 148 Berlin Inv.No.1/63, in Fay 1982, p.78-79, also Smith 1981, fig.291, p.297.
- 149 BM.EA.36, in James & Davies 1983, fig.43, p.37; Stead 1986, fig.20, p.17; Aldred 1961, No.175, p.93 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.CXLVI.1.
- 150 Florence No.5626, in Agostini n.d. p.17-18; Wenig 1969, No.76.b; Fechheimer 1914, pl.64; Westendorf 1968,

- p.111; Vandier 1958 III, pl.CLXXII.6 and Michalowski 1969, fig.498; thanks to Dr.C.Guidotti for access during museum renovation work.
- 151 Although Haynes 1978 notes that "the very distinctive side tendrils appear in this period [reign of Ay]", p.21, they are noted in two dimensional representations of the full style during the reign of Amenhotep III, and in sculpted forms of the tripartite style in the early XVIIIth dynasty. For reconstruction of full style with braids see Corson 1980, p.38-39, pl.4.O.
- 152 Ox.Ash.1964.296, unprovenanced, in Moorey 1983, fig.15, p.40.
- 153 For plain full style with side braids see Martin 1991, fig.57, p.86 and Martin 1989, p.108, pl.151-152; for ornate crimped version with side braids, see Martin 1989, p.109, pl.153.
- 154 Cairo CG.779.B/JE.31629, in Terrace and Fischer 1970, No.31, p.137-140; also Borchardt 1930 III, p.87-89, pl.143; Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.196; Vandier 1958 III, pl.CXLV.5; Fechheimer 1914, pl.65; Smith 1981, fig.265, p.1269; Michalowski 1969, fig.501 and Strouhal 1992, fig.82, p.81.
- 155 MMA.66.99.38 (ex-Gallatin Collection), in Cooney 1953, No.45, p.10, pl.XXXVI; although he states that "on the rear of the wig is a cluster of three plain braids in raised relief suggesting lotus blossoms with long stems ending at the base of the wig", this feature actually three back plaits so common in contemporary sculpture.
- 156 MMA.30.8.68, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.132, p.223.
- 157 Haynes 1978, p.19.
- 158 Luxor Museum, in Robins 1993, fig.3, p.26.
- 159 Cairo JE.38574-5, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.138 and Winlock 1929, fig.35, p.33 for princesses; for similar scene in which mother wears full style and daughter tripartite style, see BM.EA.1297, XVIII dyn, in Robins 1993, fig.51, p.133.
- 160 MMA.36.3.239, in Lansing 1937, fig.51, p.39.
- 161 Desroches Noblecourt et al.1984, p.52-53, 57-58, 60, 62, 66-67; Nims 1965, p.104 and Haynes 1978, p.19, note 8; her additional comment that "with the advent of the enveloping hairstyle comes the large hoop earrings, which are worn only with this type of coiffure" is erroneous, to give only a few examples, Sennefer's wife Meryt wears these earrings with the partial and braided tripartite styles, eg. Desroches Noblecourt et al.1984, p.18, 50, 56, 76, and Amarna court ladies wear them with the Nubian style, eg. MMA.1985.328.14, Amarna, in Aldred 1973, No.139, p.203 and Cooney 1965, No.23, p.43.
- 162 Davies 1948, p.7, pl.IV; Haynes 1978, p.19, note 8, pl.1.4 and Mekhitarian 1978, p.64.
- 163 Mekhitarian 1978, p.35.
- 164 Haynes 1978, p.20.
- 165 Davies & Davies 1923, p.9, pl.XIV.
- 166 Davies & Davies 1923, p.23, pl.XXI.
- 167 Aldred 1971, p.205, pl.60; Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.120; Campbell 1910, opp.p.86; Kozloff & Bryan 1992, fig.IX.13, p.269 and Chicago House MMA. Photographic Archive T.771.
- 168 eg. another daughter of Menna, in Mekhitarian 1978, p.93 and Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.121; servants of Nebamun, eg. BM.EA.37986, in Manniche 1988, pl.45, No.64; Stead 1986, fig.82, p.61 and Kozloff & Bryan 1992, fig.IX.20.a, p.273; one of dancers of Nakht (TT.52) in Davies 1917, p.58, pl.I, XV, XVI; Aldred 1987, fig.100, p.146; Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.147; Mekhitarian 1978, p.33 and Westendorf 1968, p.116 and dancers of Nebamun, BM.EA.37984, in James 1985, fig.27, p.29.
- 169 See also one of Senynufe's dancers, Silsilah shrine 11, in Caminos & James 1963, pl.23.

- 170 Despite Haynes' erroneous statement that "It is not until Dynasty XIX in the reign of Ramses II that the side section of hair which is not usually visible is first portrayed", 1978, p.23, note 2.
- 171 Michalowski 1969, pl.95; Kozloff & Bryan 1992, fig.IX.12, p.269 and Chicago House MMA. Photographic Archive T.778; compare with standard full style, Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.121 and Mekhitarian 1978, p.94.
- 172 BM.EA.37986, in Manniche 1988, pl.45, No.64; Kozloff & Bryan 1992, fig.IX.20.a, p.273 and James 1985, fig.26, p.28.
- 173 BM.EA.37984, in James 1985, fig.27, p.29 and Manniche 1988, pl.45, No.64.
- 174 Davies 1917, pl.XII; Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.113 & 115 and Kozloff & Bryan 1992, fig.IX.18, p.271.
- 175 Davies 1917, pl.XII and Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.115.
- 176 Davies 1917, pl.XXII, XXV; Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.116 and Haynes 1978, p.20, pl.1.6.
- 177 Luxor J.134, Qurna, in Luxor 1978, No.101, p.46, 85; Davies & Davies 1933, pl.XLI; Kozloff & Bryan 1992, p.297, pl.28 and Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.127.
- 178 Davies 1905 III, pl.IX.
- 179 Munich ÄS.5873, in Kozloff & Bryan 1992, No.28, p.212-213.
- 180 MMA.fac.30.4.192, in Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.98.
- 181 KMV.ÄS.5814 & 5815, Sakkara, in Kozloff & Bryan 1992, No.58-59, p.292-294.
- 182 Cairo CG.34055, in Lecau 1909 I, p.98, pl.XXXIII.
- 183 Leiden Inv.AP.6, Sakkara, in Schneider & Raven 1981, No.84, p.96-97.
- 184 Munich ÄS.11, Memphis, in Schoske et al. 1990, No.35, p.81-82; contrary to Haynes' comment that style of Meryre's wife from reign of Akhenaten "is the longest seen so far in this study. It is unusual to find this amount of difference in lengths of hair in a single reign", extremes in hair length are found during reign of Amenhotep III as well as his son and during later reign of Horemheb.
- 185 Brooklyn Acc.No.65.197, in Davies 1925, p.31, pl.VIII (although he believes side braids to be Thepu's own hair); Brussels 1976, No.40, p.79-80; Fazzini et al. 1989, No.43; Fazzini 1975, Cat.57, p.77 and Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.128.
- 186 Davies 1925, pl.VII and Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.128.
- 187 Turin Inv.Suppl.7886, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1989, fig.322, p.215 and Curto 1984, opp. p.188.
- 188 Hatshepsut, BM.EA.37977, in Manniche 1988, pl.51, No.73; James 1985, fig.25, p.27; Abbate 1972, p.88; Westendorf 1968, p.123 androuhal 1992, fig.113, p.108-109; banquet guests, BM.EA.37986, in Manniche 1988, pl.45, No.64; Kozloff & Bryan 1992, fig.IX.20.a, p.273 and James 1985, fig.26, p.28; musician, BM.EA.37981, in Manniche 1988, pl.45, No.64 and Stead 1986, fig.81, p.60.
- 189 Manniche 1988, p.137; see also Haynes 1978, p.20, note 13; eg. banquet guest, Avignon Musée Calvet A.51, in Manniche 1988, pl.46, No.65 and Kozloff & Bryan 1992, fig.IX.20.b, p.273; other guests, BM.EA.37986, in Manniche 1988, pl.45, No.64 and Kozloff & Bryan 1992, fig.IX.20.a, p.273; lute player, BM.EA.37981, in Manniche 1988, pl.45, No.64 and Stead 1986, fig.81, p.60.
- 190 eg. wife(?) of Menna (TT.69), in Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.120-121 and Kozloff & Bryan 1992, fig.IX.14, p.270; guest of Pairi (TT.139), in Kozloff & Bryan 1992, fig.IX.30, p.281; guest of Nefronpet (TT.43) in Mekhitarian 1978, p.35 and one of Nefronpet's guests (TT.249) reaches out to braid of guest in front, in Manniche 1988(ii), fig.59-61, p.54-55. These braids also found on swept-back styles and braided tripartites, eg. wife(?) of Nakht (TT.52), in Davies 1917, pl.XXII, XXIV; Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.116 and Haynes 1978, p.20, note 13, pl.1.5; banquet guests and musicians of Nakht, in Davies 1917, pl.XVII and Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.114.

- 191 BM.EA.37984, in James 1985, fig.27, p.29 and Manniche 1988, p.137, pl.45, No.64.
- 192 eg. figure from tomb of Nebamun (TT.90), in Davies & Davies 1923, p.27, pl.XXIII and Wreszinski 1923 I, 91.c, No.9; also painted shroud, Brussels MRAH.E.831, in Wreszinski 1923 I, 91.c, No.10.
- 193 Davies 1941, p.15-16, 18, pl.X, XII, XVI.
- 194 Davies 1941, p.17, pl.VIII; Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.168 and Nims 1965, p.74.
- 195 Davies 1941, pl.XI and Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.169, 171-172.
- 196 Davies 1941, p.15, 41.
- 197 Zivie 1990, fig.21, p.55.
- 198 Davies 1905 II, p.28, pl.XXIII and Haynes 1978, p.21, pl.II.3. (mislabelled wife of Panehesy).
- 199 Davies 1905 III, p.4, pl.XXI.
- 200 Davies 1908 VI, pl.I, XXXI, XXXIX (pl.XXX mistakenly given by Haynes 1978, note 19).
- 201 Davies 1903 I, pl.XXXVI.
- 202 Boston MFA.62.501, in Cooney 1965, No.11, p.20; Brooklyn Acc.No.64.199.1, in Aldred 1973, No.36, p.119 and Inv.No.M.4515, in Cotteville-Giraudet 1936, fig.25, p.19.
- 203 Davies 1903 I, p.14, pl.XIII; see also Turin Inv.Suppl.18060, musicians from Karnak talatat, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1989, fig.345, p.229 and ex-Schimmel Collection relief, in Cooney 1965, No.44, p.69.
- 204 Berlin Inv.No.93/66, in Schoske 1990, No.132, p.145 and Berlin 1967, No.761, p.69.
- 205 Davies 1933 I, p.13, note 21 (suggesting side braids represent natural hair), pl.III, XXXVII and Haynes 1978, pl.II.4.
- 206 Davies 1933 I, pl.XIV, II, pl.VI and Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.136.
- 207 Davies 1933 I, p.43, pl.XXXIX.
- 208 MMA.05.4.2, Deir el-Bahari, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.191, p.306 and Naville 1913 III, p.3, pl.VI.1, VIII.E.
- 209 Martin 1991, fig.106, p.165.
- 210 Louvre B.6, in Ziegler 1990, p.55.
- 211 Berlin Inv.No.7278, in Priese ed. 1991, No.83, p.138-139; Fechheimer 1914, pl.140; Martin 1987, No.42, p.20, pl.15 and Martin 1991, fig.122, p.202-203.
- 212 Leiden Inv.AMT.1-35.AP.52, in Schneider & Raven 1981, No.83, p.94-95.
- 213 Martin 1989, No.112.a, p.114-115, pl.125.
- 214 Cairo Temp.Reg.3:7:24:2, in Hildesheim 1984, No.83, p.174-175.
- 215 Cairo JE.11785, in Brussels 1960, Cat.44, No.35, p.27.
- 216 Cairo SR.11732, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.197; Corteggiani 1986, No.79, p.126-127 and Otto 1966, pl.6.
- 217 As worn by two wives and attendant, in Blackman 1953 VI, pl.XIII.
- 218 Except Fletcher 1992, fig.3, p.17.
- 219 Naville 1894, pl.II.
- 220 Davies 1933 I, p.26, 63, pl.XV, LII (for black braids) and Haynes 1978, pl.III.1, although neither refer to layered nature of style.

- 221 Leiden F.1955/2.6, accompanying sketch on accession card ignoring its layered nature.
- 222 Although Tyldesley 1994 erroneously refers to 'Hathor style' as "a firm favourite of most Eighteenth dynasty queens", p.157.
- 223 Cairo CG.28501, in Corteggiani 1986, No.45, p.83-85; Sourouzian 1981, p.450, note 27 and Davies 1992, p.61, note 29.
- 224 Cairo JE.53141/CG.6150, in Winlock 1929, fig.29, p.26; Winlock 1932, fig.5, p.17-18, 70-71, pl.XVIII-XIX; Sourouzian 1981, p.450, note 30 and Davies 1992, p.61, note 30.
- 225 BM.EA.93, identified from base in situ at Karnak by Tefnin 1983, p.96-107; also James & Davies 1983, fig.41, p.134-35 and Davies 1992, p.61, note 32.
- 226 Cairo JE.45076/SR.1184.Q, Kom Ombo, in Barsanti 1915, p.174, pl.V; Vandier 1958 III, pl.CIV.7 and Englebach 1931, p.128.
- 227 Rome Musée Barracco, in Vandersleyen 1976, p.244, pl.173.b; Sourouzian 1981, p.451, note 34, and Vandier 1958 III, pl.XCVIII.7.
- 228 Cairo JE.56599/SR.11535, el-Minya, in Englebach 1931, No.2, p.128, pl.II (where he compares it to JE.45076 above) and Vandier 1958 III, p.315, pl.CII.3.
- 229 Hermitage Inv.No.18515, unprovenanced, in Piotrovsky ed. 1974, No.53-54.
- 230 Turin Inv.Cat.2710, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1989, fig.227, p.145, 153-154.
- 231 Davies 1943, pl.XXXVII.
- 232 Davies 1908 VI, pl.XVII, XIX.
- 233 Davies 1908 VI, p.20-21, pl.XXVIII, XXXVI and Gauthier-Laurent 1938, J, fig.8, p.683.
- 234 Davies 1908 VI, p.20.
- 235 As suggested by Gauthier-Laurent 1938, p.683, note 2.
- 236 BM.EA.57399, in Aldred 1973, fig.3, p.10-11; Smith 1981, fig.316, p.332; Kozloff & Bryan 1992, No.29, p.213-214; Eaton-Krauss 1981, p.253 and Green 1988, p.110.
- 237 Davies 1941, p.33, pl.XXXIII, LIII; Smith 1981, fig.261, p.267; Aldred 1973, fig.17, p.35 and Green 1988, p.109-110.
- 238 ie. (1) crown of disc, horns and feathers, (2) curled tripartite style, (3) tall feather crown without disc, (4) Nubian style, (5) form of afnet set with curls, in Smith & Redford 1976, p.81; also Werner 1979, p.325, note 8 and Green 1988, p.110, note 12.
- 239 Smith & Redford 1976, p.81, repeated by Werner 1979, p.325 and Eaton-Krauss 1981, p.252.
- 240 Smith & Redford 1976, p.81; also Green 1988, p.110, note 19; Werner 1979, p.331 and Eaton-Krauss 1981, p.252.
- 241 Noted by Werner 1979, p.331 and Green 1988, p.112, note 12; see Smith & Redford 1976, pl.20:1, 23:1, also 15:1, 16:1, 18:1, 18:4, 20:2, 23:9, 29, 31; for other Karnak reliefs of Nefertiti in Nubian style, see Luxor J.207, in Luxor 1978, No.159, p.66; Luxor J.158, in Luxor 1978, No.162, p.67; Luxor J.208, in Luxor 1978, No.165, p.68 and Werner 1979, p.328, pl.XXIX (mis-captioned 'J.209'); Luxor J.209, in Luxor 1978, No.168, p.68; Brooklyn Acc.No.64.199.2, in Werner 1979, p.329, pl.XXX; Cleveland 76.4, in Werner 1979, p.329, pl.XXXI; Cleveland 59.188, in Aldred 1973, No.23, p.109, and Kofler-Truniger Collection K.419.G, in Müller 1964, No.A.III, p.76-77.

- 242 eg. Brooklyn Acc.No.41.82, in Aldred 1973, No.18, p.104; Brooklyn Acc.No.35.1999, in Aldred 1973, No.48, p.126 and Eaton-Krauss 1981, p.255; Boston MFA.37.3, in Aldred 1973, No.24, p.110; private collection, in Cooney 1965, No.15, and Eaton-Krauss 1981, p.255-256; Davies 1905 III, pl.IV, VI and Davies 1908 VI, pl.III.
- 243 eg. MMA.1985.328.8, in Cooney 1965, No.17, p.29-30; private collection, 'A Princess', in Cooney 1965, No.18.b, p.34 and Harris 1974(ii), p.28, note 5, where Kiya mistakenly associated with style after modification, see Eaton-Krauss 1981, p.254, note 2 and Green 1988, p.110-111, 115; for similar recutting of short round style, see Boston MFA.1971.294, in Aldred 1973, No.124, p.193.
- 244 Eaton-Krauss 1981, p.253, note 7, repeated in Green 1988, p.115-116.
- 245 Eaton-Krauss 1981, p.254, note 2; it is therefore possible to address statement of Aldred 1973 that "such changes in the wigs...of royal women is a peculiarity of Amarna art, the reason for which can be only conjectural", p.193.
- 246 ie. except for examples with attached sidelock, discussed below.
- 247 Aldred 1957, p.145.
- 248 Eaton-Krauss 1981, p.253; see also Green 1988, p.111.
- 249 Cairo JE.62028, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.179; Aldred 1957, p.147; Aldred 1961, No.160, p.89; Westendorf 1968, p.154; Abbate 1972, p.109; Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.190-191 and Eaton-Krauss 1981, p.254, note 1.
- 250 Cairo JE.61481, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.178; Edwards 1976, Cat.13, p.116-119, pl.8-9 and Eaton-Krauss & Graefe 1985, pl.VIII, X-XII, XIV, XVII- XVIII.
- 251 Bryan in Kozloff & Bryan 1992, p.358.
- 252 Berlin Inv.No.17337, Kom Medinet Ghurab(?), in Kozloff & Bryan 1992, p.358, although wrongly stating style's earliest royal version to be that of canopic heads from KV.55 (discussed below).
- 253 Edinburgh RMS.No.A.1921.1482, Gurob, in Brunton & Englebach 1927, p.15, pl.XXVIII.
- 254 Davies 1941, pl.XXXII.
- 255 Davies 1905 III, pl.IX.
- 256 Davies 1908 VI, pl.XXVI.
- 257 eg. royal attendants in relief, ex-Schimmel Collection, in Cooney 1965, No.19, p.36-37; figure with formal bouquet, Amarna, Brooklyn Acc.No.L.72.17, in Aldred 1973, No.133, p.199; 'girl amid flowers', Amarna, Kofler Truniger Collection, in Aldred 1973, No.135, p.200, and unidentified head, Amarna, Ox.Ash.1893.1-41(124), in Petrie 1894, p.40, pl.I.11.
- 258 MMA.1985.328.14, Amarna, in Aldred 1973, No.139, p.203 and Cooney 1965, No.23, p.43.
- 259 Luxor J.210, Karnak, in Luxor 1978, No.174, p.70; Romano 1979, No.174, fig.95, p.122 and Smith 1981, fig.296, p.306.
- 260 Kozloff & Bryan 1992, p.335.
- 261 Cairo JE.28737, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.157 and Hildesheim 1984, No.50, p.112.
- 262 Berlin Inv.No.12463, in Fechheimer 1921, pl.60.
- 263 MMA.31.114.1, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.177, p.289; Aldred 1957, p.141; Aldred 1973, No.105, p.177 and Eaton-Krauss 1981, p.257.
- 264 Aldred 1957, p.141.
- 265 Eaton-Krauss 1981, p.257.

- 266 UC.16662, Amarna(?), in Page 1976, No.89.
- 267 Cairo JE.44866, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.168; Hildesheim 1984, No.36, p.84-85; Aldred 1973, No.92, p.165; Aldred 1961, No.118, p.77; Vandier 1958 III, pl.CXIV.6; Strouhal 1992, p.20-21 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.98, p.276.
- 268 Aldred 1973, p.165; also Strouhal 1992, p.21 and Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.168.
- 269 Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.168; see Eaton-Krauss 1981, p.257-258, and Hildesheim 1984, "Echnaton und einer Königin", p.84; for relief example of a queen in this position, see fragmentary scene of Nefertiti seated on king's lap, Louvre E.11624, in Aldred 1973, No.56, p.134.
- 270 Cairo JE.39627, in Englebach 1931, pl.I; Romer 1981, p.217; Milton 1980, p.54; Eaton-Krauss 1981, p.255, note 1, p.256, note 4 and Reeves 1988, p.92.
- 271 Cairo JE.39637 and 2 others, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.171; Aldred 1961, No.136, p.82; Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.194 and Nims 1965, p.83; fourth head, MMA.30.8.54, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.184, p.299; Aldred 1957, p.142-144; Kozloff & Bryan 1992, fig.X.6, p.309 and Werner 1979, pl.LXXVIII; see also Davis 1910, pl.VII-XIX; Harris 1974(ii), p.30 and Eaton-Krauss 1981, p.256-257, referring to work of Y.Y.Perepelkin.
- 272 Cairo JE.56264, in Winlock 1932(iii), fig.6, p.5, 10.
- 273 Leiden Inv.AO.11.c, Tuth.III, in Schneider & Raven 1981, No.71, p.83.
- 274 Leiden Inv.AH.142.a, in Schneider & Raven 1981, No.96, p.104; alternatively back of hair could be simply tied up in pig-tail for convenience's sake, as in OK relief of winnowers in tomb of Kahif, in Vogelsang-Eastwood 1993, fig.10:6, p.175 (described here as 'tassels').
- 275 Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.125 and Abbate 1972, fig.39, p.73.
- 276 Chevrier 1934, pl.IV.
- 277 MMA.26.7.1409, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.157, p.261.
- 278 Brooklyn Acc.No.60.197.8, in Aldred 1973, No.92, p.164-165; Cooney 1965, No.12, p.20-22; Fazzini et al. 1989, No.50; Fazzini 1975, Cat.69, p.85; Smith 1981, fig.319, p.336 and Brussels 1976, No.48, p.89.
- 279 Tylor & Griffith 1894, pl.VII.
- 280 Davies 1943 II, pl.LXIV.
- 281 Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.150 and Mekhitarian 1978, p.67.
- 282 Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.99.
- 283 Wreszinski 1923 I, 28.a and Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.118.
- 284 Turin Inv.Suppl.18060, Karnak, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1989, fig.345, p.229.
- 285 Berlin Inv.No.21834, Ghurab, in Fay 1982, p.50-51; Fechheimer 1914, pl.82; Kozloff & Bryan 1992, No.26, p.209-210; Basle 1953, No.103; Vandier 1958 III, pl.CVIL5, 7; Westendorf 1968, p.137; Aldred 1973, No.19, p.105; Aldred 1961, No.86, p.67; Smith 1981, fig.272, p.276 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.91, p.274.
- 286 Westendorf 1968, the "coif of precious metal...subsequently (perhaps when she became a widow) covered with stucco linen and bead-like locks of hair" p.137.
- 287 Bryan in Kozloff & Bryan 1992, No.26, p.209-210.
- 288 Cairo CG.51113, KV.46, in Quibell 1908, p.53-54, pl.XXXVIII-XLIII and Hildesheim 1984, No.37, p.86-87.
- 289 Cam.Fitz.E.81-1955, unprovenanced; although Bourriau states "I have considerable doubts about the authenticity of E.81-1955", pers.comm. 20.2.90, features would appear authentic, and OK style treatment of hair-line in this

- period referred to in Kozloff & Bryan 1992, p.202.
- 290 Louvre E.7657.
- 291 eg. Cairo CG.774, in Borchardt 1930 III, p.85 and Hildesheim 1984, No.64, p.138.
- 292 eg. MMA.15.2.8 in Hayes 1959 II, fig.117, p.203.
- 293 eg. MMA.25.7.42/26.2.30, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.110, p.195.
- 294 Green 1988, p.117, refers to such examples as 'composite hairstyles', but this term rather vague.
- 295 As stated above, princesses wear sidelocks (including the modified Nubian lock) on shaven head before adopting short styles with attached sidelocks upon reaching adolescence; Green 1988 notes that "it may...be more specific to adolescent princesses...The absence of this hairstyle in the Karnak talatat, except on ladies-in-waiting, could be proof that this coiffure is restricted to those who have attained a certain age", p.118.
- 296 Green 1988, p.118.
- 297 Dundee City Museum, in Kitchen 1963, p.38-40, pl.VII.
- 298 Cairo CG.51113, in Quibell 1908, p.53-54, pl.XXXVIII-XLIII and Hildesheim 1984, No.37, p.86-87.
- 299 Berlin Inv.No.18526, in Kozloff & Bryan 1992, No.57, p.290-291.
- 300 Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.154-155; Michalowski 1969, fig.436; Aldred 1980, fig.133, p.169 and Smith 1981, fig.266, p.270.
- 301 MMA.1985.328.5, in Cooney 1965, No.10, p.19 and Aldred 1973, No.129, p.196.
- 302 Brooklyn Acc.No.35.2000, in Aldred 1973, No.34 (left figure only), "the coiffure of the figure on the left...indicates that the princess is wearing a curled wig with the addition of a sidelock", p.118 (although style actually plain).
- 303 Davies 1905 II, pl.XXXIII; despite damage, pointed front and some striated detail of Nubian style beneath lock clearly visible.
- 304 MMA.1985.328.6, in Cooney 1965, No.16, p.28-29 and Aldred 1973, No.130, p.197 (where figure referred to as wet-nurse on account of frontal posture of body to depict both breasts).
- 305 Cairo JE.61477, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.188; Edwards 1976, pl.33; Mekhitarian 1978, p.119; Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.193; Aldred 1961, No.154, p.87; Smith 1981, fig.336, p.347 and Green 1988, p.118.
- 306 Cairo JE.61481, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.178; Eaton-Krauss & Graefe 1985, pl.XI-XII, XV, XVII; Edwards 1976, pl.9; Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.188; Westendorf 1968, p.155 and Green 1988, p.118-119.
- 307 Davies 1941, pl.XXXII.
- 308 eg. Munich ÄS.4863, in Aldred 1973, No.44, p.124; Edinburgh RMS.No.1960.906, in Aldred 1973, No.43, p.123; also Smith & Redford 1976, pl.41, 47 and Green 1988, p.118.
- 309 Berlin Inv.No.14409, in Wenig 1969, No.52.a.
- 310 Switzerland Ortiz Collection, in Kozloff & Bryan 1992, No.24, p.206-208.
- 311 Pennsylvania University Museum E.14349, in Aldred 1973, No.106, p.178.
- 312 Louvre E.14715, in Ziegler 1990, p.50; Aldred 1961, No.122, p.78; Aldred 1973, fig.50, p.118; Vandier 1958 III, pl. CXIII.3, 5 and Westendorf 1968, p.112.
- 313 Cairo Ex.No.578, in Reeves 1990(ii), p.199.
- 314 Kozloff & Bryan 1992, p.260.

- 315 English Private Collection, Kom Medinet Ghurab, in Kozloff & Bryan 1992, No.51, p.260 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.CLXXIII.3.
- 316 Cairo JE.35057, Kom Medinet Ghurab, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.154.
- 317 MMA.26.2.47, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.162, p.268 and Kozloff & Bryan 1992, fig.XI.4, p.332.
- 318 Cairo Temp.Reg.25:12:24:12, in Hildesheim 1984, No.66, p.140-141.
- 319 Cairo CG.773, in Borchardt 1930 III, p.85, pl.143.
- 320 Louvre E.8025 bis, in Kozloff & Bryan 1992, fig.IX.13, p.341 and Strouhal 1992, fig.91, p.88.
- 321 BM.EA.32767, in Hall 1929, p.236, pl.XXXVIII.
- 322 Robins 1993, fig.41, p.112.
- 323 Davies 1913, p.11, pl.II.
- 324 Davies & Gardiner 1915, p.52, pl.X (although no reference to shaven head).
- 325 Desroches-Noblecourt et al. 1985, p.36.
- 326 Davies 1943 II, pl.LXXIX-LXXX.
- 327 Robins 1993, fig.38, p.105, scenes of Kheruef, compared to scenes of Ti in Robins 1993, fig.40, p.109.
- 328 Berlin Inv.No.31287, Amarna, in Berlin 1967, No.757, p.69, also Kofler Truniger Collection K.419.E, in Müller 1964, No.A.107, p.74-75 and Aldred 1973, No.128, p.195.
- 329 Aldred 1973, p.195.
- 330 eg. Davies 1905 II, "Meketaten turns her head to her sister, and so shows us the side without the hanging lock" (which nevertheless hangs over her shoulder), p.39, pl.XXXVII-XXXVIII.
- 331 BM.EA.32741, in Hall 1929, p.236-237, pl.XL.2-3.
- 332 Zivie 1988, p.179-195 and Zivie 1990, fig.38-41, 86, p.83-85, 86.
- 333 Cairo JE.71969, area of Step Pyramid, in Lauer 1939, p.447-456, pl.66-71 and Zivie 1988, p.187, pl.II.
- 334 Berlin Inv.No.21300, in Fay 1982, p.92-93 and cover, and Johnson 1991, p.50-61 for discussion of crown's structure; however, Anthes' belief that superstructure was "perhaps a wig", 1986, p.6, more than a little unlikely
- 335 Cairo JE.37484, XIX dyn, reused MK figure from Tanis, in Hildesheim 1984, No.25, p.62-63.
- 336 Luxor J.191, XIX dyn, QV.80, in Luxor 1978, No.215, p.83 and Griggs ed. 1985, No.21, p.42.
- 337 Fouchet 1965, fig.148, 150; Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1989, fig.102, p.71 and Griggs ed. 1985, p.99.
- 338 Saleh 1987, p.11, 27.
- 339 Karnak colossus re-erected in front of 2nd pylon, in Strouhal 1992, fig.176, p.161 and Aldred 1987, p.157, pl.VI.
- 340 Cairo CG.600/JE.31413, XIX dyn, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.208; also Borchardt 1925 II, p.152, pl.108; Aldred 1980, fig.158, p.192; Griggs ed. 1985, No.32, p.53; Vandier 1958 III, pl.CXXXVI.2; Nims 1965, p.135; Amiet et al. 1981, fig.152, p.286 and Freed 1987, No.9, p.142-143.
- 341 Cairo CG.42154/JE.37337, XIX dyn, in Legrain 1909 II, p.20, pl.XVII; Hildesheim 1984, No.38, p.88-89 and Vandier 1958, pl.CXXXV.6.
- 342 Berlin Inv.No.10114, unprovenanced, in Priese ed. 1991, No.88, p.146-147.
- 343 Turin No.1369, Deir el-Medina, in Fechheimer 1921, pl.92; Bierbrier 1982, fig.66, p.92 and Michalowski 1969, fig.528; see also Turin Inv.Suppl.6128, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1988, fig.239, p.174; Turin Inv.Cat.1388/1389, in

- Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1989, fig.251-252, p.163 and Berlin Inv.No.6908, Thebes, in Priese ed.1991, No.87, p.144-145.
- 344 Cairo CG.801, XIX dyn, in Borchardt 1930 III, p.99-100, pl.148 and Hildesheim 1984, No.72, p.153.
- 345 Turin Inv.Suppl.6127, XIX dyn, Deir el-Medina, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1989, fig.241, p.156; also Bierbrier 1982, fig.1, p.2; Garolla 1988, p.39 and Westendorf 1968, p.173.
- 346 Munich Glyptothek No.37, XIX dyn, in Basle 1953, Cat.126, p.51.
- 347 TT.178, in Manniche 1987, fig.58, p.71 and Westendorf 1968, p.184.
- 348 Turin Inv.Cat.7352, XIX dyn, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1989, fig.243, p.157.
- 349 Munich GI.WAF.25, in Schoske et al. 1991, No.43, p.88 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.CLXXL2.
- 350 MMA.86.1.5.a/c, XIX dyn, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.264, p.414 and Bierbrier 1982, fig.42, p.61.
- 351 Cairo JE.27309, XIX dyn, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.218 and Griggs ed. No.56, p.80.
- 352 BM.EA.48001, XIX dyn, in James & Davies 1983, fig.55, p.49; Taylor 1989, fig.26-27, p.36-37 and Robins 1993, fig.60, p.147 (giving an XVIIIth dyn. date although style would suggest XIX dyn).
- 353 Louvre N.2631-2598/N.2571, in Dunand & Lichtenberg 1991, p.64.
- 354 BM.EA.2376, XIX dyn, in Hall 1929, p.238, pl.XLI.1-2.
- 355 MMA.30.8.99.a-d, XIX dyn, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.273, p.427.
- 356 Martin 1991, fig.74, p.111.
- 357 Altenmüller 1990, p.67.
- 358 MMA.48.149.6, XIX dyn, unprovenanced, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.228, "probably Tawosret", p.362.
- 359 MMA.15.2.1, rear of dyad.
- 360 Bankes stela No.7, XIX dyn, in Cerny 1958, No.7 and Robins 1993, fig.50, p.130.
- 361 Martin 1991, fig.83, p.125.
- 362 Murray 1963, pl.LXXVII.1.
- 363 Cleveland 63.100, XIX dyn, Asyut, in Cleveland n.d, p.13.
- 364 Bankes stela No.6, XIX dyn, in Cerny 1958, No.6 and Robins 1993, fig.52, p.133.
- 365 Siliotti & Leblanc 1993, p.53, 101, 108, 111, 122-123, 131-138, 144, 158; Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.144-145; Smith 1981, fig.360, p.368; Fouchet 1965, pl.112-113; Nims 1965, p.141; Mekhitarian 1978, p.140, 142-143 and Westendorf 1968, p.182.
- 366 XIX dyn, in Davies 1927, pl.XXV, XXVI; Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.146 and Scott 1984, cover illustration.
- 367 Davies 1927, pl.XXXVI.
- 368 XIX dyn, in Smith 1981, fig.372, p.379; Bierbrier 1982, fig.41, p.59; Strouhal 1992, fig.78, p.76, fig.97, p.94; Wreszinski 1923 I, 19.a and Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.138.
- 369 XIX dyn, in Davies 1948, p.40, pl.XXVII, XXIX; note gauze-like nature of braids and irregular ends of braids.
- 370 BM.EA.9901, XIX dyn, in Robins 1993, fig.62, p.153.
- 371 BM.EA.10470.7, XIX dyn, in James 1985, fig.63, p.57 and BM.EA.10470.2, in Faulkner 1985, p.13.
- 372 BM.EA.10472.7, XX dyn, in James 1985, fig.67, p.59.

- 373 XX dyn, in Robins 1993, fig.59, p.144 and Bierbrier 1982, fig.51, p.74.
- 374 BM.EA.1291, in James 1985, fig.35, p.35.
- 375 Vandersleyen 1975, p.324, pl.XXXVII.a.
- 376 XIX dyn, in Kitchen 1982, fig.52, p.166 and Otto 1968, pl.51.
- 377 Louvre E.13108, 'Ramesside', in Ziegler 1990, p.54; Louvre 1982, No.3, p.10-11 and Manniche 1987, fig.64, p.77.
- 378 XX dyn, in el-Saghir 1990, p.71.
- 379 Cairo CG.772/JE.31053, XIX dyn, Western Thebes, in Borchardt 1930 III, p.83-85, pl.142; Vandier 1958 III, pl.CXLV.1; Hildesheim 1984, No.63, p.136-137 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.123, p.280.
- 380 Cairo Ex.No.9873.
- 381 BM.EA.10470.3, XIX dyn, in Faulkner 1985, p.14.
- 382 BM.EA.10472/4, XX dyn, in Robins 1993, fig.61, p.150.
- 383 eg. Cairo JE.63805, Deir el-Medina, in Manniche 1987(ii), fig.7, p.17 and Hildesheim 1984, No.68, p.144-145; also example in private collection, Deir el-Medina, in Manniche 1987(ii), fig.59, p.76.
- 384 Turin Pap.55001/No.2031, in Manniche 1987(ii), p.108, 110; Robins 1993, fig.85, p.189 and Bierbrier 1982, fig.52, p.77.
- 385 eg. BM.EA.8506, in James 1985, fig.47, p.44; Brunner-Traut 1955, fig.4, p.14; Robins 1993, fig.22, p.71 and Bierbrier 1982, fig.50, p.74; Berlin Inv.No.21453, in Brunner-Traut 1955, fig.1, p.12 and Louvre E.25333, in Brunner-Traut 1955, fig.2, p.13 and Janssen & Janssen 1990, fig.4, p.5.
- 386 eg. Turin No.7052, XIX dyn, Deir el-Medina, in Curto 1984, opp. p.260; Manniche 1988(ii), fig.66, p.85; Smith 1981, fig.379, p.382 and Strouhal 1992, fig.46, p.43, and Cairo IFAO.3779, XIX dyn, Deir el-Medina, in Manniche 1988(ii), fig.8, p.18.
- 387 Cairo JE.4872, XIX-XX dyn, Sakkara, in Terrace & Fischer 1970, No.33, "the hair flies out on both sides of the head, as if in the very act of turning quickly in a step of the dance", p.145-148; also Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.214; Fechheimer 1914, pl.147 and Hildesheim 1984, No.46, p.104-105; compare with very similar Amarna scene, Berlin Inv.No.93/66, in Schoske et al. 1990, No.132, p.145, discussed above.
- 388 Vatican Museum No.22, in Kitchen 1982, fig.32, p.96; Vandier 1958 III, pl.CXXXV.4 and Michalowski 1969, fig.527.
- 389 Fouchet 1965, pl.129 and MacQuitty 1965, p.76.
- 390 Fouchet 1965, fig.2, 117, 122 and MacQuitty 1965, p.87, 99.
- 391 Luxor temple colossus No.59, in Siliotti & Leblanc 1993, p.110.
- 392 MMA.15.2.1, XIX dyn, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.220, p.353; Aldred 1980, fig.161, p.196 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.CXLIV.3.
- 393 Berlin Inv.No.2297, in Priese ed. 1991, No.90, p.150-151; Vandier 1958 III, pl.CXLVIII.3; Fechheimer 1914, pl.66-67; Amiet et al. 1981, fig.138, p.283 and Wenig 1969, p.76.
- 394 Ox.Ash.1958.359, XIX dyn, Deir el-Medina(?).
- 395 Cairo CG.628, XIX dyn, Sakkara, in Borchardt 1925 II, p.175, pl.115; Rachelwitz 1960, pl.50 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.122, p.280.
- 396 Berlin Inv.No.6910, XIX dyn, Deir el-Medina, in Fay 1982, p.102-103; Fechheimer 1921, pl.1921, No.59 and

- Boston 1982, No.196, p.173-174.
- 397 MMA.07.228.94, Luxor, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.238, p.381.
- 398 Cairo CG.1253/1254, in Borchardt 1934 IV, p.130, pl.173 (contemporary Isis and Horus figure with highly elaborate full style complete with side braids, BM.EA.36442, in Fechtmeier 1921, pl.93 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.CXLII, most likely forgery).
- 399 Cairo CG.48407, XIX dyn, in Hildesheim 1984, No.62, p.134-135.
- 400 BM.EA.6665, in Stead 1986, fig.74, p.55 and Dawson & Gray 1968, No.52, "the coffin may be as early as XVIIIth or XIXth dynasty", p.28-29, pl.XIV.b.
- 401 BM.EA.6665, indicating coffin originally designed for a man, full style painted over double style at a later date.
- 402 Despite Tyldesley's erroneous statement that adoption of full style in XVIII dyn. "led to the abandonment of the tripartite hairstyle", 1994, p.157.
- 403 Siliotti & Leblanc 1993, p.53, 59, 97, 142, 147, 334.
- 404 Davies 1927, pl.XXXVI.
- 405 Davies 1948, p.14, pl.XII, also Fletcher 1994(ii), fig.219, p.132.
- 406 Early XIX dyn, in Kitchen 1982, fig.52, p.166.
- 407 Davies 1927, pl.I, IV, IX, X (although again mistaking side braids for "fine tendrils of natural hair escaping from under [the wig] about the face", p.8, note 3; see also pl.V-VIII, XI-XII; Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.215; Aldred 1980, fig.156, p.191; Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.142-143 and Mekhitarian 1978, p.31, 136.
- 408 Louvre E.3026, XIX-XX dyn, in Gauthier-Laurent 1938, M, fig.14, p.695.
- 409 Berlin Inv.No.21461, in Schoske et al. 1990, No.113, p.130; also Brunner-Traut 1979, fig.1, p.4.
- 410 Turin Pap.55001/No.2031, in Manniche 1987(ii), p.110, 112, 114.
- 411 Bankes stela No.7, XIX dyn, in Cerny 1958, No.7 and Robins 1993, fig.50, p.130.
- 412 MM.No.2696, c.1300 BC, Gurob tomb lintel.
- 413 Turin No.50052, votive stela, in Robins 1993, fig.54, p.135.
- 414 Florence No.2522, XIX dyn. funerary stela, in Robins 1993, fig.72, p.167.
- 415 Hanover Kestner Museum 2933, XIX dyn, Sakkara, in Basle 1953, Cat.153, p.58 and Brunner-Traut et al. 1984, No.99, p.124.
- 416 Amsterdam APM.8851, XIX dyn, Sakkara stela.
- 417 Bankes stela No.12, c.Ramses IV, in Cerny 1958, No.12.
- 418 MM.No.1781, in Petrie 1896, p.16, pl.XIX.2, text in Kitchen 1983 VI, p.282.
- 419 Siliotti & Leblanc 1993, p.87.
- 420 Cairo, in Vandersleyen 1975, p.324, pl.307.
- 421 Davies 1948, pl.XXV, same style noted from figures of Hathor in both tomb of Tawosret (KV.14), in Hornung 1990, p.53, pl.23 and on Deir el-Medina stela No.34, in Bruyère 1952, fig.156, p.78.
- 422 Cairo CG.42009/JE.37216/SR.11579, in Legrain 1906 I, p.7, pl.IV (giving a MK date); Hildesheim 1984, No.26, p.64-65; Sourouzian 1981, fig.13, p.452 and Vandier 1958 III, p.315, pl.CIV.6 (giving XVIII dyn. date).
- 423 BM.EA.1198, in James & Davies 1983, p.36-38 (not illustrated).

- 424 UC.16570, XIX dyn(?), in Page 1976, No.95.
- 425 Cam.Fitz.EGA.4354.1943, in Millard 1977, p.127, note 3; she goes on to refer to style's popularity during the XIX dyn, "though it is more usually shown on men".
- 426 MM.No.1781, XX dyn, Koptos, in Petrie 1896, p.16, pl.XIX.2.
- 427 XIX dyn, in Davies 1948, pl.VIII, upper register.
- 428 Neuchâtel Musée d'Ethnographie Eg.428, XX dyn, in Malek 1988, pl.XX.
- 429 UC.15946, XIX-XX dyn, in Page 1983, No.48, curiously referred to as a "heavy wig", p.34.
- 430 Berlin Inv.No.4651, in Priese ed. 1991, No.91, p.153 and Fechheimer 1914, pl.74-75.
- 431 MMA.11.1553.c-d, XIX dyn.
- 432 Fouchet 1965, pl.145, 151 and MacQuitty 1965, p.172-173.
- 433 Turin Pap.55001, No.2031, in Freed 1982(iii), fig.53, p.200; Manniche 1987(ii), p.111; Robins 1993, fig.85, p.189 and Bierbrier 1982, fig.52, p.77.
- 434 Cairo JE.4872, XIX dyn, in Terrace & Fischer 1970, No.33, p.145-148; Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.214 and Hildesheim 1984, No.46, p.104-105.
- 435 BM.EA.48658, XIX dyn, in Manniche 1987(ii), fig.41, p.49.
- 436 eg. Berlin Inv.No.13244, in Breasted 1949, p.88, pl.83.b (suggesting MK date) and MMA.69.33, unprovenanced.
- 437 eg. Cleveland 91.107, 1250 BC, unprovenanced.
- 438 eg. Cairo No.9869 and UC.16760, Abusir(?), in Petrie 1891, No.43, p.19, pl.XIX, suggesting Libyo-Greek origin due to similarities with Cycladic figures and Libyan sidelock (although sidelock not primarily a Libyan feature).
- 439 Cairo JE.13466.
- 440 Altenmüller 1990, p.64.
- 441 Ertman 1993, p.39, 44-45, "somewhat puzzling is the curl(?) on the queen's temple...which extends rearward", p.44.
- 442 XX dyn. temple reliefs in Murnane 1980, fig.6, p.9 and Janssen & Janssen 1990, fig.49, p.145; inlay tiles, Boston MFA.88997.
- 443 Cam.Fitz.EGA.102.1949, in Brunner-Traut 1979, No.13, p.39, pl.XI, here referred to as "Head of a man".
- 444 Berlin Inv.No.21445, in Wenig 1969, p.41 and Michalowski 1969, fig.753.
- 445 UC.14495, XX dyn(?), unprovenanced, in Stewart 1976 I, p.33, pl.25.
- 446 Davies 1948, p.14, pl.XII, also Fletcher 1994(ii), fig.219, p.132.
- 447 MMA.14.6.191, XIX-XX dyn, Valley of Kings, in Metropolitan 1984, fig.43, p.43.

CHILDREN

XVIIIth dynasty

The sidelock is represented in both single and multiple form, in addition to the completely shaven and cropped head and an occasional full head of hair.

Male and female children can both be represented with a bare scalp, as noted from the exquisite painted wooden head of Tutankhamen emerging from a lotus flower, his shaven scalp indicated by irregular black dots of paint ¹ (fig.567). The total lack of hair is not entirely restricted to the very young however, since older male children such as Amunemheb are similarly portrayed in sculpted form without a sidelock ². Female examples without hair include a wooden figurine of a small girl wearing large earrings with her finger to her lips ³ (fig.568) and a number of the Amarna princesses ⁴ (fig.569-570).

Children without hair are also found in painted/relief scenes, most notably during the Amarna period. A beautiful painted scene from the king's house depicts the young sisters Neferneferuaten Tasherit and Neferure with elongated shaven skulls ⁵ (fig.571), the minimum of dark shading around the crown suggesting a slight growth comparable to the aforementioned lotus head of Tutankhamen, and similar outlines of their bare heads are captured elsewhere in red glass inlay ⁶. In a depiction of the princesses in the tomb of Ay "the youngest...can scarcely have been old enough to walk at this time, as her lack of hair suggests" ⁷, a number of other relief scenes depicting similar figures of Meketaten ⁸, Meritaten, Ankhesenpaaten ⁹ and unnamed examples ¹⁰ (fig.572). A slightly later scene from the tomb of Neferhotep (TT.49) shows a small girl(?) without hair accompanied by her nurse ¹¹.

The majority of representations do however feature the sidelock in its various forms. A number of sculpted examples portray Hatshepsut's daughter Neferure wearing the traditional plaited form with curled end on the right side ¹² (fig.346-347, fig.573), as in the case of a small limestone head of an unidentified prince ¹³, whilst another such prince has his lock on the left side as he is suckled by the Hathor cow ¹⁴ (fig.574). A much shorter, thicker form of lock is noted on sculpted figures of the young Amarna princesses on the right of their bare heads, as noted from a limestone figure of a "princess with fruit" ¹⁵ and a fragmentary head from a boundary stela ¹⁶. Non-royal sculpted examples with sidelocks include a fragmentary wooden figurine of a boy with a curled lock set behind the right ear ¹⁷ (fig.575) and a wooden figurine of a young girl with a short thick lock of loose individual braids again set on the right side ¹⁸.

Painted/relief scenes depicting children with locks are far more numerous than their sculpted counterparts, an early royal example portraying the infant Amenhotep I on the Donation Stela of his father Ahmose, his curling plaited lock set high to the back of the right side of the head ¹⁹. Tuthmosis I's son Wadjmose is shown on the lap of tutor Paheri with his cross-hatched curling lock set on the right side ²⁰, and the young Amenhotep III is likewise shown with curling lock on the right alongside his identical ka in relief scenes from the Luxor temple Birth Chamber ²¹. His lock is then shown on the

left side in the tomb scenes of his tutor Heqarneheh (TT.64)²², as are those of four small princes in the tomb scenes of Hekareshu (TT.226)²³, and the longer loose braids which make up the lock of Prince Siatum in the Sakkara scenes of Chancellor Meryra²⁴.

The Amarna princesses are shown with a variety of sidelocks in two dimensional scenes. A long flowing lock which follows the contour of the shoulder is worn by even the youngest princesses, Neferneferuatn Tasherit(?) wearing a thick, horizontally striated lock on the left²⁵ (fig.25), a small princess shown with the same long lock on the left side of her shaven head that one of her elder sisters has attached on the right side of a short style²⁶ (fig.528). Whilst it is the case that such locks can be shown on both the right and left sides, it is interesting that Meketaten is further shown with her long lock on the right partly obscured as she "turns her head to her sister, and so shows us the side without the hanging lock"²⁷.

The princesses are most often portrayed with the shorter form of thick lock however, as noted from boundary stelae²⁸, house shrines²⁹, wall and column decoration³⁰ and tomb scenes³¹. A variation on this lock, and exclusive to Amarna relief scenes, is the so-called 'modified Nubian wig'³² (discussed above), which is basically a form of the Nubian style with the front and rear cut away to expose the shaven scalp beneath. This modified Nubian lock is worn by Akhenaten's young sister Beketaten in the tomb scenes of Huya³³, and is also extensively found in depictions of his daughters in both this tomb³⁴ and those of Ahmes³⁵, Meryra I³⁶, Panehesy³⁷ and Meryra II³⁸. An unnamed princess wears this lock on the right as she eats a duck in an unfinished relief³⁹, and it is worn by Meritaten(?) on the left as she accompanies her father in worship⁴⁰ (fig.576). Inlaid examples are worn by Neferneferure on a box lid from the tomb of Tutankhamen⁴¹ (fig.577) and a further figure gathering grapes on an ivory panel has been identified as Tutankhamen⁴², although it is most likely a princess on account of the characteristic coiffure (fig.578). The king himself is shown as a child wearing the traditional plaited lock with curling end, inlaid in blue glass on a gold perfume container⁴³.

Non-royal examples of the sidelock in two-dimensions are many and varied, with early stelae relief examples of the single lock worn by Wa'ab, nephew of Vizier Dhutmose, his modest lock on the right side⁴⁴ whereas that of the young girl Neferti is situated on the left⁴⁵. A lock of four loose braids is worn on the left side by Nakht's young son as he accompanies his father hunting in the marshes (TT.52)⁴⁶, Nebamun's daughter depicted in a similar scene with her long straight lock of loose hair hanging from the right⁴⁷ (fig.579) whereas in the scene originally opposite the lock, again on the right, is braided and curls up at the end⁴⁸ (fig.579). A young female fanbearer from Amarna has a long thick sidelock of horizontal striations set on the left side of her head⁴⁹, the unnamed daughter of Panehesy shown in alternate scenes with her long thick vertically striated lock situated on both the right and left sides⁵⁰. The tiny locks of the servant boys in the camp of Horemheb are likewise depicted on both the right and left sides⁵¹.

In addition to the traditional single lock, multiple locks are to be found in non-royal scenes. Nakht's young daughter has a

small tuft of hair above her forehead in addition to a lock of four loose braids set on the right side of her head (TT.52)⁵², this tuft also worn by Athotpes, daughter of Nakht the Gardener (TT.161) in conjunction with a lock on the left toward the back of the head⁵³. This combination of front tuft and sidelock is further increased by the addition of another lock at the back of the head, as worn by a young mourner in the funeral scenes of Vizier Ramose (TT.55)⁵⁴, a daughter of Queen Tiy's cook Bakenamun⁵⁵, a young female fanbearer from Amarna (minus tuft)⁵⁶, the small daughter of an unnamed dignitary⁵⁷ and two small boys in the tomb scenes of Ay⁵⁸. Rare sculpted examples of this multiple lock arrangement are to be found on a small pottery head from Sheikh Farag⁵⁹, and a slightly later limestone figure of a boy from Amarna is shown with two thick locks on either side of his head in addition to a short separate fringe at the front⁶⁰ (fig.304).

It would also seem that children very occasionally let their hair grow naturally to judge from an agricultural scene in the tomb of Menna (TT.69) in which two girls pull at each other's hair in a fight⁶¹. In addition to this the bouffant style is featured on the painted rishi coffin of a young girl⁶² (fig.580).

XIX-XXth dynasty

Single and multiple locks are again found in representations of children of the later New Kingdom, with sculpted examples again predominantly of royal offspring. A fine example of the plaited curling lock is situated on the right of a granite figure of the infant Ramses II⁶³ (fig.581), an inscription referring to him on the Kubban stela stating that "the affairs of state were told to thee while thou wert a child wearing the curl"⁶⁴. Ramses' daughter Meritamon has a similarly plaited lock of traditional design on a block figure with tutor Banmerit⁶⁵ (fig.413), whilst a dyad figure of one of her brothers has a thick unplaited lock⁶⁶ which is also noted in the case of another royal son Amonhirkhopshef on his façade figure at Abu Simbel⁶⁷.

The sidelock is also uniquely incorporated into the design of a coffin used for one of Ramses III's young sons, possibly Prince Khaemwese⁶⁸, the smooth wooden head adorned on the right side with a thick striped lock curving round to lie on the chest constituting "l'indice principal caractéristique qui sert de base aux essais d'identification que l'on peut proposer"⁶⁹.

Non-royal sculpted examples are quite rare and confined to small figurines, a female figure in clay holding a child "mit grosser seitenlocke"⁷⁰. A small ivory figurine of a boy sitting on a cushion displays traces of an extremely long lock which extends from the crown down to the base of the spine⁷¹ (fig.582).

This long 'back lock' also appears in two-dimensional form on a contemporary ostrakon sketch⁷² (fig.583), the pose of the child seated upon a cushion very similar to a relief scene of the young Ramses II⁷³ although in this case the lock is the traditional plaited curling lock set on the right side, as also noted on a similar fragmentary scene of "a noble or royal child"⁷⁴ and an ostrakon sketch of a prince⁷⁵ (fig.584). Ramses again sports this form of lock in the King List scene from the temple of his father Seti I⁷⁶, whilst his own daughter Bentanta and some of his other children are shown with straight

waist-length locks in relief scenes at Abu Simbel ⁷⁷ and locks of varying lengths and thicknesses in scenes from the Ramesseum and Luxor temples (fig.585). Further royal examples of the single lock are worn by two of Ramses III's sons, Khaemwaset (QV.44) ⁷⁸ and Amonhirkhopshef (QV.55) ⁷⁹, both shown in their respective tombs as children with thick blue locks on either the right or left of a shaven head, and also in relief form at Medinet Habu ⁸⁰ (fig.586).

Non-royal examples of the single lock in two dimensions include a fragmentary scene from the tomb of Amenemopet (TT.215) in which a small girl wears a long straight lock which follows the outer contour of her right shoulder almost reaching waist level ⁸¹ (fig.587). Very similar examples are worn by the daughters of Sennedjem (TT.1), whilst his son has a shorter, thicker lock, in both cases set on the right side ⁸² (fig.588). An ostrakon sketch of late New Kingdom date shows a girl with a short single lock curling at the end and set at the back of the head ⁸³.

The multiple lock is however most popular amongst non-royal children of both sexes. The daughter of Userhet (TT.51), "whose shaven head retains only two side-locks, or perhaps a narrow postiche" ⁸⁴, is shown with her hair unbound and straight to hang down at both sides of the head, in similar fashion to the longer style worn by Ipy's daughter Imamhab, Davies again noting that "her forehead and back of her skull are shaved, and the remaining hair falls down from the crown in two long streams upon her shoulders" ⁸⁵. The sons and daughters of Inherkha (TT.359) also wear multiple locks which include two fringe-like tufts over the forehead, the youngest shown with an additional single curl at the back of the head (fig.445) whilst the older children have locks at both the back and sides ⁸⁶ (fig.442). Ostraca from Deir el-Medina again show this arrangement, a young girl shown with two wavy braids at both the front and back of the head whilst her tiny sibling has three slight tufts ranging from forehead to crown ⁸⁷. A similar sketch of two young girls again shows a four lock arrangement, although in this case the hair is very much shorter ⁸⁸ (fig.589), as in the case of a boy (fig.590) whose locks have been compared to those worn by 'street boys' at Amarna ⁸⁹. These side and back locks are also found on a relief scene of a funeral, two young female dancers with elongated skulls "still wearing the curious locks on otherwise shaven heads typical of Egyptian youth" ⁹⁰ which are also worn by very young children in birth scenes sketched on ostraca ⁹¹ (fig.545).

The very minimum of cropped hair, allowed to grow in small round areas on the crown and back of the head, makes up the style of Werel on the stela of her parents, the tomb builder Neferronpet and wife Huinofer ⁹². Although the totally shaven head is rarely found amongst children in the late New Kingdom, examples are noted in the case of Thotmose, son of Userhet (TT.51) ⁹³ and Nebansu on the stela of parents Wennefer and Nebetnehet ⁹⁴.

At the other extreme, and equally uncommon, the hair could be allowed to grow naturally, as in the case of a boy in a fragmentary scene from the tomb of Amenemopet (TT.215) ⁹⁵ (fig.587). The coffin of the young girl Taireskheru features the fashionable tripartite style comparable to the life-like coffins of adults in vogue at this time ⁹⁶.

- 1 Cairo JE.60723, in Edwards 1976, No.1, p.99, pl.1; Desroches-Noblecourt 1963, pl.1; Reeves 1990(ii), p.14-15, 66 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.CXVI.3. It would seem that this head, with its kohl-rimmed eyes and pierced ears ("an incongruous detail in a newly born child", Edwards 1976, p.99), has the purposefully shaven head of an older child, black dots clearly representing stubble rather than soft lanugo hair of a newly born infant.
- 2 MMA.26.7.1413, early XVIIIth dyn. silver-copper alloy figure, Thebes, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.30, p.61; Vandier 1958 III, pl.CXXXIX.1 and Reeves & Taylor 1992, p.99.
- 3 Cairo Exhibition No.884, c.Amenhotep III on stylistic grounds.
- 4 For Meritaten, see Cairo JE.44869, Amarna, in Aldred 1973, fig.26, p.45; Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.163; Aldred 1961, No.114, p.75 and Brussels 1960, Cat.35, No.29, and Copenhagen NCG.AEIN.1663, in Koefoed-Petersen 1950, No.46, p.28, pl.53-54; for her sisters, see Berlin Inv.No.14113, Amarna, in Aldred 1973, No.102, p.175; Priese ed. 1991, No.70, p.116-117 and Fechheimer 1914, pl.83; Berlin Inv.No.21223, Amarna, in Aldred 1973, No.88, p.160; Aldred 1961, No.113, p.75; Priese ed. 1991, No.69, p.114-115 and Strouhal 1992, fig.172, p.158; Cairo JE.44873, Amarna, in Hildesheim 1984, No.35, p.82-83 and Aldred 1973, fig.51, p.131, and Copenhagen NCG.AEIN.1654/1655, in Koefoed-Petersen 1950, No.47-48, p.28-29, pl.55-56.
- 5 Ox.Ash.1893.1-41, in Aldred 1973, fig.20-21, p.39; Aldred 1961, No.115, p.76; Mekhitarian 1978, p.116; Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.133; Smith 1981, fig.313, p.328; Moorey 1983, fig.14, p.39 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.102, p.276.
- 6 UC.2235, Amarna, in Pendlebury 1951 II, pl.CVII.4; Janssen & Janssen 1990, fig.52, p.162; Strouhal 1992, fig.23, p.24 and Samson 1972, p.74, pl.14.b.
- 7 Davies 1908 VI, p.21, pl.XXIX.
- 8 Cairo JE.44865, Amarna, in Aldred 1973, fig.2, p.11; Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.167; Terrace & Fischer 1970, No.28, p.127-128 and Smith 1981, fig.301, p.310.
- 9 Berlin Inv.No.14145, in Aldred 1973, No.16, p.102; Fay 1982, p.88-89; Aldred 1980, fig.140, p.175; Aldred 1961, No.116, p.76; Smith 1981, fig.302, p.311; Robins 1993, fig.13, p.50 and Basle 1953, No.95.
- 10 eg. Brooklyn Acc.No.37.405, Amarna, in Aldred 1973, No.35, p.119 and Brooklyn 1952, No.41; Pennsylvania University Museum, re-used Amarna block from Illahun tomb, in Petrie 1891, p.20, pl.XXIV.10, and re-used block No.M.3058 from Medamoud, in Cotteville-Giraudet 1936, fig.10, p.10.
- 11 Davies 1933 I, pl.XIV; Wreszinski 1923 I, 172; Manniche 1987(ii), fig.4, p.14 and Janssen & Janssen 1990, fig.22, p.53.
- 12 eg. BM.EA.174, Karnak, in Aldred 1961, No.33, p.52; Aldred 1980, fig.120, p.156; Robins 1993, fig.11, p.48 and Janssen & Janssen 1990, fig.45, p.127; Chicago 173.800, Karnak, in Vandier 1958 III, pl.CLXII.5; Aldred 1961, No.34, p.52; Aldred 1980, fig.119, p.156 and Vandersleyen 1975, pl.179.a-b; Cairo CG.42116, Karnak, in Terrace & Fischer 1970, No.20, p.97-100; Aldred 1961, No.32, p.51-52; Smith 1981, fig.221, p.227 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.CLXII.3; Cairo CG.42114, Karnak, in Legrain 1906 I, p.62-64, pl.66; Nims 1965, p.49; Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.132; Aldred 1961, No.31, p.51, and Berlin Inv.No.2296, in Priese ed. 1991, No.53, p.86-87; Fechheimer 1914, pl.60-61 and Vandier 1958 III, pl.CLI.1.
- 13 UC.16673, unprovenanced, in Page 1976, No.60, p.53-54, "skull-cap" referred to almost certainly trace of natural hair-line.
- 14 Cairo JE.89613, Sheikh Abada.
- 15 Kansas City Art Gallery No.47-13, Amarna, in Aldred 1973, No.53, p.131.
- 16 Holland, Smeets Collection, from Amarna, in Aldred 1973, No.32, p.116-117.
- 17 Louvre E.7713.

- 18 Cairo CG.800, unprovenanced, c.Amenhotep III, in Borchardt 1930 III, p.99, pl.147; Hildesheim 1984, No.44, p.100 and Wreszinski 1923 I, 51.b.No.6.
- 19 Luxor Museum, Karnak, in Robins 1993, fig.3, p.26.
- 20 Tylor & Griffith 1894, pl.IV and Janssen & Janssen 1990, fig.44, p.126.
- 21 Janssen & Janssen 1990, fig.36, p.92.
- 22 Kozloff & Bryan 1992, fig.II.3, p.37 (after Lepsius).
- 23 Davies & Davies 1933, pl.XXX and Janssen & Janssen 1990, fig.46, p.129.
- 24 KMV.ÄS.5814, in Kozloff & Bryan 1992, No.58, p.292-293 and Berg 1987, p.213-216.
- 25 Brooklyn Acc.No.60.197.8, in Aldred 1973, No.92, p.164-165; Cooney 1965, No.12, p.20; Fazzini et al. 1989, No.50; Fazzini 1975, Cat.69, p.85; Smith 1981, fig.319, p.336 and Brussels 1976, No.48, p.89.
- 26 MMA.1985.328.6, in Cooney 1965, No.16, p.29 and Aldred 1973, No.130, p.197.
- 27 Davies 1905 II, p.39, pl.XXXVII-XXXVIII.
- 28 Meritaten and Meketaten on Boundary stela S. in Davies 1908 V, pl.XXVI and Aldred 1973, fig.18, p.35.
- 29 Meritaten on Amarna stela, Cairo JE.44865, in Aldred 1973, fig.2, p.11; Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.167; Terrace & Fischer 1970, No.28, p.127-128 and Smith 1981, fig.301, p.310; Meketaten on Amarna stela, Berlin Inv.No.14145, in Aldred 1973, No.16, p.102; Fay 1982, p.88-89; Aldred 1980, fig.140, p.175; Aldred 1961, No.116, p.76; Basle 1953, No.95; Smith 1981, fig.302, p.311 and Robins 1993, fig.13, p.50.
- 30 Meritaten on Amarna scene, Cairo Temp.Reg.30:10:26:12, in Aldred 1973, fig.33, p.56 and Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.164; Meritaten on Amarna column relief from Hermopolis, Boston MFA.67.637, in Aldred 1973, No.17, p.103; Meritaten(?) on Amarna relief fragment, Boston MFA.37.1, in Pendlebury 1951 III, p.68, pl.LXXIII and Aldred 1973, No.33, p.118; Meritaten on Amarna column relief, Brooklyn Acc.No.35.2000 (right figure only), in Pendlebury 1951 III, p.62, pl.LXV.10 and Aldred 1973, No.34, p.118.
- 31 Meritaten and Meketaten in relief scene from Royal Tomb, Cairo Temp.Reg.10:11:26:4, in Aldred 1973, fig.34, p.57 and Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.166; Meritaten in tomb of Meryra I, in Davies 1903 I, pl.XXII; Meritaten, Meketaten and Ankhesenpaaten in tomb of Panehesy, in Davies 1905 II, pl.V; Meritaten, Ankhesenpaaten and Neferneferuaten with locks, Meketaten facing opposite without lock, pl.X, and in damaged scene pl.XII only Neferneferuaten's striated lock remains; Meritaten, Meketaten and Ankhesenpaaten in tomb scenes of Apy, in Davies 1906 IV, pl.XXXI; Meritaten and Meketaten in tomb of Ay, in Davies 1908 VI, pl.XXIX, some of these examples also illustrated in Desroches-Noblecourt 1968, fig.4.a-j.
- 32 Eaton-Krauss 1981, p.253, note 7.
- 33 Davies 1905 III, pl.IV, VI, VIII, IX, XVIII.
- 34 Davies 1905 III, pl.IV for Meritaten and Ankhesenpaaten; pl.VI for Ankhesenpaaten and Meketaten(?); pl.XVI for "the two younger princesses", p.12; pl.XVII for Meritaten and Meketaten, and pl.XVIII for Meritaten, Meketaten, Ankhesenpaaten and Neferneferuaten.
- 35 Davies 1905 III, pl.XXXII.A for Meritaten.
- 36 Davies 1903 I, pl.X, XIX, XXV, XXVI for Meritaten, Meketaten, Ankhesenpaaten and Neferneferuaten, and pl.XXII for Meketaten.
- 37 Davies 1905 II, pl.V, XIII, XV, XVIII for Meritaten.
- 38 Davies 1905 II, pl.XXXII for Meritaten, Meketaten and Ankhesenpaaten; pl.XXXIII-XXXIV for Meketaten and Ankhesenpaaten; pl.XXXVII-XXXVIII, despite damage, for Neferneferuaten and Setepenre, possibly Ankhesenpaaten also.

- 39 Cairo JE.48035, Amarna, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.169; Smith 1981, fig.314, p.329 and Terrace & Fischer 1970, No.27, p.125-126.
- 40 Brooklyn Acc.No.60.197.6, Hermopolis, in Aldred 1973, No.116, p.88, 185; Cooney 1965, No.4, p.9-11; Fazzini 1975, Cat.66, p.83 and Brussels 1976, No.49, p.90.
- 41 Cairo Exhibition No.92, Carter No.54.hh, in Reeves 1990(ii), p.190.
- 42 Louvre E.14374, in Desroches-Noblecourt 1968, p.82-88; also Strouhal 1992, fig.4, p.7.
- 43 Cairo JE.61496, in Edwards 1976, No.19, p.127-128, pl.11, clear depiction of dotted stubble arguing against presence of "close fitting cap" as suggested here; see also Westendorf 1968, p.144.
- 44 Nugent Collection, c.Tuth.III-Am.II, in Blackman 1917, No.2, pl.X.
- 45 BM.EA.1297, XVIII dyn, in Robins 1993, fig.51, p.133
- 46 Davies 1917, pl.XXIV and Wilkinson & Hill 1983, pl.63, p.56-57, 116.
- 47 BM.EA.37977, c.Amenhotep III, in Manniche 1988, No.73, pl.51; James 1985, fig.25, p.27 and Strouhal 1992, p.27.
- 48 Cairo, de Benzion collection, in Keimer 1953, No.146, p.427 and Manniche 1988, No.75, pl.51.
- 49 Kofler-Truniger Collection KT.419, in Müller 1964, A.108, p.75.
- 50 Davies 1905 II, pl.XXII-XXIII.
- 51 Bolgna Museo Civico 1888, in Martin 1991, fig.22, p.57.
- 52 Davies 1917, pl.XXIV and Wilkinson & Hill 1983, pl.63, p.56-57, 116.
- 53 Manniche 1986, fig.10, p.75 (after Hay).
- 54 Davies 1941, pl.XXV and Wreszinski 1923 I, 8.a.
- 55 BM.EA.289, unprovenanced, in contrast to traditional braided lock with curled end worn by elder brother.
- 56 Kofler-Truniger Collection KT.419, in Müller 1964, A.108, p.75.
- 57 Berlin Inv.No.8816, in Schäfer 1974, pl.51.
- 58 Davies 1908 VI, pl.XXX.
- 59 Boston MFA.24.978, Tomb S.F.5203, in Wilson 1951, fig.12.d and Breasted 1948, Type 2, No.2, p.89 (not illustrated); although both give OK date since actual tomb dates from late OK, head found in debris from later re-use and should be re-dated to NK due to stylistic details including multiple lock arrangement, socket under neck suggesting head's original attachment to form of cosmetic implement; thanks to P.Lacovara for this information, pers.comm.5.7.94.
- 60 MMA.11.150.21, Amarna period, Gebelein(?), in Hayes 1959 II, fig.194, p.312; Aldred 1973, No.110, p.181; Vandier 1958 III, pl.CXLVI.5 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.134, p.282.
- 61 Strouhal 1992, fig.29, p.27; Campbell 1910, opp. p.88 and Kozloff & Bryan 1992, fig.IX.17, p.271.
- 62 MMA.23.3.461, c.Tuth.I, Western Thebes, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.131, p.221 and Sourouzian 1981, p.451, note 35.
- 63 Cairo JE.64735, Tanis, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.203; Freed 1987, No.1, p.130-131; Vandier 1958 III, pl.CXXXIII.2; Janssen & Janssen 1990, fig.51, p.157 and Griggs ed. 1985, No.1, p.21.
- 64 Breasted 1906 III, p.120.
- 65 Cairo CG.42171/JE.36922, Karnak, in Legrain 1909 II, p.37, pl.XXXV and Vandier 1958 III, pl.CLXVI.5.

- 66 Cairo CG.42154/JE.37337, Karnak, in Legrain 1909 II, noting that "La lourde masse de cheveux est non natté", p.20-21, pl.XVII and Hildesheim 1984, No.38, p.88-89.
- 67 Fouchet 1965, fig.119, 136.
- 68 Cairo JE.49549, in Bruyère 1925, p.147-165 and Romer 1984, pl.34; Thomas 1966, p.241 suggesting it was originally made for XVIII dyn. royal child.
- 69 Bruyère 1925, p.150.
- 70 Cairo CG.1253, in Borchardt 1934 IV, p.130, pl.173.
- 71 Leiden Inv.No.F.1990/4.3, unprovenanced, H.5.2 cm; thanks to E.van Rooij for this information.
- 72 Louvre E.25334, Deir el Medina, in Vandier d'Abbadie 1959, No.2893, p.196, pl.CXXVIII; thanks to E.van Rooij for drawing this example to my attention.
- 73 Louvre N.522, unprovenanced, in Ziegler 1990, p.42 and Michalowski 1969, fig.518; it is interesting to compare this example with Louvre E.25334 (above, note 72) since long back lock of this figure very similar to appearance and general shape of Ramses' headband ribbons which hang down his back.
- 74 UC.33217, unprovenanced, in Page 1983, No.50, p.35, her general 'New Kingdom' date possibly amended to XIX dyn. due to close similarities with latter example.
- 75 MMA.60.158, XIX dyn, Deir el-Medina.
- 76 Westendorf 1968, p.180.
- 77 Fouchet 1965, fig.139.
- 78 Bruyère 1925, No.3, pl.XXVI; Leblanc 1990, p.27; Siliotti & Leblanc 1993, p.49, 54-55 and Campbell 1910, opp. p.30.
- 79 Bruyère 1925, No.1, pl.XXVI; Campbell 1910, opp. p.68; Siliotti & Leblanc 1993, p.89 and Hassanein & Nelson 1976, No.3, p.31, fig.3, p.32.
- 80 Campbell 1910, opp. p.12.
- 81 Turin Inv.Cat.1517, in Curto 1984, p.190.
- 82 Boston 1982(ii), p.21 and Mekhitarian 1978, p.151 (for daughter).
- 83 UC.33223, unprovenanced, in Page 1983, No.49, p.34.
- 84 XIX dyn, in Davies 1927, p.10, pl.V, VIII and Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.143.
- 85 XIX dyn, in Davies 1927, p.41, pl.XXIV; Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.147 and Posener et al. 1962, p.22.
- 86 XX dyn, in Manniche 1987, fig.70, p.83; Manniche 1987(ii), fig.28, p.40; Robins 1993, fig.59, p.144; Westendorf 1968, p.186; Bierbrier 1982, fig.51, p.74 and Romer 1984, pl.24; see also BM.EA.1329, in James 1985, fig.34, p.35.
- 87 Cairo IFAO.3650, in Manniche 1987(ii), fig.5, p.15.
- 88 Berlin Inv.No.3314.
- 89 Ox.Ash.1938.914, in Davies 1917(ii), p.239, note 5, pl.LI.3, "for the hair see the street boys in Davies, el Amarna VI, pl.XXX" (discussed above).
- 90 Cairo JE.4872, Sakkara, in Terrace & Fischer 1970, No.33, p.145-148; see also Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.214 and Hildesheim 1984, No.46, p.104-105.
- 91 eg. BM.EA.8506, in James 1985, fig.47, p.44; Brunner-Traut 1955, fig.4, p.14; Bierbrier 1982, fig.50, p.74 and

- Robins 1993, fig.22, p.71.
- 92 Turin Inv.Cat.1592, Deir el-Medina, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1988, fig.225, p.165.
- 93 Davies 1927, pl.IV, VII.
- 94 Turin No.50051, Deir el-Medina, in Robins 1993, fig.53, p.134.
- 95 Turin Inv.Cat.1517, in Curto 1984, p.190.
- 96 Edinburgh RMS.1887.597, in Taylor 1989, fig.29, p.38.

NON-EGYPTIANS

XVIIIth dynasty

The contemporary political situation and increasingly cosmopolitan nature of Egyptian society during the New Kingdom is reflected by the large number of tomb scenes which incorporate depictions of non-Egyptian ambassadors, tribute bearers and prisoners, the various races clearly differentiated by their dress and characteristic coiffures which are also found in small-scale sculpture, ostraca sketches and decorative elements.

Figures from Punt feature prominently in tomb and temple scenes during the first half of the dynasty, the most celebrated examples depicted in the Deir el-Bahari temple reliefs of Hatshepsut. The Puntite Chief Parehu is shown with a shaven head whilst his obese wife Ati wears her long striated hair swept back into a simple braid¹. Their retinue are depicted in similar fashion to Old Kingdom representations, with shoulder-length styles set in horizontal rows of curls and additional locks hanging down beneath in a number of cases², this interesting coiffure also worn by men of Punt in the tomb scenes of Rekhmire (TT.100)³.

Another ethnic group featuring prominently in the early part of the dynasty are the Keftiu from the Aegean area, "the hair of the typical Aegeans...distinguished from those of other foreigners by curls and locks of varying length"⁴. Scenes of trade and tribute involving these men are to be found in the tombs of Senmut (TT.71)⁵, Rekhmire (TT.100)⁶ (fig.591), Puyemre (TT.39)⁷, Menkheperresonb (TT.86)⁸, Kenamun (TT.93)⁹ and Anen (TT.120)¹⁰, an example in the latter uniquely featuring an open-work mesh cap worn over the long black locks common to all such Keftiu. This long hair with characteristic small curls set over the brow is also to be found in contemporary painted scenes from Avaris¹¹, and when compared to similar scenes from Knossos¹² "there can be little doubt that the Egyptian artists have faithfully rendered for us contemporary Aegean hairstyles"¹³.

The increasing threat of Libya to the west explains the presence of Libyan figures in various tribute scenes, although whereas previously they were most often shown with long plain styles they are now generally depicted with long thin locks set in front of the ears¹⁴. A particularly fine sketch of a Libyan emissary in the tomb of Vizier Ramose (TT.55) shows a mid-length style embellished with a long narrow braid hanging down in front of the ear¹⁵, a rather colourful figure in the scenes of Anen (TT.120) wearing a style of crimped black hair with distinct fringe and shorter front lock¹⁶. The same crimped hair with fringe and long plaited lock is found on the gilded relief scenes of Tutankhamen's second state chariot¹⁷, this "characteristic coiffure"¹⁸ also noted in the case of Libyan envoys and prisoners in the Memphite tomb scenes of Horemheb (fig.592).

Figures from Western Asia and Syria are featured in large numbers throughout the dynasty as a direct result of Egypt's expansion into the area. In the tomb scenes of Rekhmire (TT.100) Syrians are shown with the same dress and facial type, although in an attempt to reflect cultural diversity "they adopt several ways of treating the hair"¹⁹, either shaving the

head, wearing a shoulder-length plain style, or most often allowing the hair to splay out around a headband to resemble the brim of a hat (fig.593). Puyemre' scenes (TT.39) portray the Chief of Kadesh with a cropped style ²⁰, a Syrian envoy with similarly treated hair and a Semitic figure with a short black style curving up at the back ²¹. Both crop-headed Asiatics and their colleagues with rounded mid-length styles appear in the tomb scenes of Menkheperasonb (TT.86) ²², Amenmose (TT.42) ²³, User (TT.131) ²⁴ and Sobekhotep (TT.63) ²⁵, and Tuthmosis IV tramples such figures in his chariot decoration ²⁶ in contrast to a long-haired Asiatic he smites on an ivory arm brace scene ²⁷. His son Amenhotep III similarly rides roughshod over crop-headed Asiatic foes, two of whom are shown en face ²⁸.

The tomb scenes of Ramose (TT.55) include three Semitic envoys, two with mid-length rounded styles held in place with fine headbands contrasting with their colleagues shaven head ²⁹, both forms of coiffure repeated in the colourful scenes of Anen (TT.120) ³⁰, Hekareshu (TT.226) ³¹ and a painted temple relief of the early Amarna period from Karnak ³² (fig.594). The same rounded style with headband is worn by an Asiatic mercenary on his Amarna stela scene ³³ (fig.595) and is featured on a small decorative relief head of an Asiatic ³⁴ (fig.596). Similar examples are found in battle scenes on the side of Tutankhamen's painted chest ³⁵ and in sculpted form on one of this king's ceremonial staffs ³⁶ (fig.597), the shaven head of an Amorite complete with stubbly detail noted from the gilded reliefs on the second royal chariot ³⁷, and a shaven headed Syrian enemy portrayed en face in the king's Karnak battle scenes ³⁸ (fig.314). Contemporary reliefs from the Memphite tomb of Horemheb depict large numbers of Asiatic prisoners, again with either a rounded, mid-length style or a shaven/cropped head ³⁹ (fig.316-317, fig.592, fig.599), or in the case of the Hittites, shaven heads with long distinctive locks at the back and sides ⁴⁰ (fig.598).

In addition to their menfolk, Asiatic women and children are also portrayed, and they too have quite distinctive coiffures. An intriguing relief scene from Amarna depicts Nefertiti smiting a woman identified as Asiatic on account of her long style which curls up at the end ⁴¹ (fig.54), rather than a sidelock as has also been suggested ⁴². The woman's distinctive coiffure may be compared to that worn by several harem women in the tomb scenes of Tutu ⁴³ and Ay ⁴⁴ (fig.873) at Amarna, which Davies states to be "quite un-Egyptian, but is familiar to us in men of Hittite race and known also in Syrian women. In addition, one woman at least wears the flounced Syrian skirt" ⁴⁵. Although the style is in fact comparable with the Egyptian bouffant form ⁴⁶, its adoption by Asiatic women and indeed the goddess Qadesh ⁴⁷, coupled with some of the womens' foreign costume, might indeed suggest that these women are of Asiatic origin residing at the Amarna court. In contrast to these styles with curled ends, those worn by women in the Memphite tomb scenes of Horemheb are rather different, their long styles swept back over the shoulders and either left plain or decorated with vertical striations to indicate straight hair, which in certain cases is fastened back with one or two bands ⁴⁸ (fig.598-599).

Asiatic children are also included in a number of tomb scenes, either as tribute or accompanying their captive parents. A small naked child with a single thin lock at the back of a cropped head is presented by a Syrian figure in the tomb of Menkheperesonb (TT.86) ⁴⁹, whilst a small girl with two thin sidelocks and a similar lock at the back of her head makes

up part of the tribute in the scenes of Sobekhotep (TT.63)⁵⁰ (fig.600). Two Asiatic children in the scenes of Rekmire (TT.100) have their hair in two tufts⁵¹, in contrast to the more usual long thin locks as worn by children in the Memphite scenes of Horemheb alongside the totally bare head⁵² (fig.599).

The largest number of non-Egyptian figures depicted at this time are however Nubians. Although Nubia was annexed to Egypt and its inhabitants technically Egyptian, they are always clearly differentiated by their dark skin and very short, often highly detailed styles⁵³, as are their warlike southern neighbours the Kushites. The artistic evidence can also be supported by literary references, the Tombos stela of Tuthmosis I stating that "the Nubians are helpless...there is not a remnant among the nbdw kdw who came to attack him"⁵⁴. Although this is generally translated as "curly haired"⁵⁵, "those with braided or plaited hair" has also been suggested⁵⁶, which in fact corresponds with the plaited styles worn by the modern Bisharin and Nubians of Aswan⁵⁷.

It would appear from the artistic evidence, however, that both curls and braids were employed in the construction of the Nubians' short styles. Early New Kingdom depictions in the tomb scenes of Rekmire (TT.100) show short blue and black round set in horizontal rows of small braids⁵⁸ whereas the minimal styles in the tomb scenes of Sobekhotep are made up of round curls⁵⁹. The scenes from the funerary papyri of Royal Fanbearer Maiherpera, Child of the Royal Nursery, depict him as dark skinned with a short black style, its wavy outline suggesting its curled structure⁶⁰. Similar coiffures are worn by four Nubian captives tied to the horses of Amenhotep III, whilst the two Nubians tied to the royal chariot have more detailed styles of horizontal rows of braids⁶¹, as has a Nubian lute player adorning a bronze razor⁶². The bright tomb scenes of Anen (TT.120) depict Nubians and Kushites with short, yellow cap-like styles of varied surface detail⁶³, the same styles in the scenes of Hekareshu (TT.226) coloured black⁶⁴, and those in Ramose's scenes (TT.55) simply sketched in preparatory outline⁶⁵.

The relatively large number of examples from the Amarna period include bowing Nubians paying homage (fig.594), in the case of one such example "his thick mop of hair with a feather stuck in it proclaim him a Nubian"⁶⁶. A labourer "with his thick shock of hair...may have been a Nubian or a Negro soldier"⁶⁷, and one of the four fan-bearers of the royal couple must similarly be a Nubian on account of his distinctive cap-like coiffure of horizontal braided rows⁶⁸, also noted on a sculptor's study of a Nubian head⁶⁹, a wooden inlay head⁷⁰ (fig.596) and three glass inlay figures, two of whom have detailed styles whilst the third is plain⁷¹. A highly interesting example in limestone actually depicts a Nubian in the so-called Nubian style, although as discussed above, the style in fact bears little resemblance to the true Nubian coiffure and the individual is simply wearing the fashionable style of the time⁷².

The most beautiful examples of Nubian figures are to be found in the tomb scenes of Amenhotep called Huy, Viceroy of Nubia under Tutankhamen (TT.40). Hiknefer, Chief of Aniba, a number of accompanying chieftains of southern Nubia and a row of bound warriors are all portrayed with the same short hair alternately coloured red and yellow, "if hair it is and

not a wig-like cap" ⁷³. Further Nubian princes are shown with either the still fashionable Nubian style, unusually coloured black and yellow, or short red styles adorned with Egyptian-inspired sidelocks of blue ⁷⁴.

Relief scenes on the second chariot of Tutankhamen depict bound Nubians with cap-like styles set with horizontal rows of braids ⁷⁵ which is duplicated on one of his ivory casting sticks ⁷⁶. Large numbers of Nubian prisoners in the Memphite tomb scenes of Horemheb all wear the same short, cap-like style most often set in horizontal layers of braids or alternatively left plain, with some of the styles set further back on the head than others ⁷⁷ (fig.592).

The relatively few examples of small-scale sculpture depicting non-Egyptians tend to portray Nubians, a bronze figurine of a kneeling captive from Sakkara(?) wearing a short round style set in concentric rings of horizontal curls ⁷⁸ (fig.601), as also found on a small gaming piece ⁷⁹ and the Nubian captive who adorns a ceremonial staff of Tutankhamen ⁸⁰ (fig.597). Female counterparts are most often incorporated into cosmetic utensils; in the case of a mirror-handle figure "tufts of hair protrude on the axial points of the head" ⁸¹, a similar figure holding an ointment dish has a head shaven "except for four round nubby patches" ⁸², and another such figurine has hair "disposed in several little locks...over the forehead" ⁸³.

This style of tufts on a shaven head is also found in two dimensions, as worn by a dancer in the tomb paintings of Horemheb (TT.78) ⁸⁴, and incorporated into the short styles of Nubian women trading with sailors in the reliefs of Khaemhat (TT.57) ⁸⁵. In the tomb scenes of Rekhmire (TT.100) short hair is also worn by Nubian women with children, those without children shown with longer hair which "shows conclusively that most, if not all, are Nubians and not Negresses" ⁸⁶, the assumption here being that Negroid (heliotrichous) hair does not grow to any great length. Two women in the colourful scenes of Viceroy Huy (TT.40) have simple, shoulder-length red styles, and their children are shown with multiple tufted locks above the brow, on the crown and back of their otherwise shaven heads ⁸⁷. Two Nubian princesses are also portrayed in Huy's scenes with bright yellow short pointed Nubian styles ⁸⁸.

XIX-XXth dynasties

Although non-Egyptian figures are no longer included in the repertoire of private tomb scenes ⁸⁹, there exist sufficient alternative sources of evidence to trace the styles of Nubians, Libyans and Asiatics throughout the later New Kingdom, the Puntites and Keftiu having been effectively replaced by the migrating 'Peoples of the Sea'.

Libyans are again generally portrayed with short styles set with a distinctive sidelock in front of the ear, particularly detailed examples featured in Seti I's tomb scenes (KV.17) ⁹⁰ and Karnak battle reliefs ⁹¹, and also noted on ostraca sketches ⁹². His son Ramses II smites similarly coiffured Libyan enemies in relief scenes at Abu Simbel ⁹³, and such figures are also present in reliefs adorning Ramses III's tomb reliefs (KV.11) ⁹⁴ and funerary temple ⁹⁵ (fig.602). A number of faience tiles from Medinet Habu represent the Libyan enemy "immediately recognisable by his fringed hairstyle with sidelock" ⁹⁶ (fig.603) although other such tiles show figures with a long swept-back striated red style ⁹⁷, and it is this long style which is worn by Meshesher, defeated Chief of the Meshwesh, as he is led before Ramses in further

scenes at Medinet Habu ⁹⁸.

Small sculpted limestone heads of Libyan prisoners from Deir el-Medina incorporate plaited locks on both the left and right of crimped and cross-hatched short styles ⁹⁹ (fig.604), and a granite figure of Ramses IV grasps a Libyan chieftain by his "fringed, striated wig [sic], a side-lock [of] which falls over the right cheek" ¹⁰⁰.

Asiatic enemies are frequently depicted, figures with rounded, shoulder-length styles again noted in the tomb scenes of Seti I (KV.17) ¹⁰¹ whilst the king's Karnak reliefs feature both this rounded style and the cropped/shaven head in scenes where he attacks Kadesh and its Asiatic inhabitants ¹⁰² and campaigns in the Palestinian wars ¹⁰³. Ramses II is shown smiting a long-haired Asiatic in a Memphite relief ¹⁰⁴ (fig.605), his bound Asiatic prisoners in reliefs at Abu Simbel shown with long, mid-length and shaven styles ¹⁰⁵, and a Ramesside relief from Thebes portrays fallen Asiatics with both rounded, mid-length styles and the cropped head ¹⁰⁶ (fig.606).

Long styles are often associated with Syrian figures, an unusual shoulder-length coiffure which curls out at the ends featured on the canopic jar head of Thenry, a Syrian official of Ramses II ¹⁰⁷. An ostrakon sketch depicts a Syrian(?) woman with a long style which similarly curls up at the ends into four separate locks, in similar fashion to the two curls of the bouffant style ¹⁰⁸. Syrian men are also shown with skull-caps over their long black styles in both the tomb scenes of Ramses III (KV.11) ¹⁰⁹ and on decorated tiles from his funerary temple ¹¹⁰ (fig.603), these tiles also depicting long-haired Hittites with skull-caps (in contrast to their earlier New Kingdom appearance when they seemed to have favoured shaven heads with a number of long thin sidelocks) ¹¹¹. Amorites with shaven heads appear on the tiles ¹¹² (fig.607), although their depiction in both the funerary temple reliefs of Ramses III ¹¹³ and the earlier Kadesh scenes of Ramses II at Luxor temple ¹¹⁴ also include rounded, mid-length styles.

A further people portrayed on the colourful tiles of Ramses III are the Palestinians ¹¹⁵ (fig.607), from which it would appear that their 'headdresses' depicted in relief scenes at Medinet Habu ¹¹⁶ and Luxor temple ¹¹⁷ might actually be made up of their own stiffened hair, standing up like a cockscomb and supported by a headband ¹¹⁸, a very similar coiffure sported by the northern 'Peoples of the Sea' who appear in the battle scenes at Medinet Habu ¹¹⁹.

Nubians appear with their characteristically short styles in the tomb scenes of Seti I (KV.17) ¹²⁰, the king's Karnak reliefs including Amun's declaration that "I put fear of thee in their hearts so that thou cuttest down the nbdw kdw" ¹²¹. A Nubian is portrayed with a striated style coloured red in a Memphite relief scene of Ramses II ¹²² (fig.605), whilst cap-like styles are found with braided detail in his reliefs at Beit el-Wali ¹²³, and undecorated in those at Abu Simbel ¹²⁴. A similarly plain cap style is worn by a captive Kushite in a scene from Luxor temple ¹²⁵ (fig.608), and painted tiles from the throne base of the king portray 'the wretched chief of Kush' wearing a detailed four-layered cap form ¹²⁶. Later faience tiles of Ramses III continue to depict this cap-like style, here coloured red ¹²⁷ (fig.603, fig.607) as are those in the king's tomb scenes (KV.11) ¹²⁸. Representations of Nubian women are mainly confined to ostraca scenes in which female

figures with partially shaven heads adorned with multiple tufted locks present cosmetics to new mothers in birthing scenes

¹²⁹ (fig.545), a similar style also noted on an unusual faience head ¹³⁰.

- 1 Cairo JE.14276, from south portico, middle terrace, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1981, No.130.a; Terrace & Fischer 1970, No.21, p.101-103; Nims 1965, p.36; Steindorff 1957, fig.27, p.103 and Smith 1981, fig.234, 236, p.240-241; see also ostrakon sketch of Ati, Berlin Inv.No.21442.
- 2 Cairo JE.89661, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.130.b-c; Nims 1965, p.36 and Smith 1981, fig.235-236, p.240-241.
- 3 Davies 1943 I, simply described as "hair worn its natural length", p.19, 1943 II, pl.XVII and Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.84.
- 4 Wachsmann 1987, p.42.
- 5 Smith 1981, fig.242, p.247; Culican 1966, fig.41, p.45; Aldred 1961, No.27, p.49-50 and Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.73.
- 6 Davies 1943 I, p.23-24, 1943 II, pl.XVIII-XX; Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.85 and Culican 1966, fig.46, p.48; see also Wachsmann 1987, p.42-43.
- 7 Davies 1922 I, p.91, pl.I, XXXIII and Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.81; also Wachsmann 1987, p.29-30, 42.
- 8 Davies & Davies 1933, pl.IV-V, XX; Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.83; Smith 1981, fig.240-241, p.246-247 and Aldred 1980, fig.123, p.160; also Wachsmann 1987, p.42.
- 9 Davies 1930 I, p.23, pl.XI-XII, conceding that although "portrayed with apparent care...the Cretan...would pass for a man of Punt" on account of his shorter than usual braids; Davies 1930 II, pl.XIA and Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.104.
- 10 Smith 1981, fig.255, p.260 and Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.26, 125.
- 11 Bietak 1992, p.26-27.
- 12 Evans 1930 III, fig.45-46, p.82-83 and Davies 1943 I, p.24.
- 13 Wachsmann 1987, p.43.
- 14 Bates 1914, p.134-135 suggests hieroglyph sign *lmnt*, 'the west', is a cap and feather with two unequal length sidelocks.
- 15 Davies 1941, p.34, pl.XXXVII and James 1985, fig.44, p.42.
- 16 Smith 1981, fig.255, p.260 and Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.26, 125.
- 17 Cairo JE.61989/Carter No.120, in Littauer & Crowel 1985, pl.XX- XXI and Reeves 1990(ii), p.171.
- 18 Martin 1991, fig.36, 48-49, p.71, 76-77; see also Louvre B.56 for detailed fragment.
- 19 Davies 1943 I, p.27; 1943 II, pl.II, XXI-XXIII; Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.87 and Smith 1981, fig.239, p.243.
- 20 Davies 1922 I, p.80, pl.XXXI.
- 21 Davies 1922 I, p.90-91, pl.I, XXXIII.
- 22 Davies & Davies 1933, pl.IV-V, XX; Mekhitarian 1978, p.49; Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.83 and Smith 1981, fig.240-241, p.246-247.
- 23 Davies & Davies 1933, p.30, pl.XXXIII.
- 24 Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.83.
- 25 BM.EA.37991, in James 1985, fig.22, p.23; Culican 1966, fig.42, p.45 and Aldred 1972, pl.I.
- 26 Cairo CG.46097, in Aldred 1961, No.74, p.63-64 and Reeves 1990(ii), p.41.
- 27 Berlin Inv.No.21685, Amarna house Q.48.1, in Fay 1982, p.52-53.

- 28 Cairo JE.31409, Theban stela, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.143.
- 29 Davies 1941, p.34, pl.XXXVII and James 1985, fig.44, p.42.
- 30 Smith 1981, fig.255, p.260 and Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.125.
- 31 Luxor J.134, in Davies & Davies 1933, pl.XLI, XLIII; Luxor 1978, No.101, p.46; Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.127 and Kozloff & Bryan 1992, p.297, pl.28.
- 32 Cairo Temp.Reg.10:11:26:3.
- 33 Berlin Inv.No.21140, in Priese ed. 1991, No.89, p.129-130 and Aldred 1987, fig.134, p.192.
- 34 Louvre AF.6878, Amarna, wood leaf.
- 35 Cairo JE.61467/Carter No.21, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.186; Desroches Noblecourt 1963, pl.VI; Aldred 1961, No.150, p.86; Mekhitarian 1978, p.118; Aldred 1961, No.150, p.86; Reeves 1990(ii), p.189 and Littauer & Crouwel 1985, pl.LXXVII.
- 36 Cairo Ex.No.175/Carter No.50.uu, in Desroches Noblecourt 1963, pl.X; Posener 1962, p.23; Reeves 1990(ii), p.178 and Culican 1966, fig.43, p.46.
- 37 Cairo JE.61989/Carter No.120, in Littauer & Crouwel 1985, pl.XX- XXI; Reeves 1990(ii), p.171; Aldred 1972, fig.18 and Desroches Noblecourt 1963, pl.VII (compare with rounded style of other Asiatic figure).
- 38 Brooklyn Acc.No.77.130.
- 39 Leiden Inv.H.III.OOOO, in Schneider & Raven 1981, No.82, p.92; Martin 1991, fig.35, 37, p.70-71, fig.44-45, p.74-75, pl.I; Martin 1989, p.80-81; Martin 1977, pl.II.2; Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.200-202; Aldred 1961, No.144, 148, p.84-85; also Louvre B.56, and side of dyad, Turin Inv.Cat.1379, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1989, fig.238, p.153.
- 40 Leiden Inv.H.III.OOOO, in Schneider & Raven 1981, No.82, p.92 (Hittites not illustrated) and Martin 1991, fig.44, p.75; also Leiden Inv.H.III.QQQQ, in Martin 1991, fig.49, p.77; see Corson 1980, R-S, p.28 for reconstruction.
- 41 Boston MFA.64.521, in Aldred 1973, No.57, p.135; Cooney 1965, No.51, p.82-85; Samson 1985, fig.7, p.25 and Robins 1993, fig.16, p.54.
- 42 Aldred 1973, "that the foe is a Syrian woman is evident from her sidelock", p.135.
- 43 Davies 1908 VI, pl.XVII, XIX.
- 44 Davies 1908 VI, p.20-21, pl.XXVIII, XXXVI and Gauthier-Laurent 1938, J, fig.8, p.683.
- 45 Davies 1908 VI, p.20.
- 46 First noted by Gauthier-Laurent 1938, p.683, note 2.
- 47 eg. B.M.EA.191, stela of Kaha, XIX dyn, in Bierbrier 1982, fig.65, p.91 and Turin Inv.Cat.1601, stela of Ramose, XIX dyn, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1988, fig.231, p.169. Pinch 1993, p.136, refers to idea that this style ("scroll wig") is Mesopotamian in origin, although aforementioned Archaic and OK prototypes would argue against this and suggest the style is exported rather than imported.
- 48 Leiden Inv.H.III.OOOO, in Martin 1991, fig.44, p.74-75; Fechheimer 1914, pl.145 and Schneider & Raven 1981, No.82, p.92 (not illustrated); see also Martin 1977, pl.III.3.
- 49 Davies & Davies 1933, pl.IV-V, XX and Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.83.
- 50 B.M.EA.37991, in James 1985, fig.22, p.23 and Aldred 1972, pl.I.
- 51 Davies 1943 II, pl.LVII.

- 52 Leiden Inv.H.III.OOOO, in Martin 1991, fig.44, p.74; Fechheimer 1914, pl.145 and Schneider & Raven 1981, No.82, p.92 (not illustrated); see also Martin 1977, pl.III.3.
- 53 Although not so-called 'Nubian style' (only worn by Nubians in late XVIII dyn. when already fashionable amongst Egyptians, discussed below), an epithet given by Aldred on account of this highly ornate style's supposed similarity with "the shock of hair that covered the polls of Nubian soldiers", 1957, p.142; however, as Samson has pointed out, "distinction is important between the Nubian short crop of curls (little more than a skull cap)...and the very different [Nubian] wigs, often with one to five layers of curls fringing the face", 1975, p.264.
- 54 Sethe 1906 I, IV.84,7 and Breasted 1906 II, p.30.
- 55 Breasted 1906 II, p.30.
- 56 Murray in Wainwright 1920, p.11, note 6.
- 57 Keimer 1953, fig.109, 111-114, 117-133, p.329-335.
- 58 Davies 1943 I, p.26, 30, II, pl.II, XVIII-XX and Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.86-87.
- 59 BM.EA.922, in James 1985, fig.23, p.24.
- 60 Cairo CG.24095, KV.36, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.142 and Cortegianni 1986, No.53, p.93-94.
- 61 Cairo JE.31409, Theban stela, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.143 and Aldred 1961, No.94, p.69.
- 62 MMA.26.7.836, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.164, although rather misleadingly referring to this carefully dressed style as "a shaggy or kinky mop of hair", p.268.
- 63 Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.26-27, 125 and Smith 1981, fig.255, p.260.
- 64 Luxor J.134, in Davies & Davies 1933, pl.XLI-XLIII; Luxor 1978, No.101, p.46; Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.127 and Kozloff & Bryan 1992, p.297, pl.28.
- 65 Davies 1941, p.34, pl.XXXVII and James 1985, fig.44, p.42.
- 66 Private New York Collection, Karnak(?), in Aldred 1973, No.45, p.124; see also Cairo Temp.Reg.10:11:26:3, Karnak(?) painted relief.
- 67 Brooklyn Acc.No.61.195.1, Hermopolis, in Aldred 1973, No.68, p.143 and Cooney 1965, No.54, p.90-91.
- 68 Ex-Schimmel Collection, Hermopolis, in Aldred 1973, No.138, p.202 and Cooney 1965, No.21, p.39-41.
- 69 MMA.22.2.10, Amarna, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.172, p.284.
- 70 Louvre AF.6879, Amarna, wood leaf.
- 71 MMA.55.91.2.a-c, 3.a-b, 1.a-b, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.200, "their woolly hair cut short in a caplike trim", p.317.
- 72 UC.009, Amarna, in Aldred 1973, No.134, "Head of a black man...he wears the short military wig", p.199; see also Pendlebury 1951, p.227, pl.CVI; Samson 1972, p.70, pl.41 and Samson 1975, p.264 for comments on style's terminology.
- 73 Davies & Gardiner 1926, p.25, note 1, pl.XXVII, with reference to similar styles of modern Bantu people of Zambesi; see also Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.44-45, 134; Desroches Noblecourt 1963, fig.90, p.147; Mekhitarian 1978, p.121 and Westendorf 1968, p.126-127.
- 74 Davies & Gardiner 1926, p.24, pl.XXVII-XXVIII; Desroches Noblecourt 1963, fig.87, p.142; Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.44-45, 134 and Smith 1981, fig.337, p.348.
- 75 Cairo JE.61989/Carter No.120, in Littauer & Crouwel 1985, pl.XX- XXI; Reeves 1990(ii), p.171; Desroches Noblecourt 1963, pl.VII and Aldred 1972, fig.18.
- 76 Cairo, Carter No.620:110, in Reeves 1990(ii), p.162.

- 77 Martin 1991, fig.31-32, 35, 38, 40-42, p.68, 70-72; Martin 1989, p.81; Martin 1977, pl.II.1-2, 4, III.1-2; Smith 1981, fig.330, 332, p.343-344; also Bologna, in Fechheimer 1914, pl.144; Turin Inv.Cat.1379, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1989, fig.238, p.153 and Louvre B.56.
- 78 Brooklyn Acc.No.37.267.E, in Aldred 1961, No.60, p.59-60; Vandier 1958 III, pl.CLXIV.5 and Westendorf 1968, p.135.
- 79 MMA, in Scott 1984, fig.44.
- 80 Cairo, Ex.No.175/Carter No.50.uu, in Reeves 1990(ii), p.178 and Desroches Noblecourt 1963, pl.XI.
- 81 Brooklyn Acc.No.60.27.1, in Boston 1982, No.218, p.187-188; see also Brussels 1976, No.47, "une coiffure en touffes", p.88 and Fazzini 1975, Cat.72, p.88.
- 82 UC.14210, Thebes(?), in Kozloff & Bryan 1992, No.88, p.362-363; also Page 1976, No.88, p.81 and Boston 1982, No.239, p.204-205, although here cropped hair misleadingly described as "gathered into four circular tufts".
- 83 BM.EA.32749, in Hall 1929, p.237, pl.XL.1.
- 84 Davies & Gardiner 1936 I, pl.XL; Mekhitarian 1978, p.105 and Brack & Brack 1980, pl.12.
- 85 Wreszinski 1923 I, 200.
- 86 Davies 1943 I, p.26, 30, II, pl.XVIII-XX.
- 87 Davies & Gardiner 1926, p.24, p.24, pl.XXX and Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.44-45, 134.
- 88 Davies & Gardiner 1926, p.24, pl.XXVII-XXVIII and Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.44-45, 134.
- 89 Kanawati 1987, "...in the Ramesside period...the number of scenes of daily life in general was reduced, giving way to representations of the netherworld", p.136.
- 90 Hornung 1990, fig.105, p.147.
- 91 Strouhal 1992, fig.226, p.210 and Nims 1965, p.123.
- 92 Berlin Inv.No.21775.
- 93 Fouchet 1965, fig.123, 141-142; Aldred 1980, fig.154, p.188 and MacQuitty 1965, p.132.
- 94 Hornung 1990, fig.109, p.148.
- 95 Aldred 1987, fig.105, p.152 and Murnane 1980, fig.7, 12-13, p.11, 17-18.
- 96 Cairo JE.36457.a, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.226; also Culican 1966, fig.75, p.67.
- 97 Kofler Truniger Collection K.9620.E, in Müller 1964, A.139, p.101 and Westendorf 1968, p.196.
- 98 Murnane 1980, fig.13, p.18.
- 99 Louvre E.16353, in Bruyère 1952, No.2, fig.147, p.62, also No.1, 3, fig.147, p.62.
- 100 Cairo JE.37175, Karnak, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.227 (although use of term "wig" in this context surely erroneous); also Aldred 1980, fig.164, p.199.
- 101 Hornung 1990, fig.105, p.147.
- 102 Exterior of hypostyle hall, in Smith 1981, fig.351, p.357 and Nims 1965, p.123.
- 103 Smith 1981, fig.362-363, p.371.
- 104 Cairo JE.46189, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.206; see also Pennsylvania University Museum E.3067, in Wilson 1951, fig.27.a.
- 105 Fouchet 1965, fig.123-125 and MacQuitty 1965, p.111.

- 106 MMA.13.180.21, in Metropolitan 1984, fig.42, p.42; Hayes 1959 II, fig.214, p.340 and Smith 1981, fig.365, p.373.
- 107 Brooklyn Acc.No.48.30, Sakkara, in Brooklyn 1952, No.49; Fazzini 1975, Cat.79, p.92 and Brussels 1976, No.55, p.96.
- 108 Cairo IFAO.3650, Deir el-Medina, in Manniche 1987(ii), fig.5, p.15.
- 109 Hornung 1990, fig.107, p.148.
- 110 Cairo JE.364457.d, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.226; Nims 1965, p.165 and Culican 1966, fig.75, p.67; see also Boston MFA.88.997, in Aldred 1987, fig.30, p.56.
- 111 Cairo Temp.Reg.12:3:24:13, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.226.
- 112 Boston MFA.88.997.
- 113 Murnane 1980, fig.15, p.22, an Amorite fortress.
- 114 Sandars 1985, fig.13, "the second man from the right has an Amorite hairstyle", p.35; also fig.68, p.110.
- 115 eg. Boston MFA.88.997 and Sandars 1985, fig.90, p.135.
- 116 Sandars 1985, "Egyptian troops from southern Palestine", fig.74, p.118; also fig.91, 122, p.135, 188; fig.113, a Peleset prince who "does not wear a 'feathered crown' for certain", p.165, and fig.68-69, "a Tjeker", p.110-111.
- 117 Sandars 1985, fig.13, "wild-haired" figure in Kadesh scene of Ramses II, p.35.
- 118 See Sandars 1985, "hair stiffened and held by a headband, clearly not feathers, is worn by Egyptian troops from southern Palestine", p.135; also "that the headgear of the Peleset was a 'feathered crown' has passed into the literature, but not unchallenged. We have just seen that identical headgear was worn by the Tjeker and possibly the Denyen and Shekelesh as well. The 'crowns' on the reliefs are not obviously made from feathers...Other suggestions for the crown have been leather, folded linen...or a special way of dressing the hair. Representations on glazed tiles, ivories and pots show a great variety of hairstyles, from swept back and held by a band, to a form of stiffening so that the hair practically stands on end", p.134, going on to compare it with lime-stiffened hair of Celtic warriors; for similar 'crest' style worn by the Libyan Macae, see Herodotus IV.175, trans. de Sélincourt 1954, p.330.
- 119 Although Sandars 1985 states that "There is little likeness to the headgear of the northerners", p.135, styles are in fact very similar and possibly created in similar way; examples in Murnane 1980, fig.10-11, p.15- 16; Culican 1966, fig.64, 76, p.61, 69 and Sandars 1985, fig.1, 75-77, 80-84, 86-88, 93, p.8, 120, 122-123, 126-129, 132, 134, 136.
- 120 Hornung 1990, fig.105, p.147.
- 121 Breasted 1906 II, p.76.
- 122 Cairo JE.46189, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.206.
- 123 Fouchet 1965, fig.59 and MacQuitty 1976, p.22.
- 124 MacQuitty 1965, p.112, 133.
- 125 MacQuitty 1976, p.93.
- 126 MMA.35.1.16, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.211, p.336.
- 127 Cairo JE.36457.b, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.226 and Nims 1965, p.165; also Kofler Truniger Collection K.9620.D, in Müller 1964, A.138, p.199-200 and Westendorf 1968, p.196 and Boston MFA.88.997.
- 128 Hornung 1990, fig.108, p.148.

- 129 eg. BM.EA.8506, in James 1985, fig.47, p.44; Brunner-Traut 1955, fig.4, p.14; see also Brunner-Traut 1955, fig.5, p.15.
- 130 Munich ÄS.5451, unprovenanced, in Schoske et al. 1990, No.125, p.141.

For the purposes of this study the later part of Egyptian history will be divided into the Third Intermediate Period (XXI-XXIVth dynasties), the Late Period (XXV-XXVIth and XXVII-XXXth dynasties) and the Ptolemaic and Roman/Coptic Periods.

The whole of this later period is one of great change both politically and culturally, as Egypt is first infiltrated by Libyans and divided internally before its conquest by Nubians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Persians, Macedonians and Romans. Such political upheavals and strong external influences are inevitably reflected in artistic representations, and although significantly reduced in number sufficient examples remain to enable the study of styles to continue.

THIRD INTERMEDIATE PERIOD: XXI-XXIVth dynasties

MEN

During this period it gradually becomes compulsory for religious personnel to be totally shaven ¹, as noted from a bronze figure of the priest Khonsumeh ² and a particularly fine wooden figure of an unnamed priest of Ptah ³ (fig.609). The shaven head is also sported by harpist Djedkhonsuiuefankh in his painted stela scene before Ra Horakhti ⁴ and by the flautist Ankhpakhered on the Donation Stela of Hornakht, ruler of Mendes ⁵ (fig.610).

The short round style is now less common and generally confined to royalty, as noted from the plain styles with squared-off bases worn by Pinudjem II on his painted funerary papyrus scenes ⁶ and Prince Iuwelot, son of Osorkon I, on a stela relief scene ⁷. Sculpted forms tend to be limited to overseer shabti figures, including those of Takeloth II ⁸, Osorkon II and Prince Shoshenq's son Takeloth ⁹, and are rather enlarged with only summary detail.

The most popular style would appear to be the basic form of the long shoulder-length style in which the hair rests across the top of the shoulders. Undetailed forms are found on the granite block figure of the royal official Ankhrenepnefer ¹⁰ and an overseer shabti of Shoshenq II ¹¹, others with striations running across the head and down each side noted in the case of the block figures of Vizier Nespekashuti ¹² and King's Letter Writer, Hor ¹³. Two dimensional examples of the basic style are relatively common, with plain black forms featured in the funerary papyri scenes of Nespekashuti ¹⁴, the stela scene of Scribe of the Treasury Afenmut ¹⁵ and on the cartonnage design of Hor, Prophet of Amun Ra ¹⁶, the same style with jagged outline to indicate texture worn by the funerary priest of Nesikhons on the interior of her painted coffin ¹⁷ (fig.45).

The shoulder-length style with pointed ends is also occasionally found in two-dimensions, plain black forms worn by the priests Bekenmut ¹⁸ and Djedhoriuefankh ¹⁹ on the interior of their painted coffins, and a vertically striated relief form with detailed ends worn by Hornakht, ruler of Mendes, on his donation stela ²⁰ (fig.610). A most interesting variant is the style worn by priest Psusennes, its frond-like, fringed border reflecting a technique last employed in the XVIIIth dynasty,

re-used here to great effect ²¹ (fig.611).

The tripartite style continues to be used extensively for funerary items, as noted from the quartzite lid of Prince Hornakht's coffin ²² (fig.612) and the cartonnage of Theban priest Nekhtefmut ²³, Prophet of Amun Menkheperre ²⁴, priest Bekenmut ²⁵, Tabakmut ²⁶, Herwa ²⁷ and Pasenhor ²⁸, in addition to numerous royal shabti figures representing workers ²⁹ as distinct from their more fashionably coifed overseers (discussed above).

WOMEN

The tripartite style continues to be the most popular form of coiffure and is frequently depicted in relief and painted scenes. Royal examples are featured on the funerary papyri scenes of Herihor's consort Nodjmet ³⁰, Entiunny, daughter of Pinudjem I ³¹ and Princess Hentawy, the latter example complete with jagged outline ³². Pinudjem II's wife Nesikhons wears the plain style on her funerary stela ³³, as do Queen Karoma, wife of Osorkon II ³⁴ and Prince Iuwelot's wife Tadenitenbast ³⁵. Non-royal examples include the styles worn by the Chantress of Amun, Taentshedetmut, in her funerary papyrus scenes ³⁶, and those worn by Djedamuniufankh ³⁷, Tasherit, Singer of the Harem of Amun ³⁸ and Daughter of the Prophet Djedkhonsuasankh ³⁹ on their stelae. The tripartite styles of the Chantress of Amun, Hereubekhet ⁴⁰ and Taperet ⁴¹ also have a slightly jagged outline in addition to a number of separate braids over the shoulder, recalling the transitional 'partial' style of the XVIIIth dynasty.

A rare sculpted example of the tripartite style is the striated form worn by the serene figure of Princess Shepensopdu, granddaughter of Osorkon II ⁴² (fig.613), this traditional form once again dominant in coffin decoration, although some examples retain the elaborate surface detail of crimped hair and side braids of earlier times. Fine examples of such elaboration include the black style with side braids on the outer coffin of Princess Hentawy ⁴³, a blue crimped version on the coffin of Princess Maatkare ⁴⁴ and the delicate vertical lines of curls adorning the inner coffin of Ankhshepnupet ⁴⁵.

The hair can also be shown as swept back to fall in one piece down the back as the figure is performing some task. Examples include a scene from the aforementioned funerary papyrus of Hereubekhet, Chantress of Amun, in which she is shown working in the fields ⁴⁶, another Chantress of the God, Tenetwesretenperesu, shown with a swept back style as she raises her arm to salute Osiris in her funerary papyrus scenes ⁴⁷.

The full style is very much in the minority, with occasional depictions in the XXIst dynasty largely restricted to figures who otherwise wear the tripartite style. As such the figure of Hereubekhet raises her arms to Ptah Sokar, and instead of the hair falling down her back in the one piece swept back style it falls around her shoulders and upper body to form the full style ⁴⁸, as in the case of the priestess and mourner at the funeral of Teye in her funerary papyrus scenes ⁴⁹. The full style is also noted on funerary stelae ⁵⁰, including that of the priestess Deniuenkhons, complete with jagged edges ⁵¹.

A five-layered version of the full style is also worn by Princess Maatkare in an offering scene from her funerary papyri ⁵²,

with the bouffant style also associated with the goddess Hathor found on the rather fine coffin of Takhennu, its plaited nature highlighted by white intersecting lines set against a blue background ⁵³ (fig.614).

Whereas the short round style is declining in popularity amongst men at this time, it is becoming increasingly fashionable for women (paralleling the situation in the late Old Kingdom and 1st Intermediate Period). The relatively few sculpted figures of women at this time feature the short style, a stunning bronze and gold figure of the God's Wife Karomama, wife of Takeloth II, wearing a stiff, short round style of vertical curls ⁵⁴ (fig.615), with rather more rounded, softer forms noted on the bronze figures of Meresamun, Singer of Amun ⁵⁵ (fig.616), Takushit ⁵⁶, an unnamed priestess of Amun ⁵⁷ and similarly anonymous woman ⁵⁸. An ivory figurine of an unnamed naked woman again has this rounded, vertically curled style ⁵⁹ (fig.617), which is also noted from a rather less accomplished terracotta 'fertility figure' lying sideways on a bed ⁶⁰ (fig.618). Two dimensional examples of this style are much less common however, and are generally confined to figures of mourning women ⁶¹. It would therefore appear that shorter hair has largely replaced the longer styles of both fertility figures and mourners of earlier times.

The sidelock continues to be used in conjunction with short styles in the case of young royalty, as noted from the figure of a princess decorating a mirror box of Queen Hentawy, her short round style of blue curls extended on the right side by the addition of a long loose sidelock ⁶².

CHILDREN/NON-EGYPTIANS

Such 'minority groups' are virtually absent from the artistic range at this time, making it impossible to establish the styles worn.

- 1 Lloyd 1976, No.36, p.152 (for "baldness" read 'shaven head').
- 2 Berlin Inv.No.23732, unprovenanced, in Fay 1982, p.38-39.
- 3 BM.EA.67138, XXII dyn/c.900 BC, Sakkara, in EES 1968, p.2.
- 4 Louvre N.3657, XXI dyn, in Ziegler 1990, p.74.
- 5 Brooklyn Acc.No.67.118, c.Sheshonq III, Mendes, in Brussels 1976, No.63, p.110 and Fazzini 1975, Cat.88, p.97.
- 6 BM.EA.10793.1, XXI dyn, in James 1985, fig.71, p.61 and Francis ed. 1971, fig.55, p.63.
- 7 BM.EA.1224, XXII dyn, Thebes, in Edinburgh 1988, No.2, p.29.
- 8 Cairo JE.86953.A, XXII dyn, Tanis, in Edinburgh 1988, No.11, p.39.
- 9 Cairo JE.86816, XXII dyn, Memphis, in Edinburgh 1988, No.13, which "recall some of Osorkon II, with their large, curled, rounded wigs", p.40.
- 10 BM.EA.1007, XXII dyn, Tell el-Maskhuta, in Edinburgh 1988, No.3, p.30.
- 11 Cairo Temp.Reg.6:7:48:1.B, in Edinburgh 1988, No.10, p.38.
- 12 Luxor J.152 (ex-Cairo JE.36662), XXII dyn, Karnak, in Legrain 1914 III, p.78-80, pl.XL-XLI and Luxor 1978, No.260, p.103.
- 13 Cairo CG.42226, XXII dyn, Karnak, in Aldred 1980, fig.173, p.213; see also Berlin Inv.No.17272, Karnak, in Priese ed. 1991, No.100, p.168-169.
- 14 Louvre E.17401, XXI dyn, in Ziegler 1990, p.68.
- 15 XXII dyn, Deir el-Bahari, in Winlock 1928, fig.26, p.22.
- 16 XXII dyn, Ramesseum, in Quibell 1898, p.20, pl.XXVIII.
- 17 Cleveland 14.714, XXI dyn.
- 18 Cleveland 14.561, XXII dyn, Thebes, in Cleveland n.d, p.13.
- 19 Cairo Temp.Reg.23:11:16:12, XXII dyn, Qurna, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.238.
- 20 Brooklyn Acc.No.67.118, c.Sheshonq III, Mendes, in Brussels 1976, No.63, p.110 and Fazzini 1975, Cat.88, p.97.
- 21 BM.EA.642, late XXI dyn, Abydos stela.
- 22 Tanis Museum forecourt, XXII dyn, in Edinburgh 1988, fig.24, p.24.
- 23 Cam.Fitz.E.64-1896, XXII dyn, in Quibell 1898, p.10, pl.XVI.
- 24 XXI dyn, in Winlock 1924, fig.31, p.29 and Winlock 1926, fig.19-20, p.20-21.
- 25 Cleveland 14.561, XXII dyn, Thebes, in Cleveland n.d, p.13.
- 26 XXI dyn, in Winlock 1926, fig.21, p.21.
- 27 XXIII dyn, in Winlock 1924, fig.37, p.32.
- 28 BM.EA. 24906, XXII dyn, in James 1985, fig.84, p.70.
- 29 eg. JE.85920, shabti of King Psusennes, XXI dyn, in Edinburgh 1988, No.6, p.34; Cairo JE.86069, shabti of King Amenemope, XXI dyn, in Edinburgh 1988, No.7, p.35 and Cairo JE.86957, shabti of King Siamun, XXI dyn, in Edinburgh 1988, No.58, p.36.
- 30 BM.EA.10541, XXI dyn, in James 1979, fig.22, p.70.
- 31 Winlock 1930, fig.28-29, p.25.

- 32 Winlock 1926, fig.35, p.29.
- 33 UC.14226, XXI dyn, in Stewart 1983 III, p.3, pl.47.
- 34 BM.EA.1077, XXII dyn, Bubastis, in James 1979, fig.23 and Francis ed. 1970, fig.62, p.68; see also Berlin Inv.No.10838 for similar piece, in Priese ed. 1991, No.98, p.164-165.
- 35 BM.EA.1224, XXII dyn, Thebes, in Edinburgh 1988, No.2, p.72.
- 36 BM.EA.9970, XXI dyn, Deir el-Bahari.
- 37 Cairo Temp.Reg.25:12:24:20, XXII dyn, Deir el-Bahari, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.243 and Corteggiani 1986, No.91, p.142-143.
- 38 XXII dyn stela, Ramesseum, in Quibell 1898, No.2, p.17
- 39 XXII dyn stela, Ramesseum, in Quibell 1898, No.4, p.17.
- 40 Cairo Temp.Reg.14:7:35:6, XXI dyn, in Terrace & Fischer 1970, No.35, p.153-156.
- 41 Louvre, XXII dyn.
- 42 Cairo CG.42228/JE.37383, in Corteggiani 1986, No.98, p.152-153; Brussels 1960, Cat.66 and Aldred 1980, fig.175, p.213.
- 43 MMA.25.3.182, XXI dyn, Deir el-Bahari, in Winlock 1924, fig.25, p.25.
- 44 Cairo JE.26200, XXI dyn, Deir el-Bahari, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.237.
- 45 XXIII dyn, Thebes, in Winlock 1924, fig.36, p.31.
- 46 Cairo Temp.Reg.14:7:35:6, XXI dyn, in Terrace & Fischer 1970, No.35, p.154.
- 47 Luxor J.24, XXI dyn, Deir el-Bahari, in Luxor 1978, No.248, p.99.
- 48 Cairo Temp.Reg.14:7:35:6, XXI dyn, in Terrace & Fischer 1970, No.35, p.155.
- 49 Winlock 1926, fig.34, p.29.
- 50 eg. Quibell 1898, XXI dyn. stelae, No.8, No.14, p.17, pl.XXI.
- 51 BM.EA.27332, XXI dyn, in James 1985, fig.80, p.67.
- 52 Cairo Inv.No.4007, in Brugsch & Maspero 1881, pl.13; Werbrouck 1938, p.107, pl.XLV; Harris & Weeks 1973, p.52 and Romer 1981, p.127.
- 53 Copenhagen Nat.Mus.Inv.No.AA.a.1, c.XXII-XXIV dyn, in Kjersgaard 1968, No.12.K, p.28 and Sourouzian 1981, p.454, note 51.
- 54 Louvre N.500, XXII dyn, Karnak, in Ziegler 1990, p.71; Aldred 1980, fig.170, p.208; Aldred 1987, fig.119, p.173; Amiet et al. 1981, fig.21, p.297 and Westendorf 1968, p.199.
- 55 Berlin Inv.No.71/71, XXII dyn, in Fay 1982, p.106-107.
- 56 Athens National Museum No.110, XXII-XXV dyn, Sebennytos, in Aldred 1980, fig.169, p.208; Smith 1981, fig.385, p.391 and Fechheimer 1914, pl.90.
- 57 Leiden Inv.F.1938/7.21.
- 58 Berlin Inv.No.2309, in Priese ed. 1991, No.139, p.230-231.
- 59 Louvre E.27429, in Ziegler 1990, p.74.
- 60 Louvre E.22456, c.700 BC, XXIV dyn.

- 61 eg. Berlin Inv.No.20.132, XXII dyn. coffin scene of 5 mourners in Werbrouck 1938, pl.XLVI and Smith 1981, fig.387, p.394; also single woman on base of stela Cairo Temp.Reg.25:12:24:20, XXII dyn, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.91, p.142-143 and Corteggiani 1986, No.91, p.142-143.
- 62 Cairo JE.26278, XXI dyn, in Corteggiani 1986, No.92, p.143-144.

LATE PERIOD: XXV-XXVIth dynasties

MEN

Following the political divisions of the Third Intermediate Period, the XXVth Kushite and XXVIth Saite dynasties manage to reunite Egypt for almost two centuries of relative stability, the commercial ventures of the Saite kings opening Egypt up to Mediterranean influence whilst the archaising trends of their artistic renaissance revive a number of traditional styles.

The cropped/shaven head is increasingly featured on sculpted figures of priests, officials and certain Kushite kings, the closely cropped heads of Shabaka¹ and Taharka², whose "form and execution...have a long tradition of in Egyptian art, going back to the Old Kingdom"³ are visible beneath various diadems and caps as their short hair protrudes in tab-form in front of the ears (fig.619). Shabaka's son Horemakhet is depicted with a smoothly shaven head, "more typical of Middle Kingdom private statues than those of the Ramesside period during which shaven heads are much rarer in the round than they are in relief"⁴ (fig.620).

Other figures portrayed without hair include the Theban priest Khonsuiraa (with visible hair-line)⁵, the royal relative Iretakana⁶ and the high official Petamenophis, the latter shown with both a smooth scalp⁷ and with a striated scalp and hair-line to indicate slight growth⁸. Unnamed examples include a carob wood figure⁹, the granite 'head of a priest'¹⁰, a quartzite head from Abydos¹¹ and an unprovenanced example in basalt¹², with Saite examples including a bronze figure of the priestly official Khonsirdais¹³, and the wooden figurines of Psammetich and son Marres, their "hair close shorn like a cap"¹⁴.

Two dimensional examples of this minimal style range from royalty to servants, the Kushite ruler Atlanersa depicted with the cropped head of his sculpted counterparts on an altar scene from a temple at Gebel Barkal¹⁵. The superb reliefs from the tomb of the Fourth Prophet of Amun and Count of Thebes, Montuemhat show him in his priestly capacity with a smoothly shaven scalp (TT.34)¹⁶, the priest Nesmin also represented with a shaven head in his Akhmim tomb scenes¹⁷ (fig.621), as are Hahat, priest of Montu¹⁸, the official Psametikmenneith¹⁹ and the figures of Hor, Damerti and Mentuza on their funerary stela²⁰. A row of shaven priests are depicted on a Saite papyrus scene of Psammetichus I, and "quite as remarkable as the beauty of the drawing is the persistence of the Ramesside style here, particularly in the long shaven skulls of the priests, which are unlike the round headed type introduced in Kushite reliefs and statues"²¹.

Servants and attendants with shaven/cropped heads include the minor figures in the tomb reliefs of Pabasa (TT.279)²² and in a stela scene of the God's Wife Ankhnesneferibre²³, a wooden fragment from the coffin of Pekhorenkhonsu, Door-keeper of the Temple of Amun, portraying "his bumpy old head clean shaven"²⁴.

The naturally balding head is occasionally found in two dimensions, as noted in the case of a fragmentary relief figure

from the tomb of Montuemhat(?) (TT.34) ²⁵ (fig.622). The celebrated bust of Montuemhat himself also revives the New Kingdom tradition of suppliant figures with balding heads, his smooth pate encircled by the remains of his natural hair ²⁶ (fig.623) also found on the small granite head of an anonymous contemporary ²⁷ (fig.624).

The traditional short round curled style is featured on the sculpted figures of an unnamed Chancellor of Lower Egypt ²⁸ (fig.625), the high official Tjayasetimu ²⁹ and priest Painmu ³⁰, a curious Old Kingdom-inspired variant set with vertical curls and separate fringe of horizontal rows noted on a fragmentary bronze figure ³¹ (fig.626).

Two dimensional examples of the round style are rather more common, the king still portrayed in this most traditional of styles. Necho II stands before Hathor wearing "the valanced wig with diadem which, especially in the Memphite region and in Lower Egypt, had always been part of a king's festive costume occurring often throughout the Third Intermediate Period" ³². Both this relief scene and another very similar example of the same king ³³ depict the short round style with the crown area simply striated in contrast with the curled texture of the rest, an archaising trend which is also apparent in another relief example of a royal head, often assigned to the Vth dynasty on account of similarities with the Abusir scenes of Sahure; however, Bothmer believes it to be much later, one of the main criteria for assigning it to the Late Period being the treatment of the curls which have been drilled from below, "an unbelievably painstaking...feat of workmanship...known from some...Old Kingdom sculptures in the round, but in relief it has thus far been noted only in a few instances covering a limited time within the Late Period" ³⁴.

Non-royal examples include the short curled style on the stela scene of priest Djedatumiufankh ³⁵, and those of various attendants, bearers and manual workers in the tomb reliefs of Chamberlain Basa (TT.389) ³⁶; in the scenes of Montuemhat (TT.34) such figures wear both curled ³⁷ and plain forms ³⁸, with plain styles also worn by mourners in the scenes of Nespekashuti (TT.312) ³⁹.

The short round style with sidelock continues to be worn by certain priests, as noted from a highly detailed fragmentary Sakkara relief figure of a High Priest of Ptah ⁴⁰ (fig.627), and funerary priests in the tomb scenes of Amenirdis ⁴¹ and the Viziers Bakenrenef ⁴² and Nespekashuti (TT.312) ⁴³.

Shoulder-length styles are however most popular, sculpted forms of the New Kingdom double, Middle Kingdom basic and even Old Kingdom flared forms all revived and joined by the so-called 'bag wig' ⁴⁴, which although resembling the all-enveloping hair cover worn by Old Kingdom servant figures, in most Late Period examples is a stylised representation of hair which serves to draw attention to the increasingly individualistic portraiture of the time.

Sculpted forms of the double style feature most prominently in the XXVth dynasty, when it is popular amongst the official classes in its basic form set across the back of the shoulders, as worn by the priestly official Ankhemtenenet ⁴⁵, Chamberlain Pesshuper ⁴⁶, Vizier Nespekashuti ⁴⁷, officials Padimennebnesuttawy ⁴⁸ (fig.628) and Iti ⁴⁹, priests

Ankhpakhered⁵⁰ (fig.629) and Hor⁵¹, and two of the figures of the ubiquitous Montuemhat⁵² (fig.630).

The Old Kingdom shoulder length flared style so beloved of scribal figures is found on the granite head of a XXVth dynasty official⁵³, although the most popular form of shoulder length style throughout the whole period is the Middle Kingdom-inspired basic style, again set across the back of the shoulders, the pointed-end variant being virtually ignored⁵⁴. A simple striated basic form worn by 'a man with a cloak' "might be taken for a work of the Middle Kingdom...the striated wig...would favour such an attribution...yet the contour of the wig and cutting of the eyes betray the Late origin of the sculpture"⁵⁵. Further examples include an unnamed priest from Bubastis⁵⁶, the official Akhamenru⁵⁷, two further figures of Montuemhat⁵⁸, his father Nesiptah⁵⁹, Vizier Nespekashuti⁶⁰, priest Ankhtakeloth⁶¹, an unnamed official⁶² and an 'old man frowning', his otherwise standard style cut back at the temples⁶³. Smooth undetailed forms of the style are worn by Price Bes of Mendes⁶⁴, District Governor Wahibre⁶⁵, the temple scribe Pedimahes⁶⁶, priest Merenptah⁶⁷, Prophet of Amun Djedkhonsuiufankh⁶⁸, officials Harwa⁶⁹, Amenemont⁷⁰ and Nekhtereb⁷¹, the individual represented by the 'Libyan Bust'⁷², three unnamed officials⁷³ (fig.631) and the remarkable colossus of the deified Amenhotep son of Hapu⁷⁴.

Examples of the bag wig style are first found in the XXVIth dynasty, and include the styles of the courtier Bes⁷⁵, God's Father Nesptah⁷⁶, Pesheryaset, Servant of Horus⁷⁷, Overseer of Sealers Psamtik⁷⁸ and an anonymous scribe, wearing a "bag wig which surrounds the face on three sides like a voluminous cushion"⁷⁹. A further example of the bag style appears to have been recut from an original nemes, having been adapted for a private individual with the uracus removed⁸⁰.

Two-dimensional representations of shoulder-length styles generally date from the Saite period, the basic style minus surface decoration noted in the tomb reliefs of Montuemhat (TT.34)⁸¹ and Chamberlain Basa (TT.389)⁸², whilst vertically striated detail is added in the tomb reliefs of Akhameneru, Steward of the God's Wife Shepenwepet II (TT.404)⁸³. A stela relief of Iretoreru uses horizontal striations on the lower section only⁸⁴, whilst the most elaborate forms of decoration occur in further relief scenes of Montuemhat (TT.34), his shoulder length style embellished with vertical rows of drilled curls which lengthen towards the base of the style⁸⁵ (fig.632), a form of decoration also employed in the case of Pabasa, Chief Steward of the God's Wife (TT.279)⁸⁶. In contrast to XXVth dynasty sculpted forms, the double style is represented with a pointed underpanel in the later tomb scenes of Pabasa (TT.279)⁸⁷ and Sheshonq (TT.27)⁸⁸, the top section of wavy striations contrasting with the drilled curls beneath.

The tripartite style is restricted to sarcophagus and coffin design, as noted from the basalt coffin lid of Memphite vizier Sisebek⁸⁹ and similar lid of Ibi, Overseer of the God's Wife Nitocris⁹⁰.

WOMEN

Although relatively few representations of women are produced ⁹¹, the tripartite style is featured in the majority of examples, generally following the Middle Kingdom trend in which the hair swells out behind the ears. The tripartite style is the coiffure most often adopted by the powerful God's Wives of Amun, sculpted figures of Amenirdis I, daughter of Kashta, featuring both striated ⁹² and vertically curled ⁹³ styles of various lengths. Her successor Shepenwepet II, daughter of Piye, favours the striated form ⁹⁴ (fig.633) whereas a smaller ivory figure, possibly representing her successor Amenirdis II, wears a curled style ⁹⁵.

Non-royal examples of the swollen striated form are worn by Shepenmut ⁹⁶ (fig.628) and the unnamed wife of a Chancellor of Lower Egypt ⁹⁷ (fig.625), the ivory figurine of Tadjia wearing a plain version ⁹⁸ (fig.634). Remains of the traditional (unswollen) tripartite are preserved on a headless granite torso ⁹⁹ in addition to a wooden figurine ¹⁰⁰ and the painted terracotta figure of a mourning woman ¹⁰¹ (fig.635). The style also continues to be extensively employed in coffin design, with examples ranging from the sober black style of Ditamunpaseneb ¹⁰² to the red, blue and yellow striped version of Tenkhaykhetes ¹⁰³ and the skilfully carved echelon curls of Heribseneb ¹⁰⁴ (fig.636).

Whereas sculpted examples of the tripartite style are heavily influenced by Middle Kingdom prototypes, relief forms tend to follow the longer models of the late XVIIIth dynasty. A sandstone relief fragment of Amenirdis I features a waist-length style set with vertical curls ¹⁰⁵ (fig.637) whilst plain versions are worn by Amenirdis and Shepenwepet II in their Medinet Habu chapel scenes ¹⁰⁶, Ankhnesneferibre in stela scenes ¹⁰⁷ and Nitocris in the tomb scenes of her Chief Follower Mutirdis (TT.410) ¹⁰⁸, Mutirdis herself also shown in this plain tripartite style ¹⁰⁹, as are the bearers of Nespekashuti (TT.312) ¹¹⁰.

Further scenes from this tomb depict mourners with the swept back style ¹¹¹, a striated form of which is also worn by a nursing mother in the scenes of Montuemhat (TT.34) ¹¹² (fig.638).

The full style is only occasionally found, a bronze figurine of a royal woman displaying a finely striated version ¹¹³ (fig.639) whereas a relief figure of the God's Wife Ankhnesneferibre has a style decorated with neat rows of vertical curls on her granite sarcophagus lid ¹¹⁴. The bouffant form is also revived by Shepenwepet II on two granite sphinx figures ¹¹⁵, "inspired by Middle Kingdom sphinxes of queens wearing the bouffant wig of Hathor" ¹¹⁶.

The short round style continues to enjoy significant popularity ¹¹⁷ and displays a variety of surface detail. Curled forms are found on a basalt figure of Ankhnesneferibre ¹¹⁸, the wooden figures of Psammetich's wife ¹¹⁹ and unnamed woman ¹²⁰, a silver figurine of a noblewoman ¹²¹ (fig.640), a lute player ¹²² and a limestone fertility figurine ¹²³, all of which are paralleled in the stela scene of Tawahbes ¹²⁴ (fig.641). A striated example adorns a small faience figurine of a harpist ¹²⁵, reflecting the styles of musicians featured on the sides of a steatite bowl ¹²⁶. Plain forms are adopted by Ankhnesneferibre in her Karnak gateway reliefs as she stands before Amun Ra ¹²⁷ and Nephthys ¹²⁸ (fig.642), by Meritsuamun, Chantress

of Amun and her daughter ¹²⁹ (fig.643), and a number of women making perfume ¹³⁰.

The bag wig style is occasionally adopted by female figures, as noted in the case of a kneeling figure with a plain coiffure ¹³¹ and a later head with a style of unusual cross-hatched design which "alludes to the locks worn on certain hairdos during the Old Kingdom" ¹³² (fig.644).

The shaven/cropped head is also occasionally found in relief depictions of the God's Wife, a consecration scene of Taharka at Karnak depicting an unnamed God's Wife shooting arrows at a target ¹³³.

CHILDREN

Rare glimpses of children are to be found in the XVIIIth dynasty-inspired relief scenes of Montuemhat (TT.34), a small child shown with two plaited curling locks on the right and back of a shaven head in addition to a tuft-like fringe over the brow ¹³⁴ (fig.638), and two young girls pull at each other's striated hair which has been allowed to grow to shoulder length ¹³⁵.

NON-EGYPTIANS

At a time when pharaoh is a native of Kush, depictions of non-Egyptians are very rare, one of the few exceptions portraying a Nubian with a familiar short cap-like style set in horizontal rows of small curls as part of a bronze decorative element ¹³⁶ (fig.645).

- 1 Athens National Museum No.632, kneeling bronze figure, in Brooklyn 1988, fig.31, p.64.
- 2 Cairo CG.560, granite head, Karnak, in Borchardt 1925 II, p.108, pl.94; Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.245; Corteggiani 1986, No.100, p.154 and Smith 1981, fig.396-397, p.402-403; also Louvre E.25276, kneeling bronze figure, in Ziegler 1990, p.75.
- 3 Brooklyn 1988, p.65; circular detail on Shabaka's crop compared to that on one of a forementioned III dyn. reliefs of Hesire, Cairo CG.1428.
- 4 Cairo CG.42204/JE.38580, in Terrace & Fischer 1970, No.36, p.160.
- 5 Boston MFA.07.494, XXV dyn, Karnak(?), in Bothmer 1960, No.9, p.10-11, pl.9.
- 6 Cairo JE.38018, late XXV dyn, Karnak, in Aldred 1980, fig.183, p.220.
- 7 Berlin Inv.No.23728 in Fay 1982, p.114-115; Brooklyn 1988, fig.29, p.63; Basle 1953, Cat.161 and Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.252.
- 8 Cairo JE.37341, Karnak, in Corteggiani 1986, No.103, p.157-158.
- 9 Louvre E.122, in Ziegler 1990, p.76.
- 10 Louvre, in Lange & Hirmer 1957, p.358, pl.253.
- 11 MMA.02.4.191, XXV dyn, in Bothmer 1960, No.7, p.8-9, pl.6-7.
- 12 Copenhagen Nat.Mus.Inv.No.AA.b.29, in Kjersgaard 1968, No.29, p.36.
- 13 BM.EA.14466, in James 1979, fig.88, p.227.
- 14 Berlin Inv.No.8812/8813, in Fay 1982, p.116-117.
- 15 Boston MFA, from Gebel Barkal temple B.700, in Smith 1981, fig.392, p.398.
- 16 Kansas City Art Gallery No.48-28/2, in Bothmer 1960, No.14, p.16-17, pl.13; Aldred 1980, fig.185, p.221 and Smith 1981, fig.406, p.413.
- 17 BM.EA.1306, XXVI dyn.
- 18 KMV.ÄS.5073, XXVI dyn, Deir el-Bahari stela, in Brunner-Traut et al. 1984, No.77, p.102.
- 19 Louvre E.11377, XXVI dyn. relief scene.
- 20 XXVI dyn, Abydos, in Petrie 1925, No.6-7, No.9, p.12, pl.XXXII.
- 21 Brooklyn Acc.No.47.218.3, XXVI dyn, in Smith 1981, fig. 386, p.393; also Fazzini et al. 1989, No.72.
- 22 XXVI dyn, in Lansing 1920, fig.13, p.22 and Smith 1981, fig.393, p.399.
- 23 BM.EA.835, XXVI dyn, in Robins 1993, fig.45, p.121.
- 24 Winlock 1928, fig.28, p.24.
- 25 Brooklyn Acc.No.83.160, XXVI dyn.
- 26 Cairo CG.647, Karnak, in Borchardt 1925 II, p.193, pl.119; Terrace & Fischer 1970, No.17, p.161-164 (referring to "a sweeping wig!"); Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, illustrated with No.246; Corteggiani 1986, No.101, p.155-156; Bothmer 1960, pl.12; Westendorf 1968, p.204; Smith 1981, fig.408, p.415; Fechheimer 1914, pl.91-92; Amiet et al. 1981, fig.26, p.298 and Leclant 1961, pl.XXV-XXVIII.
- 27 Ox.Ash.1970.357, unprovenanced.
- 28 Louvre A.89, basalt dyad, XXV dyn.
- 29 BM.EA.1682, XXVI dyn, in James & Davies 1983, fig.54, p.47.

- 30 New York Gallatin Collection, XXVI dyn, Memphis(?), in Bothmer 1960, No.26, p.30-31, pl.22.
- 31 BM.EA.22784, unprovenanced.
- 32 Baltimore Art Gallery No.22.135, XXVI dyn, Kom el-Hisn, in Bothmer 1960, No.42, p.49, pl.39.
- 33 Brooklyn Acc.No.16.237, XXVI dyn, in Bothmer 1960, p.49, pl.39.
- 34 Cleveland No.3920.20, XXVI dyn, Memphis(?), in Bothmer 1960, No.35, p.42-43, pl.33.
- 35 Cleveland No.3949.20, XXVI dyn, Heliopolis, in Bothmer 1960, No.24, p.28, pl.22.
- 36 Assmann 1973, eg. bearers, fig.29.b, 54, pl.XX and butchers fig.29.b, 55, pl.XX, XXII
- 37 eg. Cleveland No.49.495, in Cleveland n.d, p.14; Cleveland, in Manniche 1987, fig.73, p.87, and California Brundage College No.2/101, in Bothmer 1960, No.16, p.18-19, pl.14.
- 38 Kansas City Art Gallery No.48-28/2, in Bothmer 1960, No.14, p.16-17, pl.13; Aldred 1980, fig.185, p.221 and Smith 1981, fig.406, p.413.
- 39 Brooklyn Acc.No.52.131.1-32, in Fazzini et al. 1989, No.73 and Smith 1958, fig.403, p.410.
- 40 Louvre N.495, Sakkara.
- 41 Murnane 1980, fig.68, p.83.
- 42 MMA.11.150.50.b, XXVI dyn, Sakkara.
- 43 Brooklyn Acc.No.52.131.1-32, XXVI dyn, Thebes, in Fazzini et al. 1989, No.73.
- 44 It will be noticed there is often very little difference between plain basic style and so-called bag wig, and although basic style tends to fall across length of shoulders from tip to tip whereas bag wig much more rounded and curves inwards at base, certain examples rather indistinct, and in falling between two types their terminology becomes virtually interchangeable.
- 45 MMA.07.228.47, XXV dyn, Memphis, in Bothmer 1960, No.10, p.11-12, pl.10.
- 46 BM.EA.1514, XXV dyn, in James & Davies 1983, fig.11, p.14.
- 47 BM.EA.1132, early XXVI dyn, in James & Davies 1983, p.46-47 (not illustrated).
- 48 Louvre A.117, limestone dyad, early XXVI dyn.
- 49 BM.EA.24429, XXV dyn, in James & Davies 1983, fig.59, p.53.
- 50 Cairo JE.36993, XXV dyn, Karnak, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.247 (crown area left plain).
- 51 Cairo JE.37150, XXV dyn, Karnak, in Corteggiani 1986, No.99, p.153 and Abbate 1972, fig.77, p.128.
- 52 Chicago Nat.Hist.Museum No.31723, in Bothmer 1960, No.13.A-B, p.14-16, pl.13 and Cairo CG.42236/JE.36933, Karnak, in Legrain 1914 III, p.85-87, pl.XLIV-XLV; Leclant 1961, p.3-20, pl.1-2; Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.246; Abbate 1972, fig.78, p.129; Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.251; Aldred 1980, fig.184, p.220; Smith 1981, fig.407, p.414 and Westendorf 1968, p.205.
- 53 BM.EA.67969, in James & Davies 1983, fig.72, "a wig characteristic of the fifth dynasty", p.65.
- 54 For rare example worn by vizier(?), see Naples Museo Archeologico Inv.490, XXVI dyn, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1989, fig.171, p.110.
- 55 New York Gallatin Collection, XXV dyn, in Bothmer 1960, No.2, p.2-3, pl.2-3.
- 56 Virginia Fine Arts Museum No.51.19.3, XXV dyn, in Bothmer 1960, No.8, p.9-10, pl.8.
- 57 Louvre A.85, in Zeigler 1990, p.76.

- 58 Cairo JE.37852, Karnak, in Corteggiani 1986, No.101, p.155-156 and Berlin Inv.No.17271, Karnak, in Priese ed. 1991, No.102, p.171.
- 59 Cairo CG.42242, Karnak, in Brussels 1960, No.69, p.29.
- 60 Cairo JE.36665, XXVI dyn, Karnak, in Aldred 1980, fig.190, p.229 and Westendorf 1968, p.206.
- 61 KMV.ÄS.5085, XXVI dyn, in Brunner-Traut et al. 1984, No.50, p.66.
- 62 Turin Inv.Cat.1393, XXVI dyn, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1989, fig.267, p.175.
- 63 Baltimore Art Gallery, XXV dyn, Fayuum(?), in Bothmer 1960, No.23, p.26-27, pl.21.
- 64 Palermo Museo Nazionale No.145, XXVI dyn, Mendes, in Bothmer 1960, No.20, p.22-24, pl.18-19.
- 65 BM.EA.111, XXVI dyn, Fayuum, in Aldred 1980, fig.191, p.229 and James & Davies 1983, p.58-59 (not illustrated).
- 66 Brooklyn Acc.No.64.146, XXV dyn, Tel el-Moqdam, in Aldred 1980, fig.182, p.219; Brussels 1976, No.74, p.121 and Fazzini 1975, Cat.94, p.112.
- 67 Turin Inv.Cat.3063, XXV dyn, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1989, fig.263, p.172.
- 68 Cairo JE.37992, Karnak, in Bothmer 1960, No.27, p.31-32, pl.23-24.
- 69 Louvre A.84, in Zeigler 1990, p.76.
- 70 Louvre A.92, in Zeigler 1990, p.76.
- 71 BM.EA.1646, XXVI dyn, in James & Davies 1983, fig.66, p.59 and Louvre A.94, in Zeigler 1990, p.76.
- 72 Baltimore Art Gallery No.22.398, in Bothmer 1960, No.18, p.20, pl.16.
- 73 Tübingen 1479, XXVI dyn, in Brunner-Traut et al. 1984, No.34, p.50; Brooklyn Acc.No.64.149, XXVI dyn, in Brussels 1976, No.67, p.114 and BM.EA.1647, XXVI dyn, unprovenanced.
- 74 Cairo JE.37206, XXVI dyn, Karnak, in Corteggiani 1986, No.107, p.162-163.
- 75 Lisbon No.158, XXVI dyn, Lower Egypt, in Bothmer 1960, No.29, p.34-35, pl.27.
- 76 Baltimore Art Gallery No.22159, XXVI dyn, Karnak, in Bothmer 1960, No.40, p.46-47, pl.37.
- 77 New York Private Collection, XXVI dyn, Edfu(?), in Bothmer 1960, No.36, p.43-44, pl.33; rather than "a round wig which forms the transition from the valanced wig to the bag wig", p.43, this rather forms link between MK basic shoulder length and bag styles.
- 78 Cairo CG.784, XXVI dyn, in Borchardt 1930 III, p.91-92, pl.144; Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.251; Terrace & Fischer 1970, p.165-168 and Aldred 1980, fig.192, p.231.
- 79 MMA.25.2.1, XXVI dyn, Memphis, in Bothmer 1960, No.24-25, pl.20.
- 80 New York Private Collection, in Josephson 1988, p.232-235.
- 81 Assmann 1973, fig.30 (rather rounded form).
- 82 Assmann 1973, fig.27, pl.IX.
- 83 MMA.1271, late XXV dyn, in Bothmer 1960, No.6, p.6-7, pl.6.
- 84 Brooklyn Acc.No.07.422, XXV dyn, Thebes, in Brussels 1976, No.73, p.120 and Fazzini 1975, Cat.100, p.117.
- 85 Cleveland No.51.281, in Leclant 1961, pl.LXILB; Manniche 1987, fig.72, p.86 and Bothmer 1960, p.42-43 and Cleveland No.51.280, in Cleveland n.d, p.15.
- 86 Lansing 1920, fig.12, p.21.

- 87 Lansing 1920, fig.13, p.22; Smith 1981, fig.393, p.399 and Bothmer 1960, p.42-43 for reference to drilled curls.
- 88 Lansing 1937, fig.3, p.6.
- 89 BM.EA.17, XXVI dyn, in James & Davies 1983, fig.65, p.59.
- 90 Turin Inv.Cat.2202, XXVI dyn, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1988, fig.309, p.223.
- 91 See Bothmer 1960, "By far the largest number of statues created during the Late Period represent men, thus widely changing the ratio which prevailed in earlier times. In Dynasty XXV no stone sculpture of a queen or a private woman was ever made; the only females represented in durable material were the princesses who served as divine consorts of the god Amun. In the beginning of Dynasty XXVI we find a few private female figures in stone, and women still appear in group statues under Necho II", p.xxxvii.
- 92 For short version see Nebraska Omaha Art Museum No.1953.80, XXV dyn, in Bothmer 1960, No.1, p.1-2, pl.1-2; for longer forms, Cairo JE.67871, XXV dyn, Karnak(?), in Aldred 1980, fig.180, p.217 and Corteggiani 1986, No.102, p.156-157 and BM.EA.46699, XXV dyn, in Robins 1993, fig.43, p.114.
- 93 eg. Cairo CG.565, XXV dyn, Karnak, in Borchardt 1925 II, p.114-115, pl.164; Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.244 and Aldred 1980, fig.179, p.217.
- 94 Cairo CG.42200, XXV dyn, Karnak, in Legrain 1925 III, p.9, pl.VIII and Hildesheim 1984, No.22, p.56-57.
- 95 Edinburgh RMS.1954.40, XXV dyn, in Bothmer 1960, No.12, p.13-14, pl.11.
- 96 Louvre A.117, limestone dyad, early XXVI dyn.
- 97 Louvre A.89, basalt dyad, XXV dyn.
- 98 Berlin Inv.No.17000, c.700 BC, Abusir.
- 99 KMV.ÄS, XXVI dyn, in Basle 1953, No.162, p.60.
- 100 Kansas City Art Gallery No.47.25 in Bothmer 1960, No.11, p.12-13, pl.11.
- 101 Louvre E.27247, 'Late Period'.
- 102 Liverpool Merseyside County Museums No.24.11.81.5, XXVI dyn.
- 103 Bolton Museum No.1895.38.2, XXV dyn, Thebes.
- 104 MMA.33.5.a-b, XXVI dyn (nb. incorporating XVIII dyn. face).
- 105 Cam.Fitz.EGA.4542.1943, XXV dyn.
- 106 Murnane 1980, fig.68-69, p.83-84 for Amenirdis scenes.
- 107 eg. BM.EA.835, XXVI dyn, Karnak, in Robins 1993, fig.45, p.121.
- 108 XXV dyn, Manniche 1987, fig.74, p.88.
- 109 Assmann 1977, eg. pl.6-7, 11.
- 110 MMA.23.3.468.A, XXVI dyn, in Metropolitan 1984, fig.48, p.48.
- 111 Brooklyn Acc.No.52.131.3, in Aldred 1980, fig.187, p.224; Brussels 1976, No.72, p.119 and Fazzini 1975, Cat.97, p.115.
- 112 Brooklyn Acc.No.48.74, in Aldred 1980, fig.186, p.223; Fazzini et al. 1989, No.71; Fazzini 1975, Cat.96, p.114; Smith 1981, fig.405, p.412 and Brussels 1976, No.68, p.115.
- 113 Brooklyn Acc.No.L.76.9.2, XXV dyn, unprovenanced.
- 114 BM.EA.32, XXVI dyn, in James & Davies 1983, fig.60, p.54.

- 115 Berlin Inv.No.7972, XXV dyn, Karnak, in Priese ed. 1991, No.101, p.170; Aldred 1980, fig.181, p.217; Aldred 1987, fig.121, p.174 and Sourouzian 1981, p.454; also Cairo CG.42201, in Legrain 1914 III, p.9-10, pl.IX and Sourouzian 1981, p.454.
- 116 Aldred 1980, p.218.
- 117 Although Bothmer states that "this coiffure seems first to occur in the round at the end of Dynasty XXVI in bronzes and wooden figures" and "this coiffure undoubtedly has a male forerunner, often shown in Middle Kingdom sculpture", 1960, p.114, short round curled style found on sculpted female figures as early as the XI dyn, with relief examples dating from VI dyn, and relief and sculpted male figures found as early as II dyn.
- 118 Cairo CG.42205, Karnak, XXVI dyn, in Legrain 1914 III, p.13-14, pl.XII.
- 119 Berlin Inv.No.8814, XXVI dyn, in Fay 1982, p.116-117.
- 120 Kofler Truniger Collection K.474.L, in Müller 1964, No.A.151, p.106.
- 121 MMA.30.8.93, reign of Necho II, unprovenanced.
- 122 Munich ÄS.2958, XXV dyn, in Schoske et al. 1990, No.124, p.140.
- 123 UC.8650, in Petrie 1937, No.198, p.9; Gauthier-Laurent 1938, N, p.696 and Derchain 1975, p.65.
- 124 BM.EA.347, XXVI dyn, unprovenanced.
- 125 Cairo JE.39416, XXVI dyn, in Hildesheim 1984, No.49, p.108-109.
- 126 BM.EA.47992, c.530 BC, James in Smith & Hall ed. 1983, fig.2, p.14.
- 127 BM.EA.1519, XXVI dyn, in Robins 1993, fig.46, p.121.
- 128 BM.EA.1744.
- 129 Leiden Inv.AP.44, XXVI dyn, Abydos.
- 130 Louvre E.11377, relief of Psametikmenneith, XXVI dyn.
- 131 Turin Inv.Cat.3033, XXV dyn, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1988, fig.264, p.173.
- 132 Turin Inv.Cat.3138, XXVI dyn, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1988, fig.268, p.176, 181.
- 133 Troy 1986, fig.99, p.138.
- 134 Brooklyn Acc.No.48.74, in Aldred 1980, fig.186, p.223; Fazzini et al. 1989, No.71; Smith 1981, fig.405, p.412 and Brussels 1976, No.68, p.115.
- 135 Chicago No.18828, in Bothmer 1960, No.15, p.17-18, pl.14.
- 136 Louvre E.3835.

LATE PERIOD: XXVII-XXXth dynasties

MEN

Following the end of native Saite rule with the invasion of Cambyses in 525 BC, the Persian dynasty XXVII is in turn overthrown by the native dynasties XXVIII-XXX with Greek help, the brief Persian re-conquest at the end of this period ended by Macedonian invasion in 332 BC. Both Persian and Greek influences are found in the development of styles at this time, a particularly interesting mix of traditional and innovative coiffures noted in the Tuna el-Gebel tomb reliefs of Petosiris, High Priest of Thoth.

The shaven/cropped head is extensively featured in the representations of royalty, officials, priests and manual workers alike. Sculpted forms, generally marked by a new realism in portraiture ¹, include a fine schist figure of Director of Workmen, Psamtiksaneith which reveals "for the first time that minute observation of the skull's bone structure" ². Other shaven examples include the official Wennufer, son of Pedyhor ³, Wennufer, Servant of Neith ⁴, Nakhtmontu ⁵, Prophet of Montu Wesirwer ⁶ (fig.646), a waab priest of Wennefer ⁷, an unnamed official ⁸ (fig.647), a 'youthful head' ⁹ and granite example ¹⁰, in addition to late period bronze figures of Djoser's deified architect Imhotep ¹¹ and a head of King Teos II ¹².

Relief examples include a figure of the last native pharaoh Nectanebo II ¹³, Royal Secretary Thaasetimu ¹⁴ (fig.648), the dwarf Djedhor ¹⁵, the High Priest Petosiris ¹⁶ and two of his funerary priests ¹⁷, the workers elsewhere in his wonderfully detailed tomb scenes displaying "the variety of physiognomies inherent in non-idealising images of the polygonal head typology" ¹⁸ in addition to several naturally balding heads ¹⁹. Other examples of shaven-headed workers are found in the varied relief scenes of Neferseshem Psammetik ²⁰ and Horhotep ²¹, a shaven harpist appearing in the scenes of Thanufer ²², and similar figures noted in a contemporary drinking scene ²³. It is also a shaven figure who represents Egypt amongst the twenty-four provinces of the Persian empire in reliefs around a statue base of Darius from Persia ²⁴. According to Herodotus the Egyptian military have now adopted the shaven head, in contrast to their earlier practice of allowing their hair to grow thickly ²⁵.

The short round style is comparatively rare, a rounded form featured on the beautiful 'Datarri' figure ²⁶ (fig.649) in contrast to the rather more rigid style worn by a priest of Osiris Anjedty of Busiris ²⁷, although both examples have vertical rows of curls and a plain crownpiece. Late relief forms of the short round style are equally rare, the few examples including the plain style of Horhotep and a number of his bearers ²⁸, whilst the classic curled form is adopted by Petosiris ²⁹ and rows of priests ³⁰ in his tomb scenes which also include the occasional manual worker with a short unruly style of presumably natural hair ³¹.

The long shoulder-length 'bag' style is rather more popular, "one of the great portraits of the ancient world" depicting an unnamed man in a plain style, beneath which emerge vertically striated tabs of natural hair ³² (fig.650). Other sculpted examples include the priests Teos ³³ and Gemnefharbak ³⁴, Karnak artisan Nesthot ³⁵, Iahmessaneith ³⁶, Pawenhatef ³⁷,

Djedhor³⁸ and others³⁹. Relief examples of the shoulder-length style are worn by NeferseshemPsamtik⁴⁰, an unnamed 'dignitary with long staff'⁴¹, Petosiris⁴² (fig.651) and two of his offering bearers⁴³, in addition to an offering bearer whose style is carefully detailed with vertical rows of curls⁴⁴.

WOMEN

Amongst the rare portrayals of women it is clear that short styles are the most popular form of coiffure. Longer styles are only occasionally found, a plain tripartite style featured on a greywacke figure of a queen⁴⁵, with the bouffant style adopted by another such figure⁴⁶. A swept back style is worn by a female mourner on an unprovenanced relief scene⁴⁷, and the full style is adopted by the wife of Petosiris in one of their tomb reliefs⁴⁸ (fig.651). Elsewhere in this tomb, shoulder-length striated styles are worn by workers⁴⁹ and offering bearers⁵⁰, an unusual en face depiction suggesting a style made up of ringlet-type braids⁵¹. An upswept style set in a small chignon at the back of the head is also portrayed⁵², both styles anticipating the new Greek-inspired fashions⁵³.

The short round style is featured in both statuary and relief, sculpted examples including the plain style of the 'Nameless Berliner'⁵⁴, and vertically curled styles noted on an anonymous bronze statuette⁵⁵ (fig.652) and faience head⁵⁶. Relief examples include the traditional curled form worn by mourners in the tomb of Petosiris⁵⁷, although bearers in these scenes wear other round forms, ranging from the diagonally striated⁵⁸, circular curled⁵⁹, wavy outlined⁶⁰ or simply plain⁶¹. This range of decoration is comparable to that found in the so-called 'neo-Memphite' scenes portraying bearers, musicians and perfume makers whose round styles are decorated with either curls⁶² (fig.653) or striations⁶³ (fig.654), or simply left plain⁶⁴. In addition to these round forms, a number of these women also wear short styles "cut upward from the back of the neck"⁶⁵ in imitation of the earlier pointed Nubian style, and again these can be decorated with curls⁶⁶ (fig.655) or left plain⁶⁷.

Examples of styles with sidelock attached are virtually non-existent, although a curious variant consists of a long plait hanging down from a short 'coiled' style, as noted on both an anthropomorphic pot⁶⁸ (fig.656) and a Persian statue base relief⁶⁹.

CHILDREN

Children are very occasionally depicted in funerary scenes and generally have cropped heads, as noted from those of Petosiris⁷⁰ and Horhotep, the latter also featuring short round and shoulder-length styles⁷¹. A small child is also depicted with a tufted fringe in the scenes of Petosiris⁷², although the sidelock is virtually absent, and restricted to occasional figures of Harpocrates⁷³.

NON-EGYPTIANS

Representations of non-Egyptian figures are again very rare, although figures perhaps to be identified as Nubians are included in 'la Procession des Offrandes' of Petosiris, their styles carved as small circles to indicate curls⁷⁴. In sculpted

form, the limestone head of a Persian man accurately portrays the typical Persian mid-length style which flares out towards the back of the head in a thick wedge of hair ⁷⁵ (fig.657). A contemporary figurine of a Persian woman displays a similar form of coiffure in which the hair appears to be drawn up at the back of the head, the surface decorated with tiny circular curls set flat to the head ⁷⁶ (fig.656).

However, the artistic record can be supplemented by the writings of Herodotus who describes the appearance of various Libyan tribes at this time. He refers to the Macae, who "wear their hair in the form of a crest, shaving it close to either side of the head, and letting it grow long in the middle" ⁷⁷, whilst the Machyles "let the hair grow on the back of their heads, the Auses on the front" ⁷⁸, and the Maxyes "grow their hair on the right side of their heads and shave it off on the left..."⁷⁹. As for the women of the Adyrmachidae, "whose way of living is more or less Egyptian in character" he simply states that they "grow their hair long" ⁸⁰.

- 1 See Brooklyn 1988, p.140-141.
- 2 Cairo CG.726, XXVII dyn, Memphis, in Bothmer 1960, No.65, p.78-79, pl.61- 62; also Borchardt 1930 III, p.60-62, pl.134 and Terrace & Fischer 1970, No.39, p.169-172.
- 3 Private Collection, XXVII-XXX dyn, Memphis(?), in Bothmer 1960, No.70, p.86-87, pl.67.
- 4 Baltimore Art Museum No.51.257, XXX dyn, Memphis(?), in Bothmer 1960, No.78, p.98-99, pl.75.
- 5 Cairo JE.37330, "post-Saite", in Brussels 1960, No.71, fig.48.
- 6 Brooklyn Acc.No.55.175, XXX dyn, Karnak, in Bothmer 1960, No.83, p.105- 106, pl.79; Brooklyn 1956, No.13, p.13-14, pl.28-29; Brooklyn 1988, No.25, p.117-118; Fazzini et al. 1989, No.80 and Brussels 1976, No.77, p.124-125; complete piece (with body, Cairo JE.38064) see Aldred 1980, fig.198, p.239 and Fazzini 1975, Cat.104, p.120.
- 7 Louvre E.10973, XXX dyn, in Louvre 1982, No.11, p.13.
- 8 Louvre E.122, XXX dyn.
- 9 Buffalo Albright Art Gallery No.42:16:281, XXX dyn, in Bothmer 1960, No.85, p.107.
- 10 Berlin Inv.No.8805, XXX dyn, in Fay 1982, p.120-121.
- 11 eg. Cairo CG.38047, Sakkara, in Hildesheim 1984, No.15, p.38-39.
- 12 Cairo CG.700, XXX dyn, in Bothmer 1960, fig.250, p.130, pl.94.
- 13 BM.EA.10, granite sarcophagus, XXX dyn, in Smith 1981, fig.409, p.417 and James & Davies 1983, p.47 (not illustrated).
- 14 Brooklyn Acc.No.56.152, door jamb, XXX dyn, Memphis, in Bothmer 1960, No.74, p.92, pl.70-71 and Fazzini et al. 1989, No.78.
- 15 Cairo JE.47398.A, sarcophagus lid, XXX dyn, Sakkara, in Corteggiani 1986, No.110, p.166-167.
- 16 Late XXX dyn, see Lefebvre 1923 III, pl.VI, XVI-XVIII, XXV, XXXVII, XXXIX-XLI, XLIII-XLV, L.
- 17 Lefebvre 1923 III, pl.XXVIII, XXXII.
- 18 Brooklyn 1988, fig.28, 34, p.61, 67; also Lefebvre 1923 III, pl.VII-XIII, XV, XXVII; Smith 1981, fig.414, p.421; Lewis 1986, pl.4 and Bowman 1986, fig.59, p.102.
- 19 Lefebvre 1923 III, pl.XIII-XV.
- 20 Cairo JE.10978, XXX dyn, Memphis, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.258; Terrace & Fischer 1970, No.40, p.173-176; Brussels 1960, No.72 and Hildesheim 1984, No.43, p.98-99.
- 21 Cairo JE.46591, XXX dyn, Buto, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.259 and Corteggiani 1986, No.111, p.167-168.
- 22 Alexandria Museum, XXX dyn, in Smith 1981, fig.411, p.418.
- 23 Baltimore Art Gallery No.22.97, XXX dyn, Heliopolis, in Bothmer 1960, No.87, p.109-110, pl.82-83.
- 24 Iran, Tehran Museum, in Baines & Malek 1984, p.51.
- 25 'Histories' III.13, trans. de Sélincourt 1954, p.207.
- 26 Brooklyn Acc.No.52.89, XXX dyn, Delta(?), in Bothmer 1960, No.80, p.100- 102, pl.76; Brooklyn 1988, No.24, p.116-117; Fazzini et al. 1989, No.77; Fazzini 1975, Cat.103, p.119; Brussels 1976, No.82, p.130; Smith 1981, fig.413, p.420 and Westendorf 1968, p.128. Bothmer states wig was not, "as generally assumed", influenced by an OK model (as stated in Brooklyn 1988, p.116-117), but by a coiffure fashionable in XXVI dyn, giving as an example relief forms in tomb of Montuemhat (TT.34); however, since these XXVI dyn. styles themselves clearly

based on original OK form, Bothmer's comments would seem rather redundant.

- 27 Munich ÄS.29, XXX dyn, Busiris, in Bothmer 1960, No.77, p.97-98, pl.74.
- 28 Cairo JE.46591, XXX dyn, Buto, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.259 and Corteggiani 1986, No.111, p.167-168.
- 29 Lefebvre 1923 III, pl.XXVIII, XXXI-XXXII.
- 30 Lefebvre 1923 III, pl.XXVIII-XXX, XXXII-XXIV.
- 31 Lefebvre 1923 III, pl.XII-XIII.
- 32 Louvre N.2454, XXVII dyn, Memphis, in Bothmer 1960, No.67, p.81-83, pl.64-65; also Ziegler 1990, p.77 and Aldred 1980, fig.193, p.232; thanks to Dr.E.Delange for information.
- 33 Brussels MRAH.E.7654, XXX dyn, Karnak, in Brooklyn 1988, No.23, "the cutting of the wig over the brow and the configuration of that wig with the back pillar suggest a date within the last half of the fourth century BC, during Dynasty XXX", p.114-115.
- 34 KMV.ÄS.62, XXX dyn, Sais, in Brunner-Traut et al. 1984, No.51, p.66-68.
- 35 Brooklyn Acc.No.69.115.1, Thebes, in Brussels 1976, No.78, p.126.
- 36 Louvre E.25390, XXVII dyn, Memphis(?), in Bothmer 1960, No.57.A, p.67-68, pl.54-55.
- 37 Seattle Art Museum No.Eg.11.23, XXVII dyn, Sais(?), in Bothmer 1960, No.58, p.69-70, pl.55-56.
- 38 Cairo JE.46341, late XXX dyn, in Corteggiani 1986, No.113, p.170-171.
- 39 eg. Louvre E.10777, XXX dyn, in Zeigler 1990, p.80 (magical texts extended over style); also Munich ÄS.2824, XXX dyn, in Brooklyn 1988, No.98, p.204-205.
- 40 Cairo JE.10978, XXX dyn, Memphis, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.258; Terrace & Fischer 1970, No.40, p.173-176; Brussels 1960, No.72 and Hildesheim 1984, No.43, p.98-99.
- 41 Pennsylvania University Museum E.14316, XXX dyn, Buto(?), in Bothmer 1960, No.88, p.111-112, pl.83.
- 42 Lefebvre 1923 III, pl.XXV.1.
- 43 Lefebvre 1923 III, pl.XXXV (lower register); note longer style of front bearer compared to shorter form of figure behind.
- 44 Hildesheim RPM.2244, XXX dyn, in Brooklyn 1988, No.128, p.238-239.
- 45 Berlin Inv.No.21763, XXX dyn(?), unprovenanced, in Priese ed. 1991, No.110, p.187; despite Bothmer's initial comment that there are no stone sculptures of women from end of Saite period to time of Alexander, he does concede that "if there were any comparable dated material available...the Berlin queen might be attributed to Dynasty XXX, because of [its] distinctly pre-Ptolemaic sedateness", 1960, p.xxxvii.
- 46 Baltimore Art Gallery No.22.405, XXX dyn in Vandier 1958 III, p.315, pl.CIII.5; although he gives NK date, Sourouzian states "cette tête ne peut être antérieure a la XXXe Dyn. et devrait être attribuée au plus tôt au règne de Nectanebo", 1981, p.454, note 54.
- 47 Boston MFA.1976.140, XXX dyn, unprovenanced, in Boston 1988, No.138, p.191-192.
- 48 Lefebvre 1923 III, pl.XXV.1.
- 49 Lefebvre 1923 III, pl.XIII-XIV.
- 50 Lefebvre 1923 III, pl.XXXV-XXXVI, XLVI-XLVII, XLIX (latter scene clearly showing texture of ringlets).
- 51 Lefebvre 1923 III, pl.XLVI (lower register).
- 52 Lefebvre 1923 III, pl.XIX.

- 53 Also noted in Brooklyn 1988, "depictions of these locks appear in the first indisputably datable context in the reliefs of the fourth century B.C. tomb of Petosiris at Tuna el-Gebel", p.170, also p.182, 206-207.
- 54 Berlin Inv.No.9-79, XXX dyn, in Fay 1982, p.122-123.
- 55 Louvre E.5346, XXX dyn.
- 56 Kofler-Truniger Collection K.411.R, in Müller 1964, A.154, p.108.
- 57 Lefebvre 1923 III, pl.XXX, XXXIV.
- 58 Lefebvre 1923 III, pl.XXXV (top register).
- 59 Lefebvre 1923 III, pl.XLVI, mid-register, XLVII, XLIX (top register), only latter plate showing detail of figure's curls.
- 60 Lefebvre 1923 III, pl.XXXV (mid-register), XLVI (lower register).
- 61 Lefebvre 1923 III, pl.XX-XXI, XLVI, XLIX (lower register).
- 62 Berlin Inv.No.10290, XXX dyn, Heliopolis(?), in Priese ed. 1991, No.109, p.186.
- 63 Amsterdam APM.7774, XXX dyn.
- 64 Cairo JE.10978, XXX dyn, Memphis tomb of Neferseshem-Psammetik, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.258; Terrace & Fischer 1970, No.40, p.173-176; Cairo JE.46591, XXX dyn, Buto tomb of Horhotep, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.259; Brussels 1960, No.72 and Hildesheim 1984, No.43, p.98-99; also Turin Inv.Cat.1673, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1989, fig.367, p.241.
- 65 Terrace & Fischer 1970, p.173, although contrary to statement that this feature "invented in the late Eighteenth Dynasty", form originates from reign of Amenhotep II.
- 66 Louvre E.11162, XXX dyn, Cairo region(?) in Ziegler 1990, p.77; Alexandria Museum, XXX dyn. tomb of Zanofer, in Smith 1981, fig.411, p.418; Baltimore Walters Art Gallery No.22.97, XXX dyn, Heliopolis(?) in Bothmer 1960, No.87, p.109-110; Cleveland No.199.14, XXX dyn, Heliopolis(?) tomb of Hapiu, in Bothmer 1960, No.82, p.103-104, pl.78 and Terrace & Fischer 1970, p.176, comparing this with aforementioned Cairo JE.10978, "the coiffure of the women is similar...to that of the lady harpist on a relief in Cleveland".
- 67 Cairo JE.10978, XXX dyn, Memphis tomb of Neferseshem-Psammetik, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.258; Terrace & Fischer 1970, No.40, p.173-176; Brussels 1960, No.72 and Hildesheim 1984, No.43, p.98-99; also Cairo JE.46591, XXX dyn, Buto tomb of Horhotep, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.259.
- 68 Liverpool Uni.Mus.No.E.6850, unprovenanced.
- 69 Iran, Tehran Museum, in Baines & Malek 1984, p.51.
- 70 Lefebvre 1923 III, pl.XIII-XV, XXXV-XXXVI, XLVI-XLVII; Bowman 1986, fig.59, p.102 and Smith 1981, fig.414, p.421.
- 71 Cairo JE.46591, XXX dyn, Buto tomb of Horhotep, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.259.
- 72 Lefebvre 1923 III, pl.XXXV (lower register).
- 73 eg. MM.unnumbered figure, c.360 BC, unprovenanced.
- 74 Lefebvre 1923 III, pl.XXV (lower register).
- 75 Louvre E.14699, XXVII dyn, Memphis(?), in Lunsingh Scheurleer 1974, p.90; compare with same styles in Persepolis reliefs, in Lloyd & Müller 1980, pl.X.
- 76 Brooklyn Acc.No.63.37, C.4th BC(?), Memphis(?).
- 77 'Histories' IV.175, trans. de Sélincourt 1954, p.330.

- 78 'Histories' IV.180, trans. de Sélincourt 1954, p.330.
- 79 'Histories' IV.191, trans. de Sélincourt 1954, p.334; Bates suggests this is the "manner of wearing the hair that is most frequently seen on the monuments", 1914, p.134, although with no mention of distinct 'sidelocks' this seems a little unlikely.
- 80 'Histories' IV.168, trans. de Sélincourt 1954, p.328.

PTOLEMAIC PERIOD, 332-30 BC.

MEN

In the three centuries of Ptolemaic rule which follow the invasion of Alexander, Egyptian culture is irrevocably altered by Hellenistic influences. The artistic legacy illustrates the way in which the ruling dynasty favours Greek forms of representation while at the same time employing traditional native motifs, a trend reflected in the wide variety of hairstyles, which range from idealised Egyptian to naturalistic Greek, and interesting combinations of the two.

The shaven head is extensively featured in non-idealising portraiture, the Berlin Green Head described as "a miracle of translation of anatomical detail into artistic form" ¹ (fig.659), and similar to the Boston Green Head which is thought to represent a priest of Ptah ². Other such examples include 'a tired old man' ³, a 'head with stubble beard' ⁴, a 'head with portrait feature' ⁵, a 'portrait of a strong man' ⁶, 'portrait of a wise man' ⁷ and so forth, in contrast to the equally smooth-headed but idealised representation of a 'Prophet of Horemheb' ⁸.

The light hair-line of a number of other heads suggests a slight regrowth, as noted on the figure of an official whose hair, "far from being naturalistic and rendered in an Hellenistic manner, is a more extreme stylisation...of a type of coiffure that ultimately derives from models current during the Old Kingdom" ⁹. A further example with cropped hair "is indebted to Egyptian norms...despite its modern appearance" ¹⁰, and other naturalistic examples showing the surface details of the hair include the close cropped curls on the head of a bearded man from Upper Egypt ¹¹ and a roughly textured crop of a man wearing a diadem ¹².

Such heads occasionally feature receding hair-lines in a continuation of the trend for portraying baldness, as noted on the head of Panemerit, Governor of Tanis ¹³, the priest Hor ¹⁴ (fig.659), a 'pensive man' with lightly textured hair at the sides and back of his head ¹⁵ and a man with a scarred forehead, possibly a Ptolemaic general ¹⁶.

Two-dimensional representations of the shaven/cropped head are largely restricted to funerary papyri ¹⁷, with occasional depictions on stelae ¹⁸ (fig.661) and tomb scenes ¹⁹, although priests continue to be depicted with the regulation shaven head in Ptolemaic temple scenes ²⁰ (fig.662).

In a change to earlier practices however, priests are also now portrayed with the sidelock on the shaven/cropped head rather than attached to a short style. Relief examples include the figure of Horemakhet, High Priest of Memphis, who is shown with a curling, plaited lock on the left side of a cropped head on his funerary stela ²¹, and sculpted figures on an Alexandrian symplegma have been identified as sem priests precisely on account of this coiffure ²² (fig.663). Sculpted figures of Ptolemy V wearing the lock on a cropped style are problematic however ²³, and having been identified as portraits of the king as a child, this is dismissed by those who believe that "the pharaonic formula for depicting a child demands that the sidelock appear in conjunction with an index finger placed at the lips. The appearance of the sidelock

alone is the insignia of various classes of priests" ²⁴. Since this is simply not the case, with many examples of children shown in both sculpted and relief form with the sidelock but without their finger to their lips, the argument is not conclusive; whilst these images probably do represent the king in a form associated with the Memphite clergy, it is possible that they may simply portray him as a child.

The traditional short round style is largely replaced by a more naturalistic head of waves or curls in keeping with Greek methods of representation, albeit affected by a varying amount of native stylisation. A number of royal examples depict these short curls appearing across the brow beneath the nemes in a revival of Old Kingdom practices ²⁵, as noted in the case of a colossal limestone figure of Alexander (either III or IV) ²⁶ (fig.664), a smaller schist head of one of the early Ptolemies ²⁷ and a statue tentatively identified as Marc Anthony ²⁸, and whilst the actual curls are rendered quite naturalistically, they are "sculpted according to pharaohic stylistic tenets and...made by Egyptian craftsmen" ²⁹. In a similar example portraying a royal male the curls emerge from beneath the brim of a fashionable Macedonian hat (kausia) ³⁰ (fig.665).

Other royal examples with short curling hair visible in the absence of the nemes include a fragmentary marble head of Ptolemy I ³¹, a diorite head of Ptolemy III Euergetes ³², a young Ptolemy IV ³³ and a head identified as the ephemeral Ptolemy XI on the basis of favourable comparisons with seal impressions in which "the hair style is comparable, especially the locks between the diadem and forehead" ³⁴. A similarly favourable comparison with coin images confirms the identity of a marble head with short curls as Ptolemy XII ³⁵ and an example in bronze has been likewise identified ³⁶. A further royal figure perhaps representing a later Ptolemaic prince has a short style "which is summarily modelled" to indicate its curling texture ³⁷.

A similarly executed style adorns the head of a figure of Pakhom, Governor of Dendera ³⁸, and although the style of an unnamed colleague is "dressed in a Hellenistic fashion...the treatment of the hair seen from the rear is very mechanical", being made up of concentric rings of stylised curls ³⁹. Other examples of the short curled style are worn by an unnamed priest ⁴⁰, a man with a lotus diadem ⁴¹, a bearded man ⁴², a nude male with grapes ⁴³ and the niche statue of a tomb owner in the Kom el Shuqafa catacombs ⁴⁴. The rather more carefully carved, roughly textured hair of the official Horsitutu "sits on the scalp like a cap...in accordance with Egyptian stylistic conventions" ⁴⁵, and this rough texture of the curls compared to an otherwise smooth polished surface is also to be found on the head of a "curly haired youth" ⁴⁶, the beautiful schist head of a young man ⁴⁷ (fig.666) and the 'Brooklyn Black Head' ⁴⁸ (fig.667).

A naturalistic relief form of the short curled style is noted from a plaster portrait of Ptolemy I Soter ⁴⁹, with similar styles shown in profile on the coin portraits of a number of the Ptolemaic kings ⁵⁰. Non-royal relief examples include the randomly striated style a priest of Amun Ra ⁵¹, with a short rounded style painted on the shroud of an unnamed man ⁵². In his funerary papyri scenes a man named Kerasher wears a black round coiffure with wavy outline which although

described as "an unusual curly head of hair" ⁵³ is actually found as early as the Old Kingdom. The traditional form of the short curled style is occasionally found in relief scenes, as noted from a granite relief portraying Alexander IV in a short round style of vertical curls ⁵⁴ and the funerary stela scene of Paimen ⁵⁵ (fig.668).

Although the shorter, curled style is now the most popular choice of coiffure, the bag style is still to be found during the early part of the Ptolemaic period, particularly in "the tradition loving south" ⁵⁶. The relatively few examples are mainly worn by religious personnel, and include the Prophets of Amun Pekherkhonsu ⁵⁷ and Paiuenhor ⁵⁸, and Wahibre, priest of Amun ⁵⁹, in addition to a fragmentary 'Head Exhibiting Signs of Age' ⁶⁰. Rare relief forms of the rounded shoulder-length style are worn by a king possibly to be identified as Ptolemy I (or II) in scenes from Behbeit el-Iligara ⁶¹, and a bag style is one of the twenty-three forms of royal headwear represented on the exterior wall of Dendera temple, alongside the short round style, pointed end style, nemes, khepresh and atef crowns.

WOMEN

Sculpted forms of women's styles are generally naturalistic and parallel the contemporary hair fashions of Republican Rome, although rather more elaborate forms are also portrayed. The hair is generally set in soft waves and gathered into a chignon at the back of the head, reflecting the neo-Pythagorean views of the Alexandrian philosopher Perictione, who stated that although women should be provided with a proper measure of hairsetting, they "will not braid their hair with artful device" ⁶².

Royal examples of this upswept style are noted from fine marble portraits of Arsinoe II ⁶³, Berenice II ⁶⁴ and Cleopatra VII ⁶⁵, in addition to a faience head of one of the third century queens ⁶⁶. Similar heads with the addition of a distinct roll of hair taken back at each side of the face have been identified as Arsinoe III on the basis of their "characteristic hairstyle, including the isolated lock hanging down in front of the ear" ⁶⁷, a feature also found on the queen's coin portraits ⁶⁸, with similar portraits of other queens providing two-dimensional portrayals of their upswept styles ⁶⁹. Non-royal examples include the basalt head of an unknown woman whose simple style has the addition of two stray curls hanging loosely behind each ear ⁷⁰, and a number of terracotta Tanagra figurines also have this form of coiffure ⁷¹.

In addition to such realistic styles, royal women are also portrayed with a rather more stylised coiffure made up of heavy corkscrew ringlets in a style originally described as "distinctly Hellenistic-Greek rather than Egyptian..." ⁷². It appears on figures of the deified Arsinoe II ⁷³ (fig.669), Cleopatra I dressed as Isis ⁷⁴, Cleopatra II ⁷⁵, an unnamed queen again in the guise of Isis ⁷⁶, and the goddess herself ⁷⁷, although contrary to the opinion that "cette mode de coiffure est devenue un des criteriums assurés auxquels on reconnaît les figures d'Isis" ⁷⁸, "there is no evidence for the exclusive association of these particular locks with Isis for monuments made in Egypt. Corkscrew locks...appear to have gained a degree of popularity as a fashion amongst native Egyptian women" ⁷⁹, with a particularly fine example noted on a painted wooden panel scene from Sakkara ⁸⁰.

The traditional tripartite style is found in both the statuary and relief of both royal and non-royal figures. Sculpted figures of queens generally feature decorated styles, a striated form found on both a colossal figure⁸¹ and detached head⁸² of Arsinoe II. A rather more elaborate curled form appears on a limestone figure of either the second or third Cleopatra⁸³, and other unidentified royal women⁸⁴, including one example in which the small curls around the head contrast with much larger ones on each lappet⁸⁵ (fig.670). The curled tripartite style painted black is also found on the bejewelled figure of a non-royal woman⁸⁶ (fig.671), although private individuals generally wear plain forms⁸⁷, which are also occasionally featured on cartonnage masks⁸⁸.

The tripartite style is extensively featured in relief scenes on temple walls and stelae. Plain forms are worn by Arsinoe II⁸⁹ and Cleopatras II and III⁹⁰, with the curled form adopted by Arsinoe II in scenes on the Euergetes Gate at Karnak⁹¹ and in a Memphite scene in which "the attention to detail, particularly in the rendering of the individual locks of the tripartite wig, is consummate"⁹². Cleopatra VII also adopts the curled tripartite in scenes at Dendera⁹³, and both curled and plain (unfinished ?) styles are featured on royal heads decorating so-called trial pieces⁹⁴ (fig.672). Non-royal figures also wear the plain form of tripartite, including Nesihor on the funerary stela of husband Pakhaas⁹⁵ (fig.661) and Tasheritmin, portrayed with a plain black style with wavy outline in her funerary papyrus scenes⁹⁶.

The equally 'traditional' swept-back style is also found in temple and stela scenes, with plain forms worn by Cleopatra II in temple scenes from Kom Ombo⁹⁷ and Western Thebes⁹⁸, a striated form by Arsinoe III on a stela scene⁹⁹, and the more common curled form by Berenice II on the Euergetes Gate¹⁰⁰, Cleopatra III at Kom Ombo¹⁰¹ and Cleopatra VII at Dendera¹⁰² (fig.673).

The full style is only very rarely found in its recognisably enveloping form¹⁰³, although it lingers in the occasional representation of a shorter, mid-length style. Relief examples include that worn by Arsinoe II on a gate of Ptolemy II at Philae¹⁰⁴, and that of the non-royal figure of Taimhotep¹⁰⁵. A rare sculpted example is found on the granite bust of a young woman, a style of thick echeloned tresses laid across her head whilst a contrasting naturalistic fringe of straight hair frames her brow¹⁰⁶. The mid-length bag style is again only very occasionally found, as noted in the case of a fine schist head from Athribis¹⁰⁷ dating to the early part of the period.

The short round curled style does however continue to be depicted in its traditional form, as noted on a life-size model(?) head complete with hair-line made up of a single row of small curls¹⁰⁸ (fig.674), a faience head of a girl¹⁰⁹, a naked limestone fertility figurine¹¹⁰ (fig.675) and a similarly coiffured woman in a statue group which can be given a Ptolemaic date "on the basis of her coiffure...its form as depicted here typical for examples from the Ptolemaic period"¹¹¹ (fig.663).

CHILDREN

Although virtually absent from the artistic record, an unusual sculpted dyad of two child-like figures is perhaps to be identified as Alexander Helios and Cleopatra Selene, twin children of Cleopatra VII, on account of the sun disc atop the

boy's short curled style with plaited curling lock on the right side, and the moon symbol worn over the girl's naturalistic gathered up style ¹¹² (fig.676).

NON-EGYPTIANS

The bound captive and smiting motifs are resurrected due to the Ptolemies' desire to recreate at least a semblance of pharaonic conquest. A faience figurine of a bound captive beneath the royal throne is to be identified as Nubian on account of his short curled coiffure ¹¹³, another Nubian figure in limestone is depicted "aux cheveux crépus" ¹¹⁴ whilst another's cropped head is embellished with gilding ¹¹⁵. Relief figures of a Nubian and Libyan are skilfully captured on a trial piece, the highly detailed coiffure of the Libyan complete with traditional long sidelock a masterpiece in itself ¹¹⁶.

- 1 Berlin Inv.No.12500, C.1st BC(?), in Bothmer 1960, No.127, p.164-166, pl.117-119; also Brooklyn 1988, No.46, p.141; Fay 1982, p.118-119; Basle 1953, No.173; Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.254; Fechheimer 1914, pl.94-95; Westendorf 1968, p.217; Amiet et al. 1981, fig.37, p.300 and Maehler in Smith & Hall ed. 1983, fig.11, p.94.
- 2 Boston MFA.04.1749, C.2nd BC, in Bothmer 1960, No.108, p.138-140, pl.100-101; Brooklyn 1988, No.45, p.140 and Smith 1981, fig.412, p.419.
- 3 Baltimore Art Gallery No.22.63, 300 BC, in Bothmer 1960, No.93, p.117-118, pl.87.
- 4 Boston MFA.50.3427, 250 BC, in Bothmer 1960, No.100, p.128-129.
- 5 Toronto ROM.958.221.4, 250 BC, in Bothmer 1960, No.101, p.129-130, pl.95.
- 6 Detroit Inst. of Arts No.40.47, 250 BC, in Bothmer 1960, No.104, p.133-134, pl.97; Brooklyn 1988, No.44, p.140 and Reeves & Taylor 1992, p.177.
- 7 Lisbon Gulbenkian No.46, 220-180 BC, in Bothmer 1960, No.107, p.136-138, pl.99.
- 8 Pennsylvania Academy of New Church Museum, 280-250 BC, in Bothmer 1960, No.99, p.127-128, pl.92-93.
- 9 Hannover, Kestner Museum No.1935.200.773, late C.2nd.BC, in Brooklyn 1988, No.33, p.128; also Bothmer 1960, No.115, p.148-149, pl.107.
- 10 Amsterdam APM No.7860, C.3-2nd BC, Karnak(?), in Brooklyn 1988, No.36, p.131.
- 11 Baltimore Art Gallery No.22.9, 150-100 BC, in Bothmer 1960, No.118, p.153-154, pl.109.
- 12 Alexandria Museum No.3151, 100-50 BC, in Bothmer 1960, No.126, pl.117.
- 13 Cairo CG.27493, 80-51 BC, in Edinburgh 1988, No.60, p.60.
- 14 Cairo CG.697, 50-30 BC, Alexandria, in Terrace & Fischer 1970, No.41, p.177-180; Brooklyn 1988, fig.25, p.57; Grimm & Johannes 1973, No.16, p.19, pl.22-25 and Maehler in Smith & Hall ed. 1983, fig.9, p.94.
- 15 Rhode Island Museum of Art 58.001, 150-100 BC, in Bothmer 1960, No.119, p.154-155, pl.110.
- 16 Alexandria Museum No.3204, 80-50 BC, Fayuum, in Bothmer 1960, No.131, p.170-172, pl.122.
- 17 eg. scenes of Hor, BM.EA.10479.19 in Faulkner 1985, p.122 and BM.EA.10479.7 in James 1985, fig.74, p.63; Djedkhonsuiufankh, Tübingen Ägyptologisches Institut P.2016, 100 BC-100 AD, Thebes, in Brunner-Traut et al. 1984, No.108, p.133; Efanckh, Turin Inv.Cat.1791, c.300 BC, in Donadoni- Roveri ed. 1988, fig.269, p.169 and Kerquny, BM.EA.9911.2, C.3-2nd BC, in Faulkner 1985, p.105 and Brooklyn 1988, No.127, p.236-237.
- 18 eg. stela of Pakhaas and son Pakhy, Brooklyn Acc.No.71.37.2, in Brooklyn 1988, No. 123, p.232; Fazzini 1975, Cat.109, p.125; Fazzini et al. 1989, No.90 and Brussels 1976, No.76, p.123.
- 19 eg. Anfushi Tomb II, Shatbi cemetery, in Brown 1957, figure of crop-headed deceased "Egyptian in iconography and style", p.53-54, pl.XXVII.2.
- 20 Sauneron 1980, p.106 and Brooklyn 1988, fig.13, p.39.
- 21 BM.EA.391, C.2nd BC, Sakkara(?), in Brooklyn 1988, No.121, p.229-230.
- 22 Brooklyn Acc.No.58.13, 305-30 BC, Alexandria(?) in Brooklyn 1988, No.130, p.241-242, pl.XXXIV, also Fazzini et al. 1989, No.82.
- 23 eg. Berlin Inv.No.14568, 205-180 BC, in Brooklyn 1988, No.55, p.152-153 and Berlin Inv.No.13457, 205-180 BC, in Brooklyn 1988, No.56, p.152-153.
- 24 Brooklyn 1988, p.153.
- 25 ie. several IV dyn. figures of Mycerinus, most notably Cairo JE.40705, in Vandier 1958 III, pl.V.6-7; Smith 1981, fig.113, p.117 and Vandersleyen 1976, p.223-224, pl.131.a.

- 26 Cairo CG.701, in Grimm & Johannes 1975, No.13, p.14-15, pl.14-15; Bothmer 1960, p.133; Nims 1965, p.181 and Amiet et al. 1981, fig.42, p.300.
- 27 Peabody Museum of Natural History No.4.1.1953 (on loan to Yale University Art Gallery), C.3rd BC, in Maehler in Smith & Hall ed. 1983, fig.4, "Ptolemy III Euergetes", p.91; Baines & Malek 1984, "Ptolemy IV", p.39; also Brooklyn 1988, No.52, p.147-8; Bothmer 1960, No.103, p.131-133, pl.96; Grimm 1974, pl.19.4 and Westendorf 1968, p.229.
- 28 Cairo Temp.Reg.13:3:15:3, in Grimm & Johannes 1975, No.14, p.19, pl.16-19 and Bowman 1986, fig.22, p.34, pointing out nemes minus uraeus suggests figure may be non-royal consort of Cleopatra VII.
- 29 Brooklyn 1988, p.148, whilst Maehler in Smith & Hall ed. 1983, states "the short curls which protrude from under the nemes are definitely a feature of Hellenistic portraits", p.93.
- 30 MMA.L.1992.3, C.1st BC, unprovenanced.
- 31 Copenhagen NCG.AEIN.2300, Fayuum(?), in Brooklyn 1988, No.50, p.145 and Maehler in Smith & Hall ed. 1983, fig.3, p.90.
- 32 Copenhagen NCG.AEIN.933, Rome, in Koefoed-Petersen 1950, No.132, p.73-74, pl.138-139.
- 33 Boston MFA.01.8208, 222-205 BC, Alexandria(?), in Brooklyn 1988, No.54, p.150-151.
- 34 Alexandria No.24660, Mersa Matruh, in Maehler 1983, p.3, pl.1.a.
- 35 Louvre Ma.3449, 55-31 BC, Alexandria(?), in Brooklyn 1988, No.57, p.154-155.
- 36 Private Collection, 80-57/55-51 BC, Alexandria(?), in Brooklyn Acc.No.58, p.155-156.
- 37 Brooklyn Acc.No.54.117, c.60-30 BC, in Bothmer 1960, No.135, p.176-177, pl.127.
- 38 Detroit Institute of Arts 51.83, c.50 BC, Dendera, in Brooklyn 1988, No.32, p.126-127 and Bothmer 1960, No.136, p.178-179, pl.128-129.
- 39 Washington Dumbarton Oaks Collection No.37.13, c.120-80 BC, in Bothmer 1960, No.121, p.156-157, pl.112.
- 40 Stuttgart Landesmuseum 1.26, C.3-2nd BC, Buto, in Brunner-Traut et al. 1984, No.110, p.139.
- 41 Munich GL.30, C.1st BC, Dime, in Brooklyn 1988, No.2, p.84-85.
- 42 Louvre E.11195, in Zeigler 1990, p.84.
- 43 Luxor J.33, C.2-1st BC, Karnak, in Luxor 1978, No.281, p.110.
- 44 Bowman 1986, fig.131, p.211.
- 45 Berlin Inv.No.2271, 300-250 BC, Sais(?), in Brooklyn 1988, No.31, p.125-126; also Priese ed. 1991, No.116, p.194-195 and Westendorf 1968, p.230.
- 46 Baltimore Art Gallery No.22.226, 150-100 BC, Luxor(?), in Brooklyn 1988, No.120, p.155-156, pl.III.
- 47 BM.EA.55253, C.1st BC, Alexandria, in James & Davies 1983, fig.63, p.57; Maehler 1983, p.4, pl.2.a and Bowman 1986, fig.84, p.144.
- 48 Brooklyn Acc.No.58.30, 80-50 BC, Memphis, in Bothmer 1960, No.132, p.172-173, pl.123-124 and cover; Brooklyn 1988, No.43, p.138-139, pl.IX; Fazzini 1974, Cat.117, p.130-131; Fazzini et al. 1989, No.92; Brussels 1976, No.84, p.132-133; Maehler in Smith & Hall ed. 1983, fig.10, p.94 and Westendorf 1968, p.228.
- 49 Hildesheim RPM.1120, 305-282 BC, Mit Rahina, in Brooklyn 1988, No.51, p.146 and Kayser 1973, fig.104.
- 50 eg. Brooklyn 1988, No.61, p.159-165; Ptolemy I, No.61.a-b, i-n, p (obverse); Ptolemy II, No.61.b (reverse); Ptolemy III, 61.e (obverse); Ptolemy IV, No.61.g (obverse); Ptolemy V, No.61.h (obverse); for Ptolemy III & IV, see Bowman 1986, fig.16-17, p.26.

- 51 Leiden Inv.C.I.327, in Brooklyn 1988, No.108; despite suggestion that features of priest are 'Negroid' and comment that "the rendering of his hair [is] un-Egyptian in its lack of schematization", "the fact remains that our priest's physiognomy and hairstyle are most easily and better interpreted as late Egyptian variants of long-known Egyptian themes", p.215.
- 52 Brooklyn Acc.37.181.1.E, in Bothmer 1960, fig.334, p.174, also Fazzini et al. 1989, No.84.
- 53 BM.EA.9995.1, 50 BC-50 AD, in James 1985, fig.75, p.64.
- 54 Louvre E.10970, 317-311 BC, Samanoud(?), in Brooklyn 1988, No.11, p.98-99.
- 55 Turin Inv.Cat.1556, c.300 BC, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1988, fig.329, p.236 and Curto 1984, p.313.
- 56 Bothmer 1960, p.130.
- 57 San Jose Oriental Museum No.1583, 250-200 BC, Karnak(?), in Bothmer 1960, No.102, p.130-131, pl.95.
- 58 Philadelphia Rosenbach Museum, c.150 BC, Karnak, in Bothmer 1960, No.117, p.151-153, pl.108-109.
- 59 Harer Family Trust, C.3-1st BC, Karnak, in Brooklyn 1988, No.29, p.123-124.
- 60 Bastis Collection, C.1st BC, Kom Abu Billo(?), in Brooklyn 1988, No.40, p.135.
- 61 Virginia Museum of Fine Art 63.45, C.4-3rd BC, in Brooklyn 1988, No.13, p.102-103.
- 62 Pomeroy 1984, p.68-69.
- 63 Bonn Kunstmuseum der Universität B.284, in Brooklyn 1988, No.64, p.168, pl.XIV.
- 64 Tübingen 3850, Alexandria, in Brunner-Traut et al. 1984, No.111, p.139; see also Kassel Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Antikensammlung Sk.115, in Brooklyn 1988, No.67, p.172-173, and figures on faience oinochoe jugs, Antalya Museum 571, Alexandria(? after Brooklyn 1988, p.175, n.2), in Maehler in Smith & Hall ed. 1983, fig.8, p.94 and Brown 1957, p.57, pl.XXIV.3, and MMA.26.7.1016, 246-222 BC, Alexandria(?), in Brooklyn 1988, No.68, p.174-175.
- 65 Berlin Inv.No.1976.10, in Brooklyn 1988, No.77, p.187-188; Maehler 1983, pl.3, "her superb portrait head", p.8; Maehler in Smith & Hall ed. 1983, fig.14, p.95 and Bowman 1986, fig.15, p.25, and Vatican Museum 38511, in Brooklyn 1988, No.76, p.184-186 and Maehler 1983, p.8; see also Corson 1980, fig.5, p.29 for reconstruction sketch.
- 66 BM.GR.1888.6-1.38, Naukratis, "probably Arsinoe II or Berenike II", in Lewis 1986, pl.6.a; thanks to Dr.D.Bailey, BM.Graeco-Roman Dept., for information.
- 67 Maehler in Smith & Hall ed. 1983, p.93; see bronze head, Mantova Palazzo Ducale L.3, in Maehler in Smith & Hall ed. 1983, fig.6, p.92; other examples with rolls of hair but no lock in front of ear, see marble head, Boston MFA.01.8207, 217-203 BC, Alexandria(?), in Brooklyn 1988, No.70, p.177-179, and basalt example, Copenhagen NCG.AEIN.586, 217-203 BC, in Brooklyn 1988, No.71, p.177-179
- 68 eg. BM.C.2, in Maehler in Smith and Hall ed. 1983, fig.7, p.93.
- 69 eg. Brooklyn 1988, No.61, p.159-165; Arsinoe II, No.61.c-d (obverse); Berenice II, No.61.f (obverse); Cleopatra VII, Brooklyn 1988, No.61.o, u (reverse), v-w (obverse), z (reverse); Bowman 1986, fig.23, p.35 and Samson 1985, p.105, pl.VIII.
- 70 California Brundage Collection No.3/162, in Bothmer 1960, No.138, p.180-181, pl.130.
- 71 eg. Alexandria No.9.038, Alexandria, in Brussels 1960, No.92, p.32; Bastis Collection, in Brooklyn 1988, No.112-113, p.220-221; see also Pomeroy 1984, p.20 and Nachtergaeel 1980, p.247-249.
- 72 Bothmer 1960, p.145-147.
- 73 MMA.20.2.21, in Brooklyn 1988, No.66, p.170-172; Grimm 1974, pl.12.2 and Bothmer 1960, No.123, p.159-160,

- pl.114-115, believing fringe of curls to be natural hair beneath wig; see also Corson 1980, p.170-171, pl.5.M for reconstruction.
- 74 Bowman 1986, fig.139, p.221.
- 75 MMA.89.2.660, in Bothmer 1960, No.113, p.145-147, pl.105.
- 76 Yale University Art Gallery 1931.106, C.2nd BC, in Brooklyn 1988, No.74, p.182-183; Bothmer 1960, No.130, p.169-170, pl.121 and Lewis 1986, pl.6.b.
- 77 eg. statues, Turin Inv.Prov.192, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1988, fig.313, p.227 and Cairo JE.39517, c.150 BC, Tell Timai, in Grimm & Johannes 1975, No.10, p.18, pl.10-11; gold en face medallion relief, Brooklyn Acc.No.73.85, 222-180 BC, in Brooklyn 1988, No.102, p.208-209; see also Tinh in Nachtergaeel 1981, p.588-589.
- 78 Tinh in Nachtergaeel 1981, p.588-589.
- 79 Brooklyn 1988, p.182-183.
- 80 BM.GR.1975.7-28.1, late C.4th BC, Cook in Martin 1981, Appendix L, No.858, p.171-175, pl.36.
- 81 Vatican No.31, Heliopolis(?), in Brooklyn 1988, fig.19, p.48.
- 82 MMA.38.10, 275-270 BC, Lower Egypt(?), in Bothmer 1960, No.98, p.125-126, pl.92.
- 83 Leiden Inv.No.F.1938/7.20, C.2nd BC, in Brooklyn 1988, No.72, p.180-181.
- 84 eg. limestone figures, Cairo CG.678, c.250 BC, in Borchardt 1930 III, p.23, pl.124 and Hildesheim 1984, No.73, p.154-155; Turin Inv.Cat.1386, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1989, fig.274, p.181; granite figure, Toronto ROM.910.75, C.2nd BC, in Brooklyn 1988, No.73, p.181 and Bothmer 1960, No.105, p.134-135, pl.98; diorite figure, San Jose Rosicrucian Egyptian Museum 1582, C.3rd BC, in Brooklyn 1988, No.69, p.175-176.
- 85 Brooklyn Acc.No.86.226.32, late C.4th-3rd BC, in Brooklyn 1988, No.63, p.167.
- 86 Cairo JE.38582, c.300 BC, Karnak.
- 87 eg. Brussels MRAH.E.3073, C.3rd BC, in Brooklyn 1988, No.28, p.122-123 and San Jose Rosicrucian Egyptian Museum 1603, c.300-250 BC, Karnak(?), in Bothmer 1960, No.94, p.118-119, pl.88.
- 88 eg. blue style with gold details, Berlin Inv.No.VÄGM.14-83, C.3-2nd BC, in Fay 1982, p.138-139.
- 89 BM.EA.1056, 200-190 BC, Tanis stela, in Bowman 1986, fig.12, p.23 and Brooklyn 1988, No.14, p.103-104.
- 90 BM.EA.12, stela of Ptolemy VIII and Cleopatras II & III.
- 91 Brooklyn 1988, fig.21, p.50 and MacQuitty 1976, p.33.
- 92 Harvard University Art Museum 1983.96, c.250 BC, in Brooklyn 1988, No.65, p.169-170; see also Hildesheim Inv.No.1025, in Brooklyn 1988, fig.43, which "seems to come from the same monument", p.77.
- 93 Samson 1985, p.102, pl.VII and Murray 1963, pl.LXXVII.2.
- 94 Plain/unfinished examples, Turin Inv.Suppl.2897, Heliopolis, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1989, fig.368, p.242 and MMA.07.228.3, in Young 1964, fig.2; curled forms, eg. MMA.07.228.2, in Young 1964, fig.1 and Ox.Ash.1919.50, in Moorey 1983, fig.18, p.46.
- 95 Brooklyn Acc.No.71.37.2, in Brussels 1976, No.76, p.123; Brooklyn 1988, No.123, p.232; Fazzini 1975, Cat.109, p.125 and Fazzini et al. 1989, No.90.
- 96 BM.EA.9908.2, C.3rd BC, in Brooklyn 1988, No.126, p.235-237.
- 97 MacQuitty 1976, p.101.
- 98 Berlin Inv.No.2116, 170-116 BC, in Priese ed. 1991, No.112, p.188-189 and Brooklyn 1988, No.19, p.109-111.

- 99 BM.EA.1054, in Brooklyn 1988, No.15, despite comment that style "may be interpreted as a representation of corkscrew locks", p.105, it is clearly traditional swept-back style.
- 100 Brooklyn 1988, fig.22, p.51 and MacQuitty 1976, p.33.
- 101 MacQuitty 1976, p.105.
- 102 Brooklyn 1988, fig.24, p.56; MacQuitty 1976, p.116 and Lewis 1986, pl.8.
- 103 Rare example worn by TaAmeniw in funerary papyri scenes BM.EA.10086/10, in Faulkner 1985, p.114.
- 104 Brooklyn 1988, fig.17, p.47.
- 105 BM.EA.147, 42 BC, Sakkara, in Brooklyn 1988, No.122, p.230-231.
- 106 Cairo Temp.Reg.5:25:3:7, 120-70 BC, Delta(?), in Bothmer 1960, No.122, p.157-158, pl.112-113; Grimm 1974, pl.13.2 and Russmann & Finn 1990, No.90, p.197-199.
- 107 Virginia Museum of Fine Art No.55-8-13, Athribis, 330-300 BC, in Bothmer 1960, No.92, p.116-117, pl.86.
- 108 MMA.26.7.1402, in Young 1964, fig.12, p.254.
- 109 MMA.30.8.90, 330-290 BC, in Bothmer 1960, No.90, p.113-114, pl.85; his belief that style "may represent the natural hair" based on mistaken assumption that women's wigs all set in long styles, former short example complete with hair-line disproving this.
- 110 Cairo Exhibition No.9435.
- 111 Brooklyn Acc.No.58.13, 305-30 BC, Alexandria(?), in Brooklyn 1988, No.130, p.241-242, pl.XXXIV, also Fazzini et al. 1989, No.82; for identical coiffure on similar Ptolemaic group figure, see Brooklyn Acc.No.60.181, unprovenanced.
- 112 Cairo JE.46278, Dendera, in Abdalla 1991, p.189-193; although he states that they should be regarded as twins, suggesting "Harpocrates and a female counterpart", he mistakenly refers to coiffure of female figure as "conventional short curly hair", p.190.
- 113 Leiden F.1937/6.9, in Brooklyn 1988, No.9, p.94-96 and Schneider & Raven 1981, No.150, p.144-145
- 114 Copenhagen NCG.AEIN.1597, Alexandria(?), in Koefoed-Petersen 1950, No.137, p.75, pl.144.5.
- 115 MMA.26.7.1417, unprovenanced.
- 116 Turin Inv.Cat.1397, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1989, fig.370, p.243.

ROMAN/COPTIC PERIOD: 30 BC-

MEN

Although Egypt becomes a province of the Roman Empire in 30 BC, the emperors continue to be portrayed in the traditional role of pharaoh, supporting Egyptian culture as far as is politically expedient, and it is only in 394 AD with the acceptance of Christianity that the culture of ancient Egypt effectively ceases. Under Roman occupation the naturalising process in art continues, and this is inevitably reflected in the portrayal of styles ¹.

The shaven head is well represented in the limited amount of statuary produced, as noted from the rather cube-shaped basalt head of a 'frowning man' ² and similarly square basalt head of an official or priest ³. An unusual sculpted mummy mask indicates a shaven texture by a faint arrangement of black dots ⁴, the cropped head of an emperor, possibly Maximinus Daia, suggested by numerous tiny striations, and "in good Egyptian tradition the hair-line is formed in low relief around the forehead...Another reference to pre-Roman Egypt is the tab of hair descending in front of each ear" ⁵ (fig.677), which is also found on the slightly more roughly textured style of a priest ⁶.

Shaven and cropped heads are found in two dimensional form on funerary stelae ⁷, with a particularly interesting relief on a wooden coffin board depicting a shaven figure identified as a priest of Isis ⁸. Cropped heads are also represented on painted funerary portraits ⁹ (fig.678), this practical style favoured by Roman soldiers also noted on a painted shroud of an officer ¹⁰ and included in a painted fresco scene of Diocletian's troops at Luxor temple ¹¹.

Receding hair-lines continue the tradition of depicting natural baldness, a fine example noted on the granite head of an official ¹² (fig.679) and paralleled in painted mummy portraits ¹³ (fig.680). In one particular example the slightly receding hair is coloured grey ¹⁴ (fig.681), with the similar coiffure of Abbot Mena contrasting with the long hair of Christ on a painted figwood icon of Coptic date ¹⁵.

A rare depiction of the sidelock is worn by Trajan(?) on the side of his nemes in a plaster relief scene ¹⁶, and a small bronze bust of a priest has a smoothly shaven head save for the addition of a small sidelock above the right ear, this traditional motif appearing not a little incongruous when portrayed in such naturalistic fashion ¹⁷ (fig.682).

Sculpted forms of the short round curled style continue to portray a naturalistic head of tousled curls, which sometimes protrude from beneath the nemes, as noted on a marble figure of Nero ¹⁸ (fig.683) and contemporary cartonnage masks ¹⁹ (fig.684), in contrast to the uncovered curled styles of Caracalla ²⁰ and Alexander Severus ²¹. A young priest of Serapis is portrayed with a pronounced layer of curls over the brow ²² (fig.685), this style continuing into Coptic times ²³ (fig.686).

The naturalistic short curled style is found in painted scenes ²⁴ and on numerous portrait panels ²⁵ (fig.687) and shrouds ²⁶, in contrast to more stylised forms found in both stelae relief ²⁷ (fig.688) and in an unusual coffin board scene ²⁸. The traditional form set in neat vertical rows of curls is also found in temple relief scenes, as worn by Tiberius at Kom Ombo

²⁹, Titus at Esna ³⁰ and Domitian at Aswan ³¹ (fig.689) in addition to various deified individuals ³² (fig.690-691).

Although long styles for men are now unfashionable, a highly unusual form based on the longer pointed Nubian style with exaggeratedly pointed ends and vertically curled detail is worn by Nero(?) as he offers to Hathor in reliefs on the exterior wall of Dendera temple ³³ (fig.692).

WOMEN

The majority of evidence for contemporary styles is provided by the numerous painted examples in the form of portrait panels and shrouds, the relatively few sculpted examples largely restricted to mummy masks ³⁴.

Although long hair is almost always represented, it is generally kept away from the face and back of the neck, either being drawn back into a simple chignon to be quite invisible from the front ³⁵ (fig.693-694), a form still in use in Coptic times ³⁶ (fig.695), or alternatively the hair can be fastened up on top of the head ³⁷ (fig.696-699). Although such styles are relatively simple, the hair itself is often set in a wide variety of crimps, waves, curls and plaits, in one example plaited before being coiled on top of the head and secured by means of a jewelled pin ³⁸. A particularly fine portrait panel of the woman Demos again has her hair piled up on top of the head and secured with a gold hair-pin, her face framed by a contrasting border of tiny open-centre curls ³⁹ (fig.699) which can also be set individually as small ringlets ⁴⁰.

By the Flavian period hairdressing has become infinitely more complex to judge from a limited number of portrait busts ⁴¹ (fig.700), the aforementioned upswept styles often augmented by padding and false pieces of hair, including the crescent-shaped 'orbis' ⁴² (fig.819-820), in an attempt to create the ornate and towering styles inspired by the emperors' wives. Such increased elaboration is also noted in the case of small votive heads, "se distinguent par la complexité des coiffures, conformes aux modes dictées par Rome: boucles, tresses, toupets, chignons s'adornent souvent de diadèmes, de couronnes, de bijoux" ⁴³.

Although the longer style of heavy corkscrew ringlets has become more closely associated with Isis ⁴⁴ (fig.47), it is also found on limestone sphinxes ⁴⁵ (fig.701), private funerary stelae ⁴⁶, coffins ⁴⁷, shrouds ⁴⁸ and portrait panels ⁴⁹, and is used extensively to great effect on contemporary mummy masks ⁵⁰ (fig.703-704).

A series of gilded masks have the hair set in long ringlets tucked behind the ears, with a fringe of tiny ringlet curls set across the brow ⁵¹; later examples reduce the long ringlets to a single tress at each side of the face whilst at the same time extending the small curls over the brow into two sections set by each ear ⁵² (fig.702). A striking black and gold mask of an unnamed woman has the thick black hair set in two layers of rather more substantial ringlets at each side of the head and parted over the forehead ⁵³ (fig.703). The marvellously detailed style adorning the mask of Artemidora again has long ringlets set in two thick sections at either side of the head behind the ears, with a large stiffened section of hair dressed in flat circular curls set above the forehead and the whole surface decorated with small pieces of gold to imitate hair

ornaments⁵⁴ (fig.704). This trend for emphasising the hair even extends to the application of cotton fibre⁵⁵ painted black and waved to imitate real hair, as noted on a series of almost identical examples from the Meir necropolis⁵⁶ (fig.705-706).

The traditional tripartite style is largely reserved for temple relief scenes, as worn by offering bearers at Esna. A number of shroud portraits feature both the swept-back style⁵⁷ and the full style, the latter revived in its New Kingdom form complete with braided ends (fig.500) albeit with a contemporary fringe of tiny curls (fig.707), a fine example depicting Sensaos, daughter of the Theban governor Soter⁵⁸.

Shorter styles are only very occasionally found, an unusual mummy portrait of an elderly woman showing the grey hair set in what appears to be a short, naturalistic curled style⁵⁹ (fig.708). A rather more stylised coiffure of small black curls set flat against the head adorns the head of a mummy case of an unnamed woman, although lappets of the tripartite style emerge from beneath it to cover the chest in a curious amalgamation of funerary styles⁶⁰. In her coffin scenes the woman is again portrayed with a short round style with wavy outline, familiar from aforementioned contemporary papyri scenes.

CHILDREN

The sidelock is found in both sculpted and painted scenes, although its adoption is by no means universal⁶¹. A small sculpted figurine shows a small boy with a plaited curling lock set behind the right ear on an otherwise cropped style⁶² (fig.709), and the sculpted funerary stela of the three year old Gaius Julius Valerius, son of a Roman soldier, shows the child with a curling sidelock on the right side of a short style⁶³. Furthermore, "several mummy portraits of the Roman period show that the Graeco-Egyptian bourgeoisie had adopted the wearing of the youth lock"⁶⁴, which in almost every case is worn by boys⁶⁵. These portraits show a short thick lock set back behind the right ear, with the ends of the hair-tie hanging down below to emphasise a lock which is sometimes virtually invisible⁶⁶.

Other portraits⁶⁷ (fig.710), stela scenes⁶⁸ and the occasional sculpted figure⁶⁹ show children with simple cropped styles, although longer styles are also found, in particular a predominantly short style with additional long tresses falling around the shoulders, noted on both mummy portraits⁷⁰ (fig.711) and a coffin⁷¹.

NON-EGYPTIANS

A number of sculpted figures of young Nubian men have highly detailed, life-like coiffures of short, ringlet type curls, a marble example clearly showing horizontal rows of curls familiar from pharaonic examples⁷² (fig.712) and a similar stone head featuring "cheveux épais forment des boucles en spirales"⁷³.

In relief scenes at Esna the emperor Titus is portrayed in traditional pharaonic smiting pose as he prepares to execute a huge number of bearded Syrian(?) captives whom he holds by their rather short hair⁷⁴. Parallel Meroitic scenes in the Naga Lion temple show Queen Amanitore about to smite a similarly large group of long-haired captives presumably representing neighbouring peoples⁷⁵.

- 1 Portrait panels and mummy masks provide particularly 'realistic' depictions of styles in fashion at this time, although an exhaustive analysis outside scope of this study; for such styles and their use for dating purposes, see in-depth studies Müller 1990 and Grimm 1974.
- 2 Chicago Natural History Museum No.105182, C.1st AD, in Bothmer 1960, No.141, p.183-184, pl.133-134.
- 3 Michigan, Kelsey Museum of Archaeology No.8218, c.14-50 AD, Karanis, in Bothmer 1960, No.140, p.182, pl.132-133; Brooklyn 1988, No.133, p.244-245 and Bowman 1986, fig.75, p.126.
- 4 Berlin Inv.12619, in Parlasca 1966, pl.XXIII.1 and Grimm 1974, pl.26.1-2.
- 5 Cairo CG.7257, 310 AD, Athribis, in Terrace & Fischer 1970, No.43, p.185-188; also Grimm & Johannes 1975, No.29, p.21-22, pl.58-61; Brussels 1960, Cat.102, No.61, p.35 and Bowman 1986, fig.31, p.47.
- 6 Munich Ägyptische Sammlung Gl.23, 76-138 AD, Alexandria, in Brunner-Traut et al. 1984, No.114, p.142.
- 7 eg. Turin Inv.Cat.1567, Thebes, in Donadoni-Roveri 1988, fig.324, p.234.
- 8 Hildesheim RPM.2373, 193-212 AD, in Brooklyn 1988, No.129, p.240-241 and Kayser 1973, fig.94.
- 9 eg. Brooklyn Acc.No.75.114, Deir el-Medina; Louvre AF.6883, Fayuum, in Zeigler 1990, p.85; MMA.09.181.A, Fayuum, in Parlasca 1977 II, No.470, p.85, pl.114.2; UC.19613, in Parlasca 1969 I, No.163, p.71, pl.39.2 and Montserrat 1993, pl.XXII.3; Turin Inv.Suppl.18177, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1988, fig.327, p.235; Ox.Ash.E.3755, in Moorey 1983, fig.20, p.48 and Parlasca 1966, pl.XXV.1; see also Corson 1980, p.34-35, pl.2.P. for reconstruction sketch.
- 10 Luxor J.194, C.2-3rd AD, Deir el-Medina, in Luxor 1978, No.290, p.113.
- 11 c.300 AD, in Bowman 1986, fig.34, p.54-55 (Wilkinson watercolour).
- 12 BM.EA.55252, C.1st AD, Tell Basta.
- 13 For completely bare crown, Cairo CG.36802 in Parlasca 1969 I, No.31, p.34, pl.8.3 and Cairo CG.33249, Fayuum, in Parlasca 1977 II, No.452, p.81, pl.110.4; receding hair-lines, Seattle Inv.Cs.32.5 in Parlasca 1966, pl.XXXIX.1 and London Freud Collection in Parlasca 1966, pl.XXXXIX.2; 'thinning' style, Leiden Inv.F.1932/3.1, in Schneider & Raven 1981, No.156, p.147.
- 14 MMA.44.2.2, in Parlasca 1977 II, No.444, p.79, pl.109.1.
- 15 Louvre E.11565, C.6-7th AD, Baouit, in Ziegler 1990, p.93.
- 16 Hildesheim RPM.1537, 98-117 AD, Memphis(?), in Brooklyn 1988, No.22, p.113-114.
- 17 BM.GR.1824.4-70.4, unprovenanced.
- 18 Louvre E.27418, C.1st AD, in Ziegler 1990, p.84; similar head of 'A Roman Emperor in the Guise of a Pharaoh', Louvre A.35, C.1st AD, in Brooklyn 1988, No.137, p.249-250.
- 19 eg. Brooklyn Acc.No.72.57, 30 BC-50 AD, unprovenanced, in Fazzini et al. 1989, No.94, "The short locks of hair are styled in a fashion reflected in Roman Imperial portraits from the reign of the Emperor Augustus to that of Nero".
- 20 Philadelphia University Museum E.976, 209-217 AD, granite, in Brooklyn 1988, No.140, p.254-255.
- 21 Cairo CG.27480, 222-235 AD, Luxor, marble, in Corteggiani 1986, No.119, p.178; Grimm 1974, pl.55.3-4 and Grimm & Johannes 1975, No.28, p.21, pl.56-57.
- 22 Cairo JE.39468, Kom Abu Billo, in Grimm & Johannes 1975, No.25, p.21, pl.48, 50-51.
- 23 eg. Louvre E.14280, two mermen(?) in sculpted limestone scene of Aphrodite, in Ziegler 1990, p.90; Copenhagen NCG.AEIN.366, in Koefoed- Petersen 1950, No.142, p.78, pl.150; also small limestone head from niche BM.EA.69194, C.4-6th AD, unprovenanced.

- 24 eg. Edinburgh RMS.No.1911.210-4.G, Hawara painted wooden tablet, in Bowman 1986, fig.65, p.111 and Grimm 1974, pl.9.3.
- 25 eg. MM.No.1767, C.1-2nd AD, in David ed. 1979, No.10, p.6-7 and Parlasca 1966, pl.V.4; MM.No.1768, C.1st BC, in David ed. 1979, No.11, p.6-8 and Parlasca 1969 I, No.160, p.70, pl.38.5; MM.No.5380/5381 in Parlasca 1966, pl.XXII.1,2,4; BME.A.21810, C.2nd AD, Hawara, in Parlasca 1969 I, No.162, p.71, pl.39.1 and James 1979, pl.18; UC.19610, 100 AD, Hawara, in Parlasca 1969 I, No.211, p.83, pl.52.3; Cairo CG.33255, C.1-2nd AD, in Brussels 1960, No.84, p.31; MMA.09.181.2, Fayuum, in Parlasca 1977 II, No.312, p.45, pl.74.1; MMA.09.181.1, Fayuum, in Parlasca 1977 II, No.313, p.45, pl.74.2; MMA.09.181.3, C.2nd AD, Fayuum, in Metropolitan 1984, No.55, p.55; Parlasca 1966, pl.XXVII.4 and Parlasca 1977 II, No.311, p.44, pl.73.4; Berlin Inv.No.11673, in Priese ed. 1991, No.130, p.213; Parlasca 1969 I, No.204, p.81-82, pl.50.2 and Parlasca 1966, pl.I.5; Heidelberg Ägyptologisches Institut der Universität 1020, late C.2nd AD, in Brunner-Traut et al. 1984, No.127, p.154, 156; Tübingen Archäologisches Institut der Universität 7517, late C.2nd AD, in Brunner-Traut et al. 1984, No.128, p.154, 156; Cairo CG.33267, C.2nd AD, Antinoopolis, in Parlasca 1966, pl.XIX.1; Parlasca 1969 I, No.166, p.72, pl.40.1 and Montserrat 1993, p.221, pl.XXIII.1; Cairo CG.33232, in Parlasca 1969 I, No.59, p.42, pl.15.5 and Montserrat 1993, pl.XXII.2; Moscow Pushkin Museum Inv.5780, in Parlasca 1969 I, No.53, p.40, pl.14.1 and Montserrat 1993, pl.XXII.1; Moscow Pushkin Museum Inv.5776, in Parlasca 1969 I, No.54, p.41, pl.14.2 and Montserrat 1993, pl.XXII.4, etc; see Corson 1980, p.36-37, pl.3.F-II for reconstruction sketches.
- 26 eg. Moscow Inv.4229 in Parlasca 1966, pl.XXXV.1, XXXVI.1; MMA.08.202.8, in Parlasca 1966, pl.XXXV.2, and Louvre N.3076 in Dunand & Lichtenberg 1991, p.65 and Parlasca 1966, pl.LXI.2.
- 27 eg. Cairo JE.52809.
- 28 Hildesheim RPM.2373, 193-212 AD, in Brooklyn 1988, No.129, p.240-241, although mistakenly referred to as "long hair"; see also Kayser 1973, fig.94.
- 29 Baines & Malek 1984, p.75.
- 30 Bowman 1986, fig.25, p.38.
- 31 Small temple on site of demolished Grand Hotel, Aswan corniche, identity of Domitian (81-96 AD) confirmed by Dr.H.Jaritz, Director of Swiss Institute, Cairo; thanks to Mr.M.Jones for this information, pers.comm. 27.9.89.
- 32 eg. Pedesi and Pihor in Dendur reliefs, MMA.68.1.54, in Aldred 1978, fig.22, 28, p.35, 45, and sandstone temple(?) relief block of two deified(?) men, Brooklyn Acc.No.76.8, North Nubia.
- 33 Thanks to Dr.B.Watterson who suggests cartouche could be that of Nero, pers.comm.24.10.93.
- 34 As stated above, thorough study of styles depicted on panel portraits has been undertaken by Müller 1990, and mummy masks by Grimm 1974; for useful survey of the styles of Roman women in general see Balsdon 1979, p.41-44, and for styles in another Roman province see Allason-Jones 1989, p.133-139.
- 35 Portrait panels, eg. UC.14692, Antonine period, Hawara, in Parlasca 1977 II, No.315, p.46, pl.75; Cambridge Girton College, in Parlasca 1966, pl.XV.1; Berlin Inv.No.11411, c.24 AD, in Priese ed. 1991, No.121, p.200-201 and Parlasca 1966, pl.VIII.1; Stanford Inv.22225, in Parlasca 1966, pl.XV.2; see also Bowman 1986, fig.67, 81, p.114, 138; Brooklyn Acc.No.86.226.18, Fag el- Gamus, c.150 AD, in Fazzini et al. 1989, No.98; shrouds, eg. Boston MFA.54.993, shroud of Tasheritwedjator, C.late 2nd AD, in Boston 1988, No.154, "her hairdress has been said to reflect 'Roman fashions of the reigns of Tiberius and Caligula (AD.14-43)'" , p.204, although Parlasca 1966 dates it to late Antonine/early Severan Period (161-211 AD), p.187, pl.XLIII.1, also Parlasca 1977 II, No.392, p.66, pl.96.3; Louvre AF.6487 in Parlasca 1966, pl.XLIX.1; Berlin Inv.11659, in Parlasca 1966, pl.LXI.3; Moscow Inv.4280, in Parlasca 1966, pl.X.1, XIII.1; Boston MFA.97.1100, C.4th AD, Deir el-Bahari, in Boston 1988, No.165, p.214-215; Winlock 1924, fig.38, p.33 ; Parlasca 1966, p.209, pl.LII.2 and Grimm 1974, pl.112.4-5; sculpted mummy masks, eg. Louvre E.21360, Antinoe, in Ziegler 1990, p.85 and Grimm 1974, pl.95.1; Leiden Inv.F.1980/1.13, C.2nd AD, in Fletcher 1994(ii), fig.209, p.127, and see also Grimm 1974, pl.85.1, 4, 88-89, 90.3-4, 94-99, 100.3-4, 101.3-4, etc; for unusual asymmetrical example with chignon on right

- side, see Hildesheim RPM.Inv.572, in Grimm 1974, pl.90.1.
- 36 eg. figure of Leda, Ox.Ash.1970.403, in Moorey 1983, No.21, p.50.
- 37 Portrait panels, eg. UC.30081, Hawara, in Adams 1984, fig.45, p.51; BM.EA.29772, in Parlasca 1966, pl.XXL5; Louvre P.200 in Parlasca 1966, pl.LL.1; Cairo CG.33243, C.2nd AD, Hawara, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.270; Petrie 1889, between pl.X-XI; Petrie 1890, pl.I and Grimm & Johannes 1975, No.5, pl.E; Cairo CG.33244, C.2nd AD, in Corteggianni 1986, No.118, p.177-178; Cleveland No.71.136, early C.2nd AD, in Cleveland n.d, p.19; Pennsylvania University Museum E.16214, late C.2nd AD, er-Rubayat, in Pennsylvania 1980, No.76, p.67; Florence No.A.659, in de Agostini n.d, p.9; Cairo CG.33281, 325-350 AD, Sakkara, in Grimm & Johannes 1975, No.56, p.26, pl.95; see also sculpted mummy masks, eg. Leiden Inv.BA.220, C.1-2nd. AD, in Schneider & Raven 1981, No.155, p.147; Grimm 1974, pl.93.2 and Fletcher 1994(ii), fig.228, p.137; Amsterdam APM.Inv.725, in Grimm 1974, pl.81.1, and also Grimm 1974, pl.74.1-3, 75, 77, 78.1, 79.2, 80-84, 85.3, 86-87, 92, 93.1-3, etc; this style made up of human hair found on late Roman 'rag dolls', Berlin Inv.No.17954, in Posener 1962, p.107, thanks to Prof.D.Wildung and Mr.Köpke, Conservationist, for access and information; also UC.28024, C.4th AD, Hawara, in Petrie 1889, p.12, pl.XX.22. and Petrie 1927, p.62, pl.LV.570, thanks to Mrs.R.Janssen for access and information.
- 38 Edinburgh RMS.No.1951.160, in Parlasca 1966, pl.XVIII.2.
- 39 Cairo CG.33237, c.81-96 AD, Hawara, in Parlasca 1969 I, No.79, p.47, pl.19.2; Grimm & Johannes 1975, No.54, p.25, pl.93; Edgar 1905, p.92, pl.XXXVII; Petrie 1889, p.19-20, pl.X-XI and Petrie 1890, pl.I.
- 40 eg. MMA.09.181.7, Fayuum, in Parlasca 1977 II, No.309, p.44, pl.73.2..
- 41 Marble busts, eg. Kansas Rockhill Nelson Gallery Inv.48-9, in Grimm 1974, pl.76.2; BM.GR.1973.3-2.6, 100 AD, Carthage; bust of Titus' daughter Julia, in Balsdon 1979, fig.6, p.53 and see also Dayagi-Mendels 1989, p.85; comparable sculpted mummy masks, in Grimm 1974, pl.78.2-4, with reconstructed example in Corson 1980, p.74-75, pl.21.J, 22.D-G; for later complex arrangements of coiled plaits on top of head, eg. Cairo JE.44672, Kom Abu Billo, in Grimm & Johannes 1975, No.24, p.20-21, pl.43, 46-47 and Corson 1980, p.75-76, pl.22.K-L, N-O, pl.23.A-D.
- 42 See Corson 1980, p.74 and Allason-Jones 1989, p.135.
- 43 Nachtergaeel 1980, p.248; also Graindor 1939, p.116-123, pl.16.
- 44 eg. granodiorite figure, Leiden Inv.F.1958/4.3, C.2nd AD, in Brooklyn 1988, No.75, p.182-184 and Schneider & Raven 1981, No.145, p.141; serpentine figure from Esna, Munich ÄS.4201, late C.1st BC-early C.1st AD, in Brooklyn 1988, No.101, p.206-207; bronze figure, Berlin Inv.No.7502, C.2nd AD, in Brunner-Traut et al. 1984, No.115, p.142-143; marble figures, Alexandria, No.25783, Ras el-Soda, in Bowman 1986, fig.101, p.171 and Berlin Inv.No. 12440, in Priese ed. 1991, No.127, p.208, and terracotta figure, Ox.Ash.1889.1229, in Moorey 1983, fig.19, p.47.
- 45 BM.EA.1605, C.2nd AD.
- 46 eg. Berlin Inv.No.24143, stela of Melanous, 300 AD, Kom Abu Billo(?), in Priese ed. 1991, No.126, p.207; Recklinghausen Ikonenmuseum No.564, C.3-4th AD, in Brunner-Traut et al. No.132, p.157, 160; see also Louvre E.27217, stela of Artemis, Kom Abu Billo, in Ziegler 1990, p.84, "3rd century BC" date rather too early since style almost identical to that of Melanous and unnamed woman in Ikonenmuseum example except for Artemis' centre parting.
- 47 eg. Hildesheim RPM.2373, 193-212 AD, in Brooklyn 1988, No.129, p.240-241 and Kayser 1973, fig.94.
- 48 eg. Berlin Inv.11652, in Parlasca 1966, pl.XII.2, XIV.2 and Berlin Inv.11752, in Parlasca 1966, pl.XIV.1.
- 49 eg. Baltimore Inv.32.4 in Parlasca 1966, pl.XXXI.4 and Nahman Collection, in Parlasca 1966, pl.XX.1.
- 50 eg. MMA.54.638, C.1st AD, Middle Egypt, in Boston 1988, No.152, p.202-203; see examples in Grimm 1974, pl.62-73.

- 51 eg. MM.No.20638, Demetria, wife of Icaious, c.100 AD, Hawara, in David ed. 1979, No.9, p.6-8; for example with brow curls only, Cairo CG.33128, Ammonarin, Hawara, in Grimm & Johannes 1975, No.45, p.24, pl.83 and Grimm 1974, pl.14.1.
- 52 eg. MM.No.1769, C.2nd AD, Hawara, in David ed. 1979, No.9, p.6 and Parlasca 1966, pl.VII.1; Cairo CG.33126, lady named Sambathian, Hawara, in Edgar 1905, p.13-15, pl.VII and Grimm 1974, pl.15.2; for examples without side braids, MM.No.1766, C.1-2nd AD, Fayuum, in David ed. 1979, p.6; Parlasca 1966, pl.VII.2 and Pennsylvania 1980, No.79, p.68 and Brooklyn Acc.No.69.35, Hawara, in Brooklyn 1988, No.82, p.194-195; Fazzini et al. 1989, No.94 and Grimm 1974, pl.15.1.
- 53 Berlin Inv.No.22418, 50-75 AD, in Priebe ed. 1991, No.120, p.199; Grimm 1974, pl.12.1 and Parlasca 1966, pl.VI.2.
- 54 MMA.11.155.5, C.2nd AD, in Parlasca 1966, pl.II.2 and Grimm 1974, pl.C.1; compare with MK ornaments of SitHathorYunet, Cairo CG.52641/MMA.31.10.8, in Aldred 1971, No.39, p.193 and Fletcher 1994(ii), fig.227, p.136 and MK part-gilded head of woman, Cairo JE.39390, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.89.
- 55 Wildung 1993, "Die Haarimitation der üppigen Frauenperücken besteht, wie Analysen und Mikroaufnahmen des Rathgen-Forschungslabors ergeben haben, aus schwarz gefärbter Baumwolle", p.224, note 4.
- 56 eg. MMA.19.2.6, C.2nd AD, in Parlasca 1966, pl.II.1, III.2; Grimm 1974, pl.C.2 and Wildung 1991, p.225; Berlin Inv.No.34434/34435, in Wildung 1993, p.221-246; Cairo CG.33129 in Edgar 1905, p.18-21, pl.VIII, X and Grimm 1974, pl.60.2; CG.33130-33131, in Edgar 1905, p.21-24, pl.VIII, XI-XII; Grimm 1974, pl.60.3 and Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.269; CG.33132, in Edgar 1905, p.24-26, pl.IX, XIII; CG.33133, in Edgar 1905, p.26-27, pl.IX, XIV; CG.33134, in Edgar 1905, p.28-29, pl.IX, XV; Cairo CG.33135 in Edgar 1905, p.29-31, pl.IX, XVI; Grimm 1974, pl.60.1 and Grimm & Johannes 1975, No.46, pl.84.
- 57 eg. Chicago Natural History Museum Inv.105189, in Parlasca 1966, pl.LX.2, and Hirsch Collection, in Parlasca 1966, pl.LX.3.
- 58 Leiden Inv.AMM.8, 109 AD, in Schneider & Raven 1981, No.153, p.146; Vogelsang-Eastwood ed. 1994, fig.104, p.62 and Parlasca 1966, pl.LX.1; also BM.EA.6705, in Grimm 1974, pl.138.3; Louvre E.13048, in Grimm 1974, pl.139.1; Brussels MRAH.831, in Wreszinski 1923 I, No.10, 91.c; Cam.Fitz. EGA.5-1943, C.2-3rd AD and Turin N.Cat.2261, in Grimm 1974, pl.138.2.
- 59 MMA.09.181.5, Fayuum, in Parlasca 1977 II, No.310, p.44, pl.73.3 (although hair may be longer and set in chignon at back of head).
- 60 Berlin Inv.No.VÄGM.16-23, in Fay 1982, p.140-141.
- 61 Contemporary depictions of Horus/Harpocrates without side-lock demonstrate that it is no longer regarded as necessarily indicative of youth, eg. Isis stela, Cairo JE.47108, in Hildesheim 1984, No.40-41 and Grimm & Johannes 1975, No.33, p.22, pl.67, also bronze figure Cleveland No.72.6, in Cleveland n.d, p.19.
- 62 Cairo JE.38052.
- 63 Brooklyn, in Bowman 1986, fig.43, p.69.
- 64 Montserrat 1991, p.46; see also Montserrat 1993, p.217.
- 65 For rare exceptions, see MM.No.5378, in Parlasca 1969 I, No.133, p.63, pl.32.2 and Cairo CG.33216, C.2nd AD, Hawara, in Grimm & Johannes 1975, No.53, p.25, pl.92.
- 66 eg. BM.EA.6713, in Parlasca 1966, pl.XLIV.4; Dublin Inv.190214, in Parlasca 1966, pl.L.2 and Grimm 1974, pl.108.3; Copenhagen Nat.Mus.Inv.4280, in Parlasca 1966, pl.X.2; Warsaw Inv.127191, in Parlasca 1966, pl.XVII.1; Monaco Private Collection, in Parlasca 1980 III, No.654, p.62; Monaco Private Collection in Parlasca 1980 III, No.665, p.65; Berlin Inv.No.31161/23, er-Rubayat, in Parlasca 1977 II, No.473, p.86, pl.115.1; Berlin Inv.31161/41, er-Rubayat, in Parlasca 1977 II, No.474, p.86, pl.115.2; Frankfurt M.Inv.205, in Parlasca 1966,

- pl.XLIV.1; Hartford Connecticut No.1971.52.119, in *Parlasca 1980 III*, No.656, p.63; Tel Aviv Schutz Collection in *Parlasca 1980 III*, No.658, p.63; Tell Aviv Museo Haaretz Inv.152658, in *Parlasca 1966*, pl.L.1 and *Parlasca 1980 III*, No.659, p.63; Havana Museo Nacional Inv.503, in *Parlasca 1980 III*, No.660, p.64 and Heidelberg Ägyptologisches Institut der Universität 1021, in *Brunner-Traut et al. 1984*, No.131, p.157.
- 67 eg. Louvre P.213 in *Parlasca 1966*, pl.XXIX.1; Louvre AF.6486, in *Parlasca 1966*, pl.LXXXIII.1; MMA.18.9.2, in *Parlasca 1966*, pl.XXIX.3 and *Parlasca 1969 I*, No.167, p.72, pl.40.2 and Brooklyn, 350-375 AD, in *Bowman 1986*, fig.9, p.18.
- 68 Berlin Inv.No.24145, c.300 AD, Kom Abu Billo(?), in *Priese ed. 1991*, No.125, p.206 and *Recklinghausen Ikonenmuseum No.564*, C.3-4th AD, in *Brunner-Traut et al. No.132*, p.157, 160.
- 69 eg. *Recklinghausen Ikonenmuseum No.589*, C.4th AD, Antinoopolis, in *Brunner-Traut et al. 1984*, No.153, p.186; see also *Parlasca 1966*, pl.LXII.1.
- 70 B.M.EA.21809, C.1st AD, Hawara, in *Parlasca 1966*, pl.XI.4 and *Parlasca 1969 I*, No.7, p.27, pl.2.3; Berlin Inv.11413 in *Parlasca 1966*, pl.XI.2 and *Parlasca 1969 I*, No.6, p.27, pl.2.2.
- 71 Berlin Inv.No.17126, C.1st AD, Abusir el-Meleq, in *Priese ed. 1991*, No.123, p.203 and *Grimm 1974*, pl.125.2.
- 72 Brooklyn Acc.No.70.59, in *Grimm 1974*, pl.23.1-2; also bronze example, Alexandria Inv.19.536, in *Brussels 1960*, No.94, p.32.
- 73 Copenhagen NCG.AEIN.1336, 100 AD, Meroe, in *Koefoed-Petersen 1950*, No.138, p.76, pl.146.
- 74 *Bowman 1986*, fig.25, p.38.
- 75 *Smith 1981*, fig.418, p.425.

Part Three

HAIR SAMPLES

Having studied a sufficiently wide range of artistic representations of hair to establish a reliable chronology of stylistic development, it is also possible to examine the physical remains using a similarly chronological outline again ranging from Predynastic to Coptic times. By comparing such examples with their idealised counterparts in sculpture and two-dimensional scenes it is often possible to interpret the original find with greater accuracy, in addition to attempting to ascertain how closely the artist chose to render his subject and which features/elements were regarded as important to stress ¹.

Hair samples can be divided into three basic categories:-

- 1) mummy hair, ie. hair still attached to the scalp when found.
- 2) false hair, ie. pieces of worked hair designed to be worn over, attached to, or in the place of the natural hair.
- 3) loose hair, ie. separate samples of hair ² which are often found wrapped or placed in some form of receptacle, or alternatively which appear to have been removed from a body in recent times ³.

A detailed study can help to establish the nature of the samples, which are in many cases unrecorded and/or unpublished ⁴.

Once accurately re-categorised into their appropriate group these samples can then be included in a detailed inventory of Egyptian hair, which is long overdue ⁵. The resulting inventory may then be employed to provide a range of information, for in addition to its value as a possible indicator of gender, social status and racial type, the hitherto underused potential of hair as an indicator of nutrition and disease within a population may also be utilised ⁶.

- 1 Fletcher 1994, p.33.
- 2 This hair can either be in its natural state or braided/plaited, although with no visible means of attachment it is difficult to decide if latter intended for inclusion into wig or natural style or served alternative purpose; any such ambiguous samples therefore referred to as 'loose hair'.
- 3 eg. Bell 1985, p.66 comments upon Petrie's practice of collecting light coloured hair from bodies in order to prove their foreign extraction, and Smith & Jones 1910 II refer to the "fresh looking hair" of well preserved bodies which is "capable of being put into boxes without the aid of paraffin wax or any other preservative", p.190.
- 4 Fletcher 1994, p.31, see also Fletcher & Montserrat 1995, p.59- 60; notable exceptions include Brunton, Lythgoe and Elliot Smith, all of whom did record and publish details regarding length, style, colour etc. of significant amounts of hair they discovered and/or examined, and where relevant their descriptions will be quoted extensively.
- 5 See comments of Cox 1977, p.67 and Fletcher 1994, p.32.
- 6 See work of Sandford and Kissling 1994, p.41-52; also reference to subject in Lahren 1987, p.37-38; Birkett et al. 1986, p.367; Rabino Massa et al. 1980, p.133; Zivanovic 1982, p.19; Cooper 1971, p.35; Lenihan 1977, p.192-194 and Filer 1995, p.25, with reference to forthcoming study of Nubian hair samples by Filer & Fletcher.

PREDYNASTIC PERIOD

1) Mummy Hair

The best known example of predynastic mummy hair are the "tufts of ginger-coloured hair" found on the scalp of a naturally mummified adult male from Gebelein, close inspection revealing them to be slightly wavy ¹ (fig.713). Other male bodies from this site have similar tufts of darker, brown hair on the remains of scalp tissue ².

The hair of bodies found at Naga ed-Dêr ³ is generally described as 'straight' ⁴ and either 'dark brown' or 'black' in colour (fig.715) with little additional description ⁵, although from measurements given ⁶ it is possible to calculate an average length for men's hair of 5cm ⁷ (Appendix B.1).

The hair of male bodies at Mostagedda is also generally described as "short" ⁸, although one male had "dark curly hair, low at the sides and at the nape, and brought to a sort of quiff or point in front" ⁹. The hair of male bodies found at Qau and Badari is generally described as "wavy" ¹⁰ and "long, according to modern European ideas" ¹¹, although the measurements given never exceed 5 inches (12.5cm) ¹² and 15% of examples are described as "short" ¹³. The hair of Nubian bodies from Wadi Qamar and Dehmit is "always long and straight or only slightly wavy,..the hair of both sexes long and flowing" ¹⁴, although Smith and Wood-Jones also state that "in none of our cases had it been shaved off" ¹⁵ contrary to the findings of Petrie, who refers to both shaven heads and "long wavy hair fastened up with long combs" ¹⁶.

Hairpins could also be used to fasten up the hair ¹⁷ of both men ¹⁸ and women, a female with long thick hair pinned up discovered in a pit grave at Abadiyeh ¹⁹ (fig.714). Other female bodies with hair described as 'long' were found at the aforementioned sites of Wadi Qamar and Dehmit ²⁰ and Gebelein ²¹. The hair of predynastic females at Matmar was either "short, dark brown and inclined to be curly" ²², or "short, black and wavy" ²³, whilst at Naga ed-Dêr a range of hair lengths and types are noted ²⁴, and although often described as 'long' ²⁵ the average length is only 9cm ²⁶ (Appendix B.1). At Mostagedda, the hair of female bodies ranged from short ²⁷ to 15cm in length ²⁸, and in most cases is described as wavy ²⁹ or curly ³⁰; one woman(?) had her hair "dressed in large and small plaits, and a number of tresses coated in clay" ³¹, whilst another wore a string of beads in her hair ³². At Qau and Badari it is noted that the generally wavy ³³ hair of women "never grew...longer than eight inches [20.5cm] or so" ³⁴, although a number of different styles included 15cm long "twisted tresses" ³⁵, "a curly fringe down to the eyes" ³⁶, and plaits ³⁷.

One child at Mostagedda also had plaited hair ³⁸ whilst others displayed curly hair ³⁹, and a four year old had "fine yellow hair" ⁴⁰, although most examples were short ⁴¹, as were those from Naga ed-Dêr where the average length was 7cm. ⁴² (Appendix B.1).

Although "no definite cases of baldness" ⁴³ were recorded at Naga ed-Dêr, a total of eight bodies were found to have varying amounts of grey hair ⁴⁴. Only two grey haired examples are reported to have been found at Mostagedda ⁴⁵, and at

Qau and Badari "11 had gone grey with old age" ⁴⁶, suggesting that at least a proportion of the population achieved relatively advanced years.

2) False Hair

There is little evidence for the use of false hair in the predynastic period although Petrie does state that some individuals "shaved the head...and wore wigs" ⁴⁷. The only tangible piece of evidence discovered during the course of this study is a 27cm long plait from the Abydos area, made up of mid-brown/blond hair to which is attached a further length of slightly darker blond hair by means of complex knot work at intervals of 8cm and 16cm from the cut end ⁴⁸ (see also below) (fig.717).

3) Loose Hair

Examples of loose hair discovered independent of a body and often inside some kind of receptacle are relatively common at this time. Four small round balls of human hair were found at Mostagedda, one in the unlooted Amratian grave of a child, another in a looted grave and two further examples found nearby, Brunton noting that "balls of hair do not seem to have been noticed before in connection with prehistoric burials; they must have had a magical rather than practical use" ⁴⁹.

However, such objects were also found in large numbers at the Naga ed-Dêr site, a single ball of matted hair discovered in the grave of a young adult ⁵⁰, and a number of hair balls discovered at the head and beneath the left femur of an adult of uncertain sex, "which, from their position, must have been placed there before the body was laid down". Since no hair remained on the skull, it was "uncertain if the balls were made up from the hair of this individual" ⁵¹, although the burial of an adult male was found to contain "a mass of hair in balls" which "seemed to be the same as that remaining on the skull" ⁵².

A further fifty balls of dark brown hair 1.5 to 2.5cm in diameter were found alongside similar "small coils" of hair in the burial of an elderly female, and there was also "a small quantity of straight hair (not rolled in coils or balls) of quite different colour" which once again "corresponded exactly, both in colour, length and quality, with the hair of the burial preserved on the greater part of the skull" ⁵³. It is interesting that the aforementioned plait with attached false hair ⁵⁴ (fig.717) also matches exactly in colour, texture and length the hair on a predynastic/early dynastic skull originally in the collection of Elliot Smith (which included crania from Naga ed-Dêr and the Abydos area) ⁵⁵ (fig.716, fig.718). Although insufficient to represent the total amount of hair grown in an adult's lifetime, Lythgoe concluded that "it was the hair of the individual at an earlier age which had been preserved and was finally buried with the individual" ⁵⁶, possibly indicating that the hair was necessary for magical or religious purposes ⁵⁷.

In the predynastic cemetery at Matmar Brunton also found a loose plait strung with beads at the feet of a twelve year old child, which he suggests may have been "cut from the head" ⁵⁸, and he also found "hair next to [the] body" of an

unplundered male burial at the site ⁵⁹.

As stated, other examples of loose hair were found to have been placed inside some kind of receptacle. Portions of a young woman's hair "in double strands twisted together" appear to have been placed in several pots in one of the Naga ed-Dér graves ⁶⁰, with short, partly twisted lengths of red-brown hair found in a red clay bowl in a grave near the Umm el-Qa'ab at Abydos ⁶¹ (fig.719). Petrie discovered a 4cm long tuft of brown hair in a large grave at Abadiyeh amongst numerous pots, palettes, combs and beads ⁶², with two small curls found enclosed within a golden container in a tomb at Abusir el-Meleq ⁶³.

- 1 BM.EA.32751, known as 'Ginger', late predyn, in Dawson & Gray 1967, No.1, p.1, pl.1.a; also Dunand & Lichtenberg 1991, p.28 and Harris & Wente 1980, fig.1.6, p.3.
- 2 eg. BM.EA.32754, late predyn, in Dawson & Gray 1967, No.4, p.2, pl.1.d and BM.EA.57353, predyn/I dyn, in Dawson & Gray 1967, No.8, p.4, pl.II.d; thanks to Dr.J.Taylor & Ms.J.Filer for access.
- 3 Comparatively well-documented in Lythgoe 1965, with additional (sometimes contradictory) comments by Elliot Smith; see also Podzorski 1990, p.85.
- 4 Although even such a simple description sometimes misleading, eg. Lythgoe 1965, grave 7102, young female with "long, straight black hair", p.56, would appear to have wavy hair in fig.22.b!
- 5 Additional descriptions curiously reserved for female bodies (see below).
- 6 Measurements only given in certain cases, with no standard use of either centimetres or inches and no indication of whereabouts on head measurement taken; furthermore, where no measurements given, men's hair simply referred to as 'short' (ie. grave 7002, p.1; grave 7059, p.33; grave 7179, p.101-102; grave 7360, p.216; grave 7371, p.223; grave 7380, p.230; grave 7585, p.383; grave 7469.A.1, fig.132.a, p.293-294), with Podzorski 1990, p.85, noting that men's hair does not reach much past ears.
- 7 Average achieved using given measurements of hair of 23 male bodies, ranging from 3cm to 10cm in Lythgoe 1965; 3cm = grave 7019, p.11; grave 7028, p.17; grave 7111, p.61-63; grave 7136, p.81; grave 7285, p.163-164; grave 7378, p.228; grave 7471, p.294 and grave 7626, p.409-411; 3.5cm = grave 7376, p.228; 4cm = grave 7023, p.15; grave 7394, p.236-238 and grave 7456, p.282; 5cm = grave 7006, p.4; grave 7077, p.42; grave 7583, p.381-383 and grave 7610, p.399; 6cm = grave 7011, p.6; 7044, p.25; grave 7076, p.42 and grave 7232, p.129-131; 7cm = grave 7136, p.81; 8cm = grave 7134, p.80-81; 10cm = grave 7117, p.69. No lengths given for bodies in grave 7055, "remains of unusually coarse straight black hair", p.29; grave 7369, "hair reddish-brown", p.221; grave 7387, "some hair apparent on top of skull", and grave 7454, "remains of hair", fig.124.b, p.278-280. In case of adult bodies of unspecified sex same relatively short hair averaging 6cm in length, in Lythgoe 1965, 3cm = grave 7107, p.60; 4cm = grave 7032, fig.7.h, pl.IV.c,d,e, p.19 and grave 7127, p.73; 5cm = grave 7123, p.72; 6cm = grave 7071, p.39-41; 7cm = grave 7106, p.58-60; 13cm = grave 7179, p.101-102, that in grave 7389 simply described as "short black hair", p.233-235.
- 8 Brunton 1937, Badarian graves 207 and 209 (5cm long), p.33; 490, p.36; 1208, p.38 and 2208, p.40; grave 496.A, "thick ginger hair", but no reference to length, p.36; predynastic graves 1800.iv and 1847 (7.5cm long), p.71.
- 9 Brunton 1937, grave 3512, p.42, 45-46.
- 10 See Brunton & Caton-Thompson 1928, "wavy" hair, in graves 5342, 5359, 5361, 5362, 5366 and 5369, p.10; graves 5373 and 5376, p.11, pl.X.2,4; grave 5377, p.11, pl.X.4; graves 5378, 5380, 5383, 5384, 5386 and 5388, p.11; grave 5447, p.13; grave 5746, p.16; grave 5805, p.17; for "very slightly wavy" example, grave 5385, p.11; for "curly" hair, grave 5375, p.11, pl.X.2; grave 5440, p.12; grave 5808, p.17; for "straight" hair, grave 5387, p.11; grave 5735, p.15 and graves 5767 and 5772, p.17.
- 11 Brunton & Caton-Thompson 1928, p.41, for example simply described as "long", grave 5387, p.11.
- 12 Only few measurements given in Brunton & Caton-Thompson 1928, 3in.[7.5cm] in graves 5746 and 5805, p.16-17 and 4-5in.[10-13cm] in grave 5440, p.12.
- 13 See Brunton & Caton-Thompson 1928 for hair described as "short", graves 5342, 5359 and 5369, p.10 and grave 5727, p.15.
- 14 Smith & Wood-Jones 1910, p.189; see also p.190 for reference to well preserved bodies, and "fresh looking" hair from cemetery No.45 at Shem Nishai, Dehmit, on east bank of Nile.
- 15 Smith & Wood-Jones 1910, p.201.
- 16 Petrie 1920, p.47.

- 17 Brunton 1948 states that decoration of such pins "suggests that they were for wearing in the hair like combs", p.19.
- 18 Brunton 1937, Mostagedda grave 1854, "an unusual bone pin lay with the point close to the forehead...at the head of a man, no doubt in the hair", p.72, 87.
- 19 Ox.Ash.E.1034, grave B.378, in Petrie 1901, p.34, pl.VI; Scharff 1929, p.12 and Müller 1960, p.6; thanks to Drs.H.Whitehouse and A.Tooley for access and information.
- 20 Smith & Wood-Jones 1910, p.189, 201.
- 21 eg. BM.EA.32752, late predyn, in Dawson & Gray 1967, No.2, pl.1.b, "long brown hair is present on the scalp", p.1.
- 22 Brunton 1948, Badarian cemetery 2000, p.9; graves 2000.ii/v, p.7.
- 23 Brunton 1948, graves 2664 and 2652, p.17.
- 24 For additional description, see Lythgoe 1965; grave 7195, adult female with remains of hair described as "matted locks...14cm long", to which Smith adds "Hair in ringlets though hardly Negroid", p.112; grave 7297, adult female, "some hair preserved", Smith adding "beautiful wavy hair with fine lustre about 7cm long", fig.75.e.g, p.175; grave 7346, girl with "fine silky brown hair in mass at back of head", with additional comment by Smith, "girl with long auburn wavy hair down her back", fig.92.e, p.208; grave 7590, adult female with "head covered with a mass of short curly locks", fig.173.d.f, p.386; grave 7600, adult female with "hair well preserved...in matted locks", p.394; grave 7626, adult female, with "mass of matted brownish-black hair, in locks curling at the ends", p.409-411; grave 7631, adult female with "locks curling at ends over the left temple", fig.187.e, p.413-415; grave 7632, adult female again with "matted locks", p.415.
- 25 See Lythgoe 1965, grave 7102, p.56; grave 7481, p.301; grave 7490, p.309 and grave 7584, p.383; also Podzorski 1990, "women wore their hair short or long", that from grave 7293 (16cm) and grave 7346 (12cm) given as examples of "long" and that from grave 7071 (6cm) and grave 7590 (8.5cm) "short", p.85.
- 26 Average achieved using measurements from 25 female bodies, hair length ranging from 2.5cm to 18cm in Lythgoe 1965; 2.5cm = grave 7199, p.114; 5cm = grave 7616, p.404; 6cm = grave 7270, p.155; grave 7367, p.218; grave 7405, fig.109.e, p.243 and grave 7434, p.262; 6.5cm = grave 7364, p.216; 7cm = grave 7064, p.37; grave 7297, fig.75.e.g, p.174; grave 7365, p.218; grave 7491, p.309-310 and grave 7631, fig.187.e, p.413-415; 8cm = grave 7027, p.16 and grave 7081, fig.17.i, p.43-45; 8.5cm = grave 7590, fig.173.d.f, p.386; 10cm = grave 7600, p.394; 11 cm = grave 7469.A.2, fig.132.b, p.293-294 and grave 7633, p.415; 12cm = grave 7070, p.39 and grave 7626, p.409-411; 13cm = grave 7061, fig.14.h, p.35; 14cm = grave 7195, p.112; 16 cm = grave 7293, fig.74.b, p.170 and grave 7632, p.415; 18cm = grave 7455, p.280. No lengths given for body in grave 7095, "hair preserved on back of head", p.53 and hair of body in grave 7469.A.3 not mentioned, although fig.132.c-d, p.293-294 shows matted hair down centre of skull. For two predynastic/early dynastic crania from Abydos area, ex-Elliot Smith collection, see MM.No.4, fine black hair max.length 19cm at back of head and MM.No.8/9, thick blond/grey hair, 22cm. at back of head (possibly elderly woman described in Lythgoe 1965, 7491, p.309-310, below), illustrated in Asher 1990, fig.4, p.2; thanks to Dr.A.R.David for access and information.
- 27 Brunton 1937, Tasian grave 460 (4cm long), p.6; predynastic graves 1206, p.37 and 1826, p.71.
- 28 Brunton 1937, Badarian grave 596, 15cm long tresses, p.37, 45; grave 1250, 8cm long, p.39; grave 2014, 10cm long, p.39; grave 2220, 8cm long, p.40 and predynastic grave 1880, 10cm long, p.73.
- 29 Brunton 1937, Badarian grave 1206, p.37; grave 2014, p.39; grave 2220, p.40; predynastic grave 1826, p.73 and grave 1880, p.73.
- 30 Brunton 1937, Badarian grave 547, p.36; grave 1204 "much curly black hair", p.37; grave 1212, p.38 and grave 1250, p.39.
- 31 Brunton 1937, predynastic grave 1632, p.70 (although sex not given, use of clay or mud on hair only known in

cases of female bodies, with plaits worn by both sexes).

- 32 Brunton 1937, Badarian grave 3538, p.43.
- 33 Brunton & Caton-Thompson 1928, "wavy hair", graves 5390, 5394, 5396, p.11; graves 5411, 5412, 5438, p.12; grave 5726, p.15; grave 5745, p.16; grave 5801, p.17; "slightly wavy", grave 5815, p.17; for "curly" examples, grave 5405, p.11; grave 5701, p.14; grave 5770, p.17; "straight hair" in grave 5414, p.12; graves 5723, 5729, p.15; grave 5804, p.17; grave 6002, p.18, and "almost straight" hair in grave 5441, p.13.
- 34 Brunton & Caton-Thompson 1928, 6in.[15cm] = grave 5412, p.12; grave 5801, p.17; "a few inches long" = grave 5723, p.15; hair described simply as "short", grave 5804, p.17; "rather short", grave 5815, p.17; "long", grave 5396, p.11; grave 5411, p.12 and grave 5726, p.15, and "rather long", grave 5390, p.11.
- 35 Brunton & Caton-Thompson 1928, grave 5411, p.12, 20, 41.
- 36 Brunton & Caton-Thompson 1928, "one young woman (not registered) from cemetery 5400 had dark brown hair with a curly fringe down to the eyes, like the 'heart breakers' in the reign of Charles I", p.20, 41.
- 37 Brunton & Caton-Thompson 1928, grave 5399, p.11, 20, 41.
- 38 Brunton 1937, Badarian grave 309, p.45.
- 39 Brunton 1937, Tasian grave 429, "hair...inclined to curl", p.5, 27 and predynastic grave 2223, p.40.
- 40 Brunton 1937, Badarian grave 2709, p.41, 45.
- 41 Brunton 1937, Tasian grave 429, p.5, 27; Badarian graves 2008, p.39; 2211, 1-3cm long; 2221, 3cm long and 2223, 6cm long.
- 42 Average achieved using measurements from 6 bodies, 5 of unspecified sex (ie. 'child/youth/young person') in Lythgoe 1965, except grave 7346 'a girl', p.208; measurements, 3cm = grave 7618, p.404; 5cm = grave 7450, p.276; 6cm = grave 7022, p.13-15 and grave 7437, p.264-267; 11cm = grave 7089, p.50; 12cm = grave 7346, fig.92.e, p.208. No lengths given for bodies in graves 7060, 4- 5 year old girl, Smith noting that "vulva kept, also hair", p.35; grave 7130, a young child with "brown hair", p.78; grave 7379, 6 month old baby with "fine, soft brown hair", fig.103.a, p.230 and 7594, 8 year old child, "slightly wavy brown hair", p.388.
- 43 Podzorski 1990, p.85.
- 44 Lythgoe 1965, grave 7076, p.42; grave 7081, elderly female, fig.17.i, p.43-45; grave 7199, p.114; grave 7371, p.223; grave 7455, female, p.280; grave 7491, elderly female, p.309-310; grave 7585, adult male, p.383 and grave 7633, old female, p.415.
- 45 Brunton 1937, p.45.
- 46 Brunton & Caton-Thompson 1928, p.20, of those recorded, grave 5366, p.10; graves 5383, 5384, 5386, 5387, 5388, 5399, 5405, p.11 and grave 5414, p.12.
- 47 Petrie 1920, p.47; it might be useful to compare discovery of "a well made wig of human hair...on the head of a 5,000-year-old body from Quiani in Chile", in Brothwell 1986, p.34.
- 48 MM.No.4005, "Abydos", possibly from body of elderly woman described in Lythgoe 1965 as "a small quantity of straight hair...a corn yellow (discoloured white) with traces of the same brown hair among it...", No.7491, p.309-310.
- 49 Brunton 1937, p.90; also Lucas 1989, p.31, referring only to 3 balls.
- 50 Lythgoe 1965, 7596, "upon matting were a ball of matted hair and several ribs", p.392.
- 51 Lythgoe 1965, 7130, p.78.
- 52 Lythgoe 1965, 7378, fig.102.f, p.228.

- 53 Lythgoe 1965, 7491, p.309-310.
- 54 MM.No.4005 (above).
- 55 MM.No.8/9, ex-Elliot Smith Collection (discussed above), illustrated in Asher 1990, fig.4, p.2; thanks to Dr.A.R.David for access and information.
- 56 Lythgoe 1965, p.309-310.
- 57 Podzorski 1990, p.85.
- 58 Brunton 1948, grave 2645, p.13.
- 59 Brunton 1948, Badarian grave 2033, p.8.
- 60 Lythgoe 1965, 7490, adult female, "long black hair found with skull and under one pot was another lot of similar hair in double strands twisted together", Smith adding "very abundant, fairly long, wavy dark brown hair (almost black)...Intertwined hair separate under pots", fig.138.b, p.309.
- 61 Ox.Ash.E.3562.A, no reference in MacIver & Mace 1902, p.53-55.
- 62 Ox.Ash.E.986, no reference to hair amongst finds in Petrie & Mace 1901, p.33, pl.V; thanks to Dr.H.Whitehouse for information.
- 63 Berlin Inv.No.19067, in Scharff 1929, p.12 and Schäfer 1910, No.2, p.13, pl.2; referred to in Müller 1960, p.6 and Nachtergaeel 1981, No.1, p.599.

ARCHAIC PERIOD

1) Mummy Hair

The hair of three male bodies from protodynastic graves at Matmar is simply stated to be short and light brown ¹, whereas that of four female burials is described as "light brown hair" ², "dark brown hair 4cm long" ³, "brown wavy hair" ⁴ and "long black tresses" decorated with strings of beads ⁵, a further body of unspecified sex found with "long hair, slightly curly" ⁶.

2) False Hair

In contrast to the relatively small amount of mummified material, a surprising amount of false hair has been dated to this period solely on the basis of its discovery at the site of the tomb of Djer, later regarded as the burial place of Osiris ⁷. The majority of examples are very similar in appearance and take the form of varying lengths of hair carefully woven into fine wefts, causing Cox to remark that "by circa 3000 BC the Egyptian hairworker was using a weft method in the manufacture of wigs" ⁸. To these lengths of weft are attached further pieces of hair set in a variety of different ways, the high degree of workmanship "showing a long acquaintance with hair-work at that age" ⁹.

The best known example is described as a "plait of hair and piece of false fringe...exquisitely made entirely on a band of hair" ¹⁰, the fringe consisting of a 10cm long thin weft of hair with eight pendant open-centre curls 2cm wide attached below by means of highly intricate knot work (fig.720), the separate plait measuring 45cm approx. and all the hair a uniform dark brown colour. However, the total find has never been published and actually consists of the fringe, five loose plaits and three boxfuls of worked hair ¹¹ (fig.721), the latter of which is made up of further fine wefts to which are fastened both plaited and loose lengths, again 45cm in length, in addition to a number of lengths with looped and stiffened ends, a technique of hairworking generally regarded as a New Kingdom innovation ¹² (fig.722).

Although it has been stated, for no apparent reason, that the hair "probably belonged to his queen" ¹³ rather than to Djer, the fragmentary nature of the find makes it difficult to ascertain if it was originally in the form of a long wig ¹⁴ or separate hairpieces. Alternatively it is also possible that the hair might be interpreted as some form of votive offering of a later date relating to the supposed burial of a god symbolised by a fetish adorned with hair.

Petrie found further examples of worked hair around this site, including a 25.5cm long plait and 13.5cm long weft, 1cm wide, its fragmentary pendant curls set with some form of fixative ¹⁵ (fig.723). This piece is very similar to a 10cm long weft again with the same arrangement of rather mis-shapen curls, although in this example two ties of twisted hair 12cm long extend from one end of the weft ¹⁶ (fig.724).

At a grave north-east of Djer's tomb, Amélineau had earlier found a weft of curls virtually identical to the piece published by Petrie, again with 8 curls, although slightly shorter at 8cm long ¹⁷ (fig.725), and described as "Wahrscheinlich Teil

einer Stirnlocke; die gelockten braunen Haare kommen aus einer fein gedrehten Haarschnur heraus" ¹⁸. In addition to this distinctive fringe Amélineau also found many more fragments of hair of various colours, worked into a whole range of plaits, curls and ringlets (fig.726), although unfortunately their exact location was not recorded ¹⁹. A number are described as "sechs verschiedene Haarstücke und einige kleine Reste von hell- bis dunkelbrauner Färbung...Vier Strähnen sind zu Zöpfen geflochten, eine zeigt künstlich gedrehte Löckchen, die an einer fein gedrehten Haarschnur hängen" ²⁰, and the find also included a small side-lock (4.5cm long) made up of woven hair, with a similar extended tie as noted from one of the curled fringes ²¹ (fig.727).

Another example of worked hair originating from the nearby Shunet el-Zebib site consists of a mass of dark brown, loosely plaited hair approx.25cm long, (fig.728-729, fig.732) attached to sections of intricately worked, now fragmentary, weft ²² (fig.730), with a separate twisted plait 38cm long ²³ (fig.728).

3) Loose Hair

The aforementioned fragmentary worked pieces from the Shunet site (fig.728-730, fig.732) were found alongside a separate portion of wavy auburn hair ²⁴ (fig.729, fig.731-732), which upon close examination proved to be heavily infested with both head lice (fig.2) and their eggs (fig.1) (discussed above). The presence of the adult lice indicates that the hair had not been disturbed in any way, and since there is no trace of working it is clear that this is not part of a wig as previously assumed, and must therefore be the natural hair removed from the body at some stage ²⁵.

In order to ascertain when this was done, SEM examination of the hair ends revealed that the hair had been cut in antiquity from a living or recently deceased person on account of the very clean, smooth cut surface ²⁶ (fig.733). Further examination of the opposite ends of the hair showed a very smooth rounded tip, indicating that the hair had originally been allowed to grow and had never been cut ²⁷ (fig.734).

Other samples of loose hair from the site include a 12.5cm length of plaited dark brown hair, again with a number of lice eggs attached ²⁸ (fig.735), and a large number of plaited fragments partly wrapped in linen ²⁹. Brown curly hair "zu einem formlosen Knäuel zusammengeballt" ³⁰ was found in a rough clay pot at a royal tomb site at Nagada, and a similar find of brown hair in a clay pot was discovered in a private grave at Gebel Silsilah ³¹.

- 1 Brunton 1948, cemetery 2000, unregistered grave viii, "very short, light brown hair"; unregistered grave x, "very light brown hair" and unregistered grave xv, "short light brown hair", p.26.
- 2 Brunton 1948, grave 218, p.24.
- 3 Brunton 1948, cemetery 2000, unregistered grave ix, p.26.
- 4 Brunton 1948, grave 1059, p.25.
- 5 Brunton 1948, grave 237, p.25;
- 6 Brunton 1948, grave 2010, p.26.
- 7 Petrie 1902, p.5 refers to finding samples of worked hair actually in tomb of Djer as opposed to on the site of this tomb; it would seem rather coincidental that so much false hair has survived from this period as opposed to mummy hair, and that all pieces are so similar and come from same site.
- 8 Cox in Symonds 1965, p.3, early date simply result of site being in widespread use in 1st dynasty.
- 9 Petrie 1902, p.5; again early date problematic.
- 10 Cambridge Pitt-Rivers Museum, fringe 1901.40.56, plait 1901.40.52; I dyn. date given in Petrie 1902, p.5, pl.IV.7; see also Cox 1989, fig.468, "the oldest known extant hair weft", p.307; Cox 1983, p.3; Weigall 1925, p.110; Garetto 1955, p.66; Müller 1982, 989 and Fletcher 1994(ii), fig.220, p.132.
- 11 Cambridge Pitt-Rivers Museum, 4 further plaits 1901.40.52, boxes of hair 1901.40.53-55, all found together in 1900-1901 and donated to museum in 1901 by E.E.F; thanks to Mrs.L.Mowat for access and information.
- 12 Cox 1977, p.67, fig.2, p.70; this either means looped technique in use at far earlier date, or that hair later in date than I dyn.
- 13 Petrie 1902, p.5.
- 14 Such long styles known to have been worn by king at least as early as III dyn, ie. Cairo JE.49158, life-size figure of Djoser (discussed above).
- 15 Brussels MRAH Inv.E.5874, "Fragment de perruque avec tresses de cheveux noirs". Provenance: tombes royales de la 1ère dynastie à Abydos (fouilles de Petrie). Date d'entrée: 21.3.1922", information kindly supplied by Dr.L.Limme; thicker weft remarkably similar to unnumbered fragment in Manchester Museum dated to the Middle Kingdom (discussed below), the thinner weft and plait possibly part of the Pitt-Rivers group of samples.
- 16 Leiden Inv.F.1938/8.73, I dyn, unprovenanced but almost certainly from this site, in Fletcher 1994(ii), p.132, note 10; thanks to Dr.M.Raven for access.
- 17 Amélineau 1904, pl.III, bottom left.
- 18 Berlin Inv.No.18052, date again given as I dyn, grave 58, Scharff 1929, No.14, p.12, fig.4 and Fletcher 1994(ii), p.132, note 10; unfortunately current location of Archaic Berlin samples unknown, thanks to Prof.D.Wildung for this information.
- 19 Amélineau 1904, "Ouvrages en cheveux", pl.II-III.
- 20 Berlin Inv.No.18051, "1907 auf der Versteigerung der Sammlung Amélineau erworben, aus den Königsgräbern von Abydos; nähere Fundstelle nicht nachweisbar", in Scharff 1929, No.13, p.12, fig.3 and Nachtergaeel 1981, No.3, p.599.
- 21 Berlin Inv.No.18053, grave No.22 beside site of Djer's tomb, in Scharff 1929, No.15, "Sogenannte Kinderlocke", p.13, fig.4.
- 22 Bulk of find divided between Manchester and Ashmolean Museums (thanks to Drs.A.R.David, H.Whitehouse and A.Tooley for access and information), with Ox.Ash.E.4636 labelled 'Proto-dynastic, Abydos Shunch fort

cemetery' although unfortunately not mentioned in description of cemetery by Ayrton, Currelly & Weigall 1904, p.1-5, see Fletcher 1994, p.32 and Fletcher 1994(ii), p.130; very similar piece in Batley Bagshaw Museum E.E.F.No.163 also from Shunet site, donated by E.E.F. in Sept.1903 originally to Dewsbury Museum (thanks to Mr.B.Haigh for information).

- 23 MM.No.1196 (as above), originally included with MM.No.1198 (below).
- 24 MM.No.1198, labelled "part of a wig"/Ox.Ash.E.4636, as part of the dark brown fragment "Protodynastic, Abydos Shuneh fort cemetery"; see also Batley Bagshaw Museum E.E.F.No.163 for possible fragments of same.
- 25 Fletcher 1994, p.32-33 and Fletcher 1994(ii), p.130.
- 26 Control experiments under laboratory conditions using scalpel blade to cut same hairs on flat surface and under tension reveal very jagged cut surfaces due to desiccated state of hair.
- 27 Many thanks to Dr.W.Cooke of UMIST for invaluable help and expertise, and staff at UMIST SEM unit; for comparative Egyptian material see Rabino Massa et al. 1980, p.133-137 and Lahren 1987, fig.14, p.37, with comparative Celtic material in Stead et al. 1986, fig.35, p.67 and Green et al. 1981, with reference to cut plait of Romano-British male, "there can be little doubt that the pigtail was cut off before burial", p.97, also p.86.
- 28 Ox.Ash.E.1669, tomb B.15, no reference in Petrie 1901, p.7; thanks to Drs.H.Whitehouse and A.Tooley for access and information.
- 29 Amélineau 1904, "Cheveux et Toiles", pl.I, reinforcing idea of some form of offering.
- 30 Berlin Inv.No.13937, discovered by de Morgan, in Scharff 1929, No.12, p.12; Berlin 1899, p.33; Müller 1960, p.6 and Nachtergaele 1981, No.2, p.599.
- 31 Berlin Inv.No.13938, discovered by Schweifurth, in Scharff 1929, No.11, "Mittel- bis spätvorgeschichtlich", p.12; Müller 1960, p.6 and Nachtergaele 1981, No.4, "Tombe privée datable des trois premières Dynasties", p.599.

OLD KINGDOM

1) Mummy Hair

The hair length of male bodies from Mostagedda ranged in length from under 2cm to 12cm long ¹, with male bodies from VIth dynasty graves at Matmar described as having "short brown wavy hair" ². A skull found in the IVth dynasty mastaba No.17 at Medum also retained a small amount of short hair ³.

A IVth dynasty female body with "hair 8cm long with curly ends" ⁴ was discovered at Matmar, Brunton also describing a Vth dynasty female from the site as having "hair falling over forwards"(?) ⁵. A contemporary female body at Badari had long, wavy black hair set in plaits, although "this fashion was certainly not general" ⁶, and at Mostagedda, where recorded hair length is between 3 and 5cm ⁷, he notes that "women rarely wore their hair in plaits" with only one VIth dynasty example discovered ⁸. A further adult female from the site was "found with a plaited pig-tail at the back of the head" ⁹, which he compares to a style familiar from contemporary relief scenes.

Brunton also found such plaited pigtails on the bodies of "children, presumably female" at Mostagedda (measuring 35cm in one example) ¹⁰ and Matmar ¹¹, although this style is insufficient grounds for sexing bodies since it is clear from artistic representations that it could be worn by either sex. This is also true of the sidelock, despite his statement that at Mostagedda "four children, no doubt boys, were found with plaited side-locks" ¹². One of the locks "was noted as being on the left side" ¹³, with a surviving fragmentary example measuring 18.5cm approx. ¹⁴ (fig.736).

2) False Hair

Unfortunately there are no known examples from this time.

3) Loose Hair

A pot "full of hair" was discovered in a VIth dynasty grave at Mostagedda although unfortunately no further details were recorded ¹⁵.

- 1 Brunton 1937, hair from V dyn. grave 2205 "less than 2cm", p.97 and in IV dyn. grave 2600.ii, 12cm long, p.94.
- 2 Brunton 1948, grave 869, p.31 and grave 3317, "very old male with short brown hair", p.34.
- 3 Adams 1984, fig.4, p.15; unfortunately details scant and skull now lost.
- 4 Brunton 1948, grave 2302, p.29.
- 5 Brunton 1948, grave 3233, p.30.
- 6 Brunton 1927 I, body No.4846, p.49, 25.
- 7 Brunton 1937, IV dyn. grave 2800.xi, 3cm, p.96; grave 2600.x, 4cm, p.94; grave 2634, 4-5cm, p.95, and V dyn. grave 2623, "very short" hair, p.98.
- 8 Brunton 1937, VI dyn. grave 687, p.99, 105.
- 9 Brunton 1937, VI dyn. grave 785, p.99, 105.
- 10 Brunton 1937, VI dyn. grave 2200, "14 year old child with pigtail (or sidelock?) 35cm long", p.99; also 508, "short pigtail", p.98.
- 11 Brunton 1948, grave 852, "child of about thirteen years...one plait at the back of the head", p.33.
- 12 Brunton 1937, V dyn. grave 10,000, "child with one long wide plait, probably the sidelock", p.98, 105, also VI dyn. graves 529-600, p.98, 105, and grave 677, p.99, although "the age of the wearers was unfortunately not recorded", p.105.
- 13 Brunton 1937, VI dyn. grave 529, p.98, 105.
- 14 BM.EA.62500, fragmentary sidelock from Mostagedda grave No.677, in Brunton 1937, p.99, 105; thanks to Dr.S.Quirke for access.
- 15 Brunton 1937, grave 713, p.99.

FIRST INTERMEDIATE PERIOD

1) Mummy Hair

Although the short hair of only two male bodies was recorded at Mostagedda ¹, that of sixty male bodies found in a mass grave within the temple precinct of Montuhotep Nebhepetre II at Deir el-Bahari is described in some detail, the hurried nature of their burial suggesting that these were the styles worn in life. Winlock states that the majority had "black or dark brown locks, worn fairly bushy ² (fig.737), or done up in innumerable small curls rather tightly twisted and greased ³ [(fig.738)]...One had had his hair cut off at the nape of his neck not very long before he died ⁴ [(fig.739)]; in other cases the hair was shortened by being tightly curled, and apparently it would never have fallen below the shoulders" ⁵ (fig.738, fig.740, fig.741-742). None of the bodies showed signs of ageing and "only three had gray hair or were going bald. One man had fairly plentiful iron-gray hair [(fig.740)]; another rather coarse, wavy hair with one or two streaks of gray; and the third had very little hair left..." ⁶.

In addition to these men who would seem to have been royal troops, Montuhotep's wives were also buried in the vicinity of his temple. The mummy of Ashayet, Royal Wife, Sole Royal Ornament and Priestess of Hathor was again discovered by Winlock ⁷ and examined by Derry and himself shortly afterwards. They found the body "in almost perfect condition" ⁸, Winlock describing her as "a plump little person with bobbed hair done up in innumerable plaits" ⁹ (fig.743). Unfortunately however, recent examination of her remains has revealed significant deterioration and her now detached skull has further become separated from the scalp ¹⁰ (fig.744). The dark brown hair present on the scalp has become loosened from the original plaiting, and it is clear that much of the hair is missing from the crown and sides, possibly on account of mis-handling and removal of 'samples' ¹¹. Examination of one of these samples has however proved that the structure of the hair is cynotrichous (Caucasian) in type rather than heliotrichous (Negroid), thereby negating the suggestion that Ashayet "may have been Ethiopian" ¹².

The bodies of two further wives Kawit and Kemsit, also Sole Royal Ornaments and Priestesses of Hathor, have proved rather more elusive. Although Naville discovered the body of Kawit in tomb 19 at Deir el-Bahari and states that it was subsequently moved to Cairo ¹³, Derry later comments that "the present location of the body is unknown" ¹⁴. Similarly, the body of Kemsit was found in tomb 10 and the skull described as "Negroid in type" ¹⁵, although this cannot be verified due to the disappearance of these remains ¹⁶.

A fourth wife, Henhenit, was also found by Naville in tomb 11, and although her head appears shaven in the excavation report illustration ¹⁷ it is stated that "her hair [is] short and straight" ¹⁸, Derry confirming that "the hair was perfectly straight and black" ¹⁹. An unidentified female body was found inside an uninscribed sarcophagus in tomb 5, Naville simply noting that "the head retains the hair" ²⁰.

Earlier in the same vicinity, Grébaut had discovered the well preserved body of Amunet, another Sole Royal Ornament

and Priestess of Hathor²¹. Her hair appears to resemble that of Ashayet, the majority of the scalp bare with lengths of brown hair around the sides and back²². Two further tattooed female bodies (Nos.23 and 26) were found by Winlock in the outer court of the temple²³, the hair of woman No.23 described as "dark and coarse, with small, rather tightly wound curls"²⁴.

Badarian females of the VII-VIIIth dynasties are recorded as having thick, long, wavy hair²⁵, which in one example was worn in plaits²⁶. Hair ranging in length from short to 20cm²⁷ was observed in female burials at Mostagedda, although of the eleven whose hair was recorded, six wore their hair in plaits²⁸, including a pregnant woman whose plait was situated at the back of the head²⁹. This style was also noted in five burials at Matmar³⁰, with the plait set either at the back³¹ or top³² of the head as portrayed in artistic depictions of the time. Another female body found at Matmar had the hair in nine plaits³³ whilst another had "much hair, long and black, not plaited"³⁴. Faience rings were also used to decorate female styles at both Matmar³⁵ and at Mostagedda³⁶.

The bodies of two young(?) women from Matmar dated to the VII-VIIIth dynasties were surprisingly found to have grey hair³⁷, although at Mostagedda there was "only one instance of grey hair" in the case of "an old woman of the IXth Dynasty"³⁸.

Again at Mostagedda several children were found with plaited pig-tails at the back of the head³⁹, and at Matmar a child of ten years was found to have a sidelock⁴⁰.

2) False Hair

In the VIIIth dynasty el-Hagarsa tomb of Hefefi, a fragmentary wig "made of fibre, now damaged and displaced" was found at the head of the tomb owner⁴¹. It consists of long straight braids of twisted flax fibre, partly coloured black and "coated or impregnated with resin to give it stiffness"⁴², and would originally have formed a shoulder-length style when worn.

Despite Riefstahl's comment that "no wigs of the 11th dynasty have survived"⁴³, an intact wig would appear to date from this period, since one of the wigs examined by Lucas in the Cairo Museum was marked 'wig of Amunet' (presumably the aforementioned priestess of Hathor), and "consists of curls and plaits of dark brown human hair that have been treated with beeswax"⁴⁴.

The aforementioned discovery of the soldiers' burial at Deir el-Bahari also revealed the use of false hair, one man having disguised his thinning locks with tightly wound spirals of artificial hair⁴⁵. This cannot be explained as a post-mortem addition since the bodies had been hastily buried, and the locks must have been worn in life, a fact made all the more likely when it is remembered that "before helmets were introduced...every soldier had to depend almost entirely on the thickness of his hair to protect his skull"⁴⁶.

3) Loose Hair

Winlock uncovered "several bundles of false hair"⁴⁷ in the form of long, thin plaits beside the entrance of a plundered XIth dynasty tomb at Deir el-Bahari, although with no visible means of attachment it is not possible to determine if they were meant for inclusion into a wig or natural style or served an alternative purpose.

Brunton found two lots of human hair in two Badarian graves of VII-VIIIth dynasty date, the grave of a woman containing toilet objects and "some human hair"⁴⁸, a second a vase of red powder alongside "a lump of hair for applying it to the face"⁴⁹.

- 1 Brunton 1937, VII-VIII dyn. graves 2615, 2cm long and 2630, "short", p.100.
- 2 Winlock 1945, No.18, 28-29, 46, 48, 52, 58, 66, 68, 77 and 86, p.9, 13.
- 3 Winlock 1945, No.2, 4, 6, 10, 44, 50, 53, 56, 65 and 87, p.9, 21, pl.VIA.
- 4 Winlock 1945, No.21, p.9, pl.VLB.
- 5 Winlock 1945, No.10, 14, 23 and 45, p.9, pl.VIA & C, VIIIA, IX.A.
- 6 Winlock 1945, No.14 and 69-70, p.9, pl.VIIIA.
- 7 Winlock 1921(ii), p.29-53; body currently in Cairo Qasr el-Einy Medical School No.250.
- 8 Derry 1942, p.248; also Harris & Wente 1980, p.13.
- 9 Winlock 1921(ii), p.48; see also Riefstahl 1952, p.15; many thanks to Dr.C.Roehrig for access to unpublished photographs (MCC.25/D.8326) of body as found.
- 10 Many thanks to Dr.R.Friedmann and Ms.R.Walker for photographs and information regarding current state of remains.
- 11 eg. BM.EA, 4cm long unnumbered sample taken by Lucas, labelled "Gift of A.R.Girgis"; thanks to Dr.J.Taylor for access and information.
- 12 Naville 1907 I, p.31, also p.32.
- 13 Naville 1907 I, p.48.
- 14 Derry 1942, p.246.
- 15 Naville 1907 I, p.49; see also Bourriau 1988, p.15-16.
- 16 Naville 1907 I, p.49, stating that body is BM.EA.41853, repeated in Derry 1942, "her dilapidated mummy is now in the BM", p.247; however, Bourriau 1988, p.16 states body not in this location, fact confirmed as recently as 1994 by Ms.J.Filer.
- 17 Naville 1907 I, pl.X and Smith & Dawson 1924, fig.6.
- 18 Naville 1907 I, p.50; also Smith & Dawson 1924, p.79.
- 19 Derry 1942, p.250.
- 20 Naville 1907 I, p.46.
- 21 Cairo Museum; see Daressy 1893, p.166; Derry 1942, p.249; Keimer 1948, pl.I-II; Harris & Weeks 1976, p.17 and Harris & Wente 1980, p.13, fig.1.12.a.
- 22 Unfortunately access has not been possible.
- 23 Cairo Qasr el-Einy Medical School, in Winlock 1923, p.26-28 and Keimer 1948, pl.VI-VII; thanks to Dr.C.Roehrig for information.
- 24 Derry 1942, p.253.
- 25 Brunton 1927 I, eg. grave 3747, p.35, 49, grave 5313, p.37.
- 26 Brunton 1927 I, grave 5311, p.43, 49.
- 27 Brunton 1937, in VII-VIII dyn. grave 2633 and grave 739, "short", p.100; grave 644, "wavy, 6cm long", and grave 105, "much dark brown hair 20cm long, partly wavy but curling tightly at the ends", p.100; IX-X dyn. grave 1733 simply described as "curly", p.103.
- 28 Brunton 1937, in VII-VIII dyn. grave 101 and grave 610, p.100; IX-X dyn. grave 591 and grave 752, p.102; grave

- 1812 and grave 5006, p.102, Brunton stating "women rarely wore the hair in plaits, only six cases noted", p.105.
- 29 Brunton 1937, grave 101, p.100.
- 30 Brunton 1948, eg. in VII-VIII dyn. grave 422, p.34; grave 440 and grave 532, p.35, 42; grave 538, p.36, 42 and grave 560, p.42.
- 31 Brunton 1948, eg. grave 532, p.35.
- 32 Brunton 1948, eg. grave 422, p.34 and grave 532, p.35.
- 33 Brunton 1948, cemetery 400, unregistered VII-VIII dyn. grave iii, p.34, 42.
- 34 Brunton 1948, IX-X dyn. grave 628, p.39.
- 35 Brunton 1948, IX-X dyn. grave 504, p.39.
- 36 Brunton 1937, IX-X dyn. grave 1812, p.102.
- 37 Brunton 1948, VIII dyn. grave 422, p.34, 42 and grave 440, p.35, 42.
- 38 Brunton 1937, grave 5006, "greyish plaits", p.103, 105.
- 39 Brunton 1937, VII-VIII dyn. grave 618, "14 year old", p.100 and IX-X dyn. grave 658, "girl with pigtail", p.102, also p.105.
- 40 Brunton 1948, IX-X dyn. grave 322, p.38, unspecified sex despite comment "presumably a boy", p.42.
- 41 Kanawati 1993, "all the linen and the wig have suffered badly", p.21, pl.33; thanks to Dr.N.Kanawati for information.
- 42 Kanawati 1993, p.65.
- 43 Riefstahl 1952, p.15.
- 44 Cairo Temp.Reg.5:11:27:2, storeroom No.56, in Lucas 1930, p.196; two grass/fibre wigs of Roman date currently on display with items from tomb of Amunet and possibly confused with that of Amunet(?) in storage; however, Lucas also states that "Two other large wigs (undated) are very similar to the seven already mentioned [ie. XXIst dynasty priests' wigs], but without stuffing, and consist of dark brown human hair", 1989, p.30, but since no accession numbers or whereabouts given, it is unclear if one of these 2 large wigs is 5:11:27:2.
- 45 Winlock 1945, body No.70, p.9.
- 46 Winlock 1945, p.9.
- 47 Winlock 1932(iii), fig.34, p.35.
- 48 Brunton 1927 I, grave 4903, p.36; referred to in Lucas 1989, p.31.
- 49 Brunton 1927 I, grave 3748, p.55; referred to in Brunton 1948, p.58 and Lucas 1989, p.31.

MIDDLE KINGDOM

1) Mummy Hair

The body of NekhtAnkh, discovered in an unlooted tomb at Rifeh, has been examined on two occasions, Murray first noting that "the hair [which] remained on the head...was dark brown, turning grey, and the length of it on the head was three quarters of an inch" ¹, David later stating that "the dark brown hair was turning grey" ². The body of Karenen found at Sakkara retained "short, reddish" hair ³ and Brunton refers to a male body at Mostagedda with "brownish-yellow wavy hair, 4cms. long" ⁴. The well preserved mummy of Kheti found in his tomb at Lisht likewise retained a full head of well trimmed, dark brown hair ⁵ (fig.745).

The fragmentary body of Senebtisi also found at Lisht revealed only traces of short, dark brown hair ⁶, although evidence from Mostagedda and Matmar shows that longer plaited styles were also quite popular. A young female body from Mostagedda was found to have the "hair in many plaits" ⁷, another had "very small plaits tipped with mud" ⁸ and a ten year old girl was found with "small plaits" ⁹. An adult female at Matmar similarly had the "hair in small plaits" ¹⁰, as had an eight year old child, in addition to beads and a silver *nh3w* fish amulet familiar from contemporary artistic representations ¹¹ (fig.290).

2) False Hair

A thick weft of hair with the remains of long wavy locks is thought to have been found at Kahun ¹² (fig.746), and Lansing found a whole wig inside its wooden box in the southern cemetery at Lisht. He states that "the human hair of which this had been made was reduced to a powdery state, but the upper layer still preserved the form of the original braids, owing to the resinous substance which had been poured over it" ¹³.

A second, possibly royal wig box (fig.839) found elsewhere at the site by Gautier and Jécquier "ne contenait qu'une volumineuse perruque, dont les fines tresses étaient formées de cheveux noirs et laineux...Cette coiffure avait souffert de l'action du temps, elle s'était effondrée sur elle-même, et il ne pas possible de la sortir de sa caisse et de la conserver intacte" ¹⁴. A further wooden box from the looted Lisht tomb of Senebtisi was found to contain only "some hairy substance, possibly a wig" ¹⁵, whilst "traces of wig curls" (as distinct from the short natural hair) could be found in the resin layer around the head of her mummy ¹⁶.

3) Loose Hair

A substantial portion of loose hair was found in tomb No.5 beneath the Ramesseum at Thebes, wrapped around a magician's wand in the form of a bronze cobra, and simply referred to as "a mass of hair" ¹⁷. A rather smaller sample of hair was discovered inside a calcite kohl pot in a Mostagedda grave ¹⁸.

Further samples of hair found by Petrie in a domestic context at Kahun are described as "a large store of dolls' hair, ready

to be made up...The hair is constructed just like that made for Theban dolls [fertility figurines, fig.218-219, discussed above]; five threads placed together, about six inches long, had pellets of mud rolled on to them by the fingers, 12 or 14 in the length, and a conical lump at the end: this may have been somewhat copied from the actual dressings of girls' hair with pellets of mud at the ends, as in Nubia at present" ¹⁹. It is also significant that this find is one of only two hair samples constituting the sole form of human remains surviving from the site ²⁰.

- 1 MM.No.21470, in Murray 1910, p.31, pl.10.
- 2 David ed. 1979, p.1; also David & Tapp ed. 1984, p.35.
- 3 Smith in Quibell 1908(ii), p.13-14; also Smith & Dawson 1924, p.81.
- 4 Brunton 1937, grave 2637, p.114.
- 5 Unpublished MMA. excavations (Lisht South Pyramid 5301), excavation notes/photograph (MMA.16L.25) referring to "head exposed showing preservation of hair"; thanks to Dr.C.Roehrig for access to unpublished MMA. archive material.
- 6 Mace & Winlock 1916, p.21.
- 7 Brunton 1937, grave 1901, p.114.
- 8 Brunton 1937, grave 733, "15 year old", p.113.
- 9 Brunton 1937, grave 724, p.113.
- 10 Brunton 1948, grave 544, p.55.
- 11 Brunton 1948, grave 521, p.55, pl.XLIII.1 for amulet; see Petrie & Mace 1901, p.43, pl.XXVII for examples from Diospolis, and Staehelin 1978, p.82-83 for discussion of amulets.
- 12 MM.unnumbered fragment, thanks to Dr.A.R.David for information.
- 13 Lansing 1933, p.26, fig.39, p.31.
- 14 Gautier & Jécquier 1902, p.49-50.
- 15 Mace & Winlock 1916, p.10, 105, pl.IX.A; see also Brunton 1920, p.41 for empty box of Princess SitHathorYunet which may have served similar purpose.
- 16 Mace & Winlock 1916, p.18, 59, pl.XIV.B, XV.C.
- 17 Quibell 1898, p.3 (not illustrated) and Bourriau 1988, p.110, 113, current whereabouts unknown; although Bourriau refers to hair as "probably a wig", p.110 and "possibly a wig", p.113, hair most likely in its natural state, its aforementioned potent nature making it suitable material in which to wrap such magical items.
- 18 Brunton 1937, grave 1101, p.114, pl.LXVIII.19 (pot only); see also Brunton 1948, p.58.
- 19 Petrie 1890, p.30; see also David 1986, p.163.
- 20 Other being unnumbered MM. fragment of worked hair discussed above (note 12), since only burials found at site were 'baby burials', in Petrie 1890, p.24, whereabouts of which no longer known; I am grateful for comments of Dr.A.R.David and others present at Manchester Museum 'Kahun Seminar', 10.3.94.

SECOND INTERMEDIATE PERIOD

1) Mummy Hair

The mummy of the XVIIth dynasty king Seqenre Tao II displays abundant dark brown curls, which although tangled and matted in places due to fatal head wounds, "would have been submitted to an elaborate toilet" had the body been less hastily prepared after death ¹. A male body from the Diospolis Parva necropolis had "a quantity of short, dark, curly hair" ², and in general "the hair of the men was short and dark" ³.

The hair of several male Pan Grave bodies at Mostagedda "was sometimes black and 'fuzzy-wuzzy' like that of the modern Bisharin" ⁴, although "on the other hand, the hair might be plaited", as in the case of a number of male bodies ⁵, one of whom had "crisply curled hair, in plaits, the ends bound with thread" ⁶. In the case of a burial found at Balabish, the bones of which were "were sexed as male", it was suggested that the body was "perhaps that of a woman, as short plaits were found in the filling"; however, Wainwright goes on to comment that "the hair does not necessarily imply the wearer was a woman" and the presence of such locks in this grave "is no criterion of sex" ⁷.

Plaited hair has often been found in female burials at Mostagedda ⁸ (fig.747- 748), Matmar ⁹ (fig.749) and Badari ¹⁰, in addition to a number of examples discovered by Carter in the Theban necropolis ¹¹. A woman named SitHathor buried at Diospolis Parva had her "hair in tiny plaits" ¹², and Mace goes on to state that many of the women at this site had hair "tied up in innumerable plaits, and fashioned into a cumbrous wig [sic] on the top of the head, a pigtail being sometimes left to hang down behind" ¹³. Despite this somewhat misleading description, the accompanying illustrations would suggest that the hair could be set in long thin plaits which were allowed to hang down freely, or alternatively the hair could be styled into a single thick plait which was coiled around the head ¹⁴ (fig.750).

Brunton refers to a Badarian female with "long grey hair" ¹⁵, and the mummy of 'Unknown Woman B', generally regarded as Queen Tetisheri ¹⁶, is described as that of "an elderly, white-haired, partially bald woman" ¹⁷

2) False Hair

The mummy identified as Tetisheri has false plaits of dark brown hair interplaited with her natural hair perhaps to disguise its sparse nature ¹⁸, although such false braids could also be used to lengthen styles, a male Pan Grave body from Mostagedda found with one plait "artificially lengthened by the addition of human hair fastened on with thread" ¹⁹.

In addition to individual braids, whole wigs could also be employed, as noted in the case of Princess Aahmes, daughter of Seqenre Tao II. Her mummy was discovered in her tomb in the Valley of the Queens by Schiaparelli, who remarks upon "dai resti della bellissima perrucca, che insolitamente aveva all'estremità delle trecchie, quasi a guisa di pendaglio, dei leggeri aghi di bronzo" ²⁰, these 12cm long rods used to give a framework to this post-mortem style ²¹. Carter discovered two plaited wigs in small tombs in the Theban necropolis, one "wig of plaited hair (decayed) clasped by a gold fillet" ²²

and the other found on the head of a female mummy²³.

3) Loose Hair

Two portions of loose hair were found at Matmar in association with cosmetic containers, one calcite pot containing kohl, applicator sticks and human hair²⁴, whilst another calcite kohl pot is described as "wrapped in hair"²⁵, Brunton suggesting that it may have been used "somewhat in the manner of a powder-puff"²⁶.

- 1 Cairo CG.61051, in Smith 1912, p.2, 1-6, pl.II-III; Harris & Weeks 1973, p.29; Harris & Wente 1980, fiche No.5, A.8; Pennsylvania 1980, No.21, p.27 and Ceram 1962, p.144; recent restoration work in 1994 has covered up most of hair with linen, although a little may be observed at sides reaching a little beyond chin level.
- 2 Petrie & Mace 1901, grave 505, p.53.
- 3 Petrie & Mace 1901, p.51.
- 4 Brunton 1937, p.123, ie. grave 3100 and grave 3144, p.117; grave 3227, p.119 and grave 3139 (of uncertain sex), p.117.
- 5 Brunton 1937, p.123; grave 3243, p.120 and grave 3100 (also referred to as having 'fuzzy-wuzzy' hair), p.123.
- 6 Brunton 1937, grave 3100, p.123.
- 7 Wainwright 1920, grave B.213, p.11-12.
- 8 Bolton No.1.1983.110, skull from grave 1875, plaits 38cm long, in Brunton 1937, p.134, thanks to Mrs.A.Thomas for access, information and photographs; also UC.25513, fragmentary plaits from Pan grave 3211, not referred to in Brunton 1937, 119; see also Brunton 1937, Pan grave 3134, p.117, 123 and II IP graves 417, 2600 and 11,708, p.134.
- 9 MM.No.9288, 'clump' of dark brown hair set in numerous fine plaits with single thicker plait 20cm long, from unregistered grave 5000(ii), donated in 1931 by Brunton Expedition, in Brunton 1948, "plundered female with many fine plaits", p.56, 103 (large number of pupae cases of the common house fly (*Musca domestica*) also noted within hair mass indicative of post-mortem infestation, for comparative finds see Curry 1979, fig.2, top left, p.113-117); see also Brunton 1948, unregistered grave 5000(i), "plundered female with hair in plaits"; grave 5002, "female with many little plaits...bone comb perhaps in hair", p.56; grave 5004, "untouched elderly female with hair in many little plaits", p.56; grave 5006, "pregnant female with many plaits", p.57 and grave 5011, "pregnant woman with many plaits", p.57.
- 10 Brunton 1930 III, grave 3712, "on the head were many thick plaits", p.8.
- 11 Carnarvon & Carter 1912, tomb No.37, p.85.
- 12 Petrie & Mace 1901, p.53.
- 13 Petrie & Mace 1901, p.51.
- 14 Petrie & Mace 1901, "two examples in pl.XXV", top right set in numerous small plaits of considerable length very similar to aforementioned Bolton 1.1983.110; also MM.No.1707, "Fragments of plaits of hair probably from Hu, near Diospolis Parva", largest fragment 8.5cm long; other example Y.354, pl.XXV, set in single thick plait wound around head, mistaken by Bates 1914, fig.45, p.135, as a Libyan complete with sidelock!
- 15 Brunton 1930 III, grave 7047, p.8.
- 16 Cairo CG.61056, in Smith 1912, p.14-15, pl.IX-X; also Harris & Weeks 1973, p.120-121 and Harris & Wente 1980, fiche 5.A.7.
- 17 Smith 1912, p.14.
- 18 Smith 1912, fig.2, p.14; see also Harris & Weeks 1973, p.120 and Fletcher 1994(ii), fig.221, p.133.
- 19 Brunton 1937, grave 3100, p.123.
- 20 Turin Inv.Suppl.5061, in Schiaparelli 1923, p.15, fig.14, p.19, also Garetto 1955, p.78 and Chiotasso et al. 1992, fig.2, p.99; wig now reduced to fragments of hair attached to rods, thanks to Dr.E.Leospo for access and information.
- 21 Chiotasso et al. 1992, p.99, the rods "serviti a mantenere i boccoli in piega".

- 22 Carnarvon & Carter 1912, pit tomb No.25, p.55.
- 23 Carnarvon & Carter 1912, Tomb No.37, p.84, pl.LXX.1.
- 24 Brunton 1948, grave 5004, p.57-58, pl.XLII.36 (pot only).
- 25 Brunton 1948, grave 5010, p.57-58, pl.XLII.39 (pot only).
- 26 Brunton 1948, p.58.

NEW KINGDOM

1) Mummy Hair

The increase in the number of mummies from this period makes possible a more structured survey of styles, using the physical remains of both royal¹ and non-royal individuals.

The natural hair of male bodies displays considerable variation in styles, from the completely shaven head to relatively long hair. A shaven head is noted in the case of the mummy identified as Tuthmosis I, the scalp described as "quite smooth and hairless"² (Appendix B.2), and in the case of Tuthmosis III "no trace of hair...can be found anywhere on the head, excepting the eyebrows and a very few short white hairs just behind the left ear"³ (Appendix B.2). The other royal mummies with shaven heads are Seti I, with "no hair...visible either on the scalp or face"⁴ (Appendix B.2), Ramses III, "la tête et la face sont rasées de près et ne montrent aucune trace de cheveux"⁵ (Appendix B.2) and Tutankhamen, the embalmers having "shaved the skull like that of a high priest"⁶ (Appendix B.2). Desroches-Noblecourt goes on to state rather curiously that "some day it may become clear why Tutankhamen's head was prepared in a totally different manner from those of most other sovereigns...[who] still have almost living heads of hair"⁷, a rather misleading remark which is repeated elsewhere⁸.

Non-royal individuals with a shaven head include the Nubian Fan-Bearer Maherpra⁹, a male body from the Deir el-Medina necropolis¹⁰ and the Theban weaver Nakht, found with only the very minimum of hair growth "on some areas of the frontal and parietal bones the scalp, with hairs 2mm long"¹¹. The priests NatsefAmun¹² and an unnamed individual of XVIIIth dynasty date¹³ likewise have shaven heads, with other male bodies sweepingly identified as priests simply on account of a shaven head¹⁴!

Naturally balding heads, as distinct from the purposefully shaved, exhibit both receding hair-lines and bare crowns, and it is no surprise to find a relatively high degree of baldness amongst royal bodies, their extended life span reflecting their comparatively luxurious life-style. Tuthmosis II had his dark brown wavy hair (12cm long approx.) arranged in artificially curled sections skilfully set flat with resin around the sides and temples, and although a scanty covering of fine hair was found on the vertex of his skull "the whole occipital region and a patch on the right parietal region are wholly devoid of hair"¹⁵ (Appendix B.2). Amenhotep II was found to have "wavy brown hair (when straightened 0m.17 cent. long)...abundantly interspersed with white hair; and there is a large patch of baldness over the upper occipital and parietal regions"¹⁶ (Appendix B.2). The damaged mummy identified as Amenhotep III "was almost completely bald, having only scanty hair on the temples"¹⁷, and Ramses II was also balding; Smith states that "the temples and back of the head are covered with fine silky hair, about 0m.060 mill. long, which originally must have been quite white...the upper part of the scalp was quite bald, although there are still scanty hairs on the frontal region"¹⁸, a recent re-examination finding that the "hair is confined to the temporo-occipital zone which corresponds to an advanced stage of baldness"¹⁹ (Appendix B.2).

Further examples include Merneptah who "was almost completely bald, only a narrow fringe of white hair...remaining on the temples and occiput" ²⁰, Ramses IV, who likewise was "almost quite bald, only a very narrow fringe of hair remaining on the temples and occiput" ²¹, and Ramses VI, his bald forehead indicating a receding hair-line on an otherwise cropped scalp ²² (Appendix B.2).

Various short styles of natural hair are also noted, the mummy of Ahmose I having short, thick curls of dark brown hair covered in a solid layer of resinous paste ²³. The similar style of Siptah is described as "a thick crop of short reddish brown, curly hair. When the ringlets are unrolled the hair is 0m.036 mill. long" ²⁴ (Appendix B.2), the dark brown hair of Seti II having been cropped to 3mm. ²⁵ (Appendix B.2) and the thicker hair of Ramses V to 3-4mm. ²⁶ (Appendix B.2). In burials from the Deir el-Medina necropolis "les hommes ont généralement les cheveux coupés court d'un centimètre au plus, mais on remarque que les vieillards à cheveux gris ou blancs les portent un peu plus longs" ²⁷, the short hair of these examples also noted in recent examinations ²⁸.

Longer hair includes that of Tuthmosis IV, which is described as "wavy, about 0m.16.cent. long, and is of a dark reddish brown tint...it has the appearance of having been parted in front slightly to the left of the middle line, but elsewhere is matted together in a hopeless tangle of thick locks" ²⁹ (Appendix B.2). The body of 'Unknown Man C' of XVIIIth dynasty date was found with neatly dressed waves of hair ³⁰, later described as "abundant black hair freely streaked with grey. It is about 15 cent. long" ³¹, whilst that of Senmut's father Ramose, an elderly man, is described as "long, wavy hair, still dark brown in colour at the time of death" ³² (fig.751). The yellow hair of Queen Tiy's father Yuya is also "long and wavy - when straightened it is more than 11 centimetres in length" with no sign of baldness ³³. The body of a 40-50 year old man from Deir el-Medina similarly exhibits "dark brown hair in great abundance" ³⁴, whilst the hair of 'Unknown Man E' is of sufficient length to be styled into small plaits ³⁵.

Female mummies display an equally wide range of natural styles from the shaven head to flowing locks. The shaven scalp is evident in the case of the mummy referred to as 'Unknown Woman A', perhaps to be identified as Princess Meritamon ³⁶, and that of the 'Younger Woman' found in the side chamber of the tomb of Amenhotep II (KV.35) ³⁷, mistakenly described by Loret as male simply on account of the shaven head although it is quite obviously the body of a woman ³⁸.

The skull of a young woman found in the coffin of Bakt retains a large proportion of the original thick hair cropped very short ³⁹, with similarly short styles of contemporary date found at Matmar ⁴⁰.

Short, curled styles include that of 'Unknown Woman D', perhaps to be identified as Queen Tawosret, her beautifully dressed, well preserved style protected beneath linen head cloths. Described as "a series of sharply rolled curls, of the variety distinguished by modern ladies by the name 'Empire'" ⁴¹, her hair is actually quite short around the hair-line and nape, set in flat open-centre curls on the vertex, with longer ringlets set around the crown to give an upswept appearance. Female(?) bodies from the Qurna necropolis also reveal the fashion for such artificially curled and waved styles set with

resin ⁴².

In addition to curling, various forms of plaiting were also employed for hair of varying lengths. The chin length hair of Anhapu was plaited into a large number of intricate braids, "the hair from an area of roughly 4 square centimetres...separated and plaited for a distance of about 0m.03 cent, then divided into three (or more) wisps each of which was tightly plaited in the form of an ear of wheat. The common plait and the stalks of the 'ears of wheat' were then thickly smeared with a paste, apparently of a resinous material. This process was repeated until all the hair was plaited and the scalp furnished with a mass of heavy wheat-ear-like plaits" ⁴³. Rather longer plaits were worn by the mummy of Lady Rai, the "abundant masses of hair, apparently her own, elaborately arranged in a multitude of small plaits, which were then clumped together to form two large club-shaped masses, each 0m.28 cent. long and 0m.055 mill. in diameter, hanging down in front of the shoulders on to the chest. The upper plaits are twice the thickness of those in the lower part of the mass, being respectively one centimetre and five millimetres in diameter" ⁴⁴.

Similarly plaited styles set in three sections as opposed to two were found at Deir el-Medina, Bruyère noting that "les femmes sont très souvent coiffées en nattes larges et plates ou en tresses nombreuses et fines qu'une raie médiane partage en deux masses tombant de chaque côté du visage sur la clavicules et en une troisième masse tombant sur la nuque" ⁴⁵. A female body at Matmar had "the hair at the top of the head in nine large plaits surrounded by a quantity of smaller ones" ⁴⁶ and the hair of bodies identified as Senmut's female relatives(?) was "in each case dressed in long heavy braids" (although in at least two cases the braids are false, as discussed below) ⁴⁷ (fig.752).

In addition to artificially curled or plaited styles, hair could be left in its natural state. In the Deir el-Medina necropolis "Quelques femmes ont les cheveux flottants et généralement de taille médiocre et peu fournie. Elles n'ont pas été coiffées après décès" ⁴⁸. Royal examples include the 'Elder Woman' from the tomb of Amenhotep II (KV.35), Loret initially commenting upon "Une abondante chevelure noire, frisée, s'étale sur le sol de calcaire, de chaque côté de la tête" ⁴⁹. Smith later describes the "long (0m.30 cent.), brown, wavy, lustrous hair, parted in the centre and falling down on both sides of the head on to the shoulders. Its ends are converted into numerous apparently natural curls" ⁵⁰, this information confirmed by more recent examination ⁵¹. Since the body's clenched left fist raised over the body is suggestive of royalty (possible candidates including Hatshepsut or Tiy), the skull was x-rayed and statistical cluster analysis compared favourably with the remains of Yuya and Thuya, parents of Queen Tiy. The possible identification of the Elder Woman as Tiy was followed up by comparing a sample of the mummy's hair with a lock of the queen's hair from the tomb of her grandson Tutankhamen, using ion etching and electron microprobe analysis, the investigators concluding that "the results show a near perfect superimposition of [the] two samples...These results strongly support the argument that the hair samples from both King Tutankhamon's tomb and the mummy from Amenhotep II's tomb are indeed those of the same person-Queen Tiy of the Eighteenth Dynasty" ⁵², a conclusion generally accepted ⁵³ although criticism has been made regarding the lack of comparative data and the methodology employed ⁵⁴.

In the small tomb KV.60, Carter discovered two denuded female mummies with well preserved "long hair of golden colour" ⁵⁵. It was suggested that they were perhaps nurses of Tuthmosis IV ⁵⁶, although one lay in a coffin inscribed for Sitre, Royal Nurse of Hatshepsut, which led Thomas to pose the question "Did Tuthmosis III inter Hatshepsut intrusively in this simple tomb below her own?" ⁵⁷, a suggestion recently revived following a further re-opening of the tomb and examination of the remaining body, which, like the 'Elder Woman' has the left fist clenched over the chest. Although this body would now appear to be hairless, "strands of reddish-blond hair lay on the floor beneath the bald head" ⁵⁸, the repeated intrusions and disturbances no doubt having resulted in the hair having become detached from the scalp ⁵⁹.

Petrie also found two naturally mummified bodies at Gurob with light-coloured curly hair, the first wearing a hair-covering (described as 'a wig'), "but beneath this on the scalp was yellow or light brown hair" ⁶⁰ (fig.753-755), and in the second burial "the hair of this body was likewise yellow" ⁶¹ (fig.756).

Balding female heads are also observed. In the case of the mummy identified as Sitkamose, daughter of Ahmose I and Ahmose Nofretari and sister-wife of Amenhotep I, "scanty, black wavy hair 0m.23 cent. long, not plaited or dressed in any way, hangs down from the head" ⁶² with a highly receding hair-line being particularly noticeable. The mummy of Thuya is described as "that of a little old woman...with very scanty white hair. The top of her head is almost completely bald and the hair on the sides and back is about the same length as Yuua's" ⁶³ (more than 11cm, although her husband was not at all bald), "her scanty locks being wound about the temples" ⁶⁴. Other balding females include Queen Ahmose Nofretari who "had very little hair on her head and the vertex was quite bald" ⁶⁵, Honttimihou, with "practically no hair on the top of her head and only scanty locks at the sides and occiput" ⁶⁶, and Senmut's mother Hatnefer, found to have only "sparse gray locks" ⁶⁷.

Children's bodies reveal the continued fashion for both sidelocks and short hair. The 5-6 year old mummy of Royal Prince Sipaari had "the hair cut short" ⁶⁸, whilst the unnamed boy of about 11 years found in the side chamber of KV.35 wore a long sidelock, Loret commenting that "Tout d'abord, la tête paraît absolument chauve, mais, en l'examinant de plus près, on reconnaît que tout le crâne a été rasé, sauf à un endroit, sur la tempe droite, d'où s'échappe une magnifique boucle de cheveux noirs. C'était là la coiffure des princes royaux" ⁶⁹, Smith further stating that "The hair has been shaved from the greater part of this boy's scalp: but on the right side of his head the hair has not been cut and forms a great, long, wavy lustrous mass (0m.275 mill. long), which from the nature of its waviness was probably plaited at some time" ⁷⁰. In the Deir el-Medina necropolis Bruyère discovered the bodies of two boys with some form of lock, the first aged approx.5-6 years wearing a regular sidelock ⁷¹, and the second, described as "un petit garçon", had "une mèche de cheveux bruns sur la front et tout le reste du crâne est rasé" ⁷².

Brunton refers to an eight year old child from Matmar with "the hair in three or more plaits" ⁷³, and it would also appear that children's hair could sometimes be carefully styled, in two examples from Qurna the hair "straightly combed down in

a child mummy, whereas they [sic] were cosmetically curled and waved in another child" ⁷⁴.

The hair of the two foetuses from the tomb of Tutankhamen was examined by Derry, who states that a premature female of five months has "many fine whitish hairs of a silky appearance, probably the remains of lanugo ⁷⁵", whilst the scalp of the other seven month female "is free from hair except for some very fine downy-looking hairs in the occipital region, but most of the hair has probably come away with the bandages" ⁷⁶.

2) False Hair

Individual false braids were often attached to the natural hair in order to create a more elaborate style or disguise baldness. In the case of the balding mummy of Ahmose Nofretari "elaborate pains had been taken to hide this deficiency. Twenty strings, composed of twisted human hair, were placed across the top of her head; and to these were attached numerous tight plaits, each about 0m.30 cent. long, 0m.009 mill. wide and 0m.005 mill. thick, which hung down as far as the clavicle. Other plaits were tied to her own scanty locks" ⁷⁷. The remaining hair of Honttimihou had similarly been "interplaited with strands of hair of a black colour, forming large plaits 0m.02 cent. wide, all attached at the back of the head" ⁷⁸.

Numerous false braids of dark brown human hair had also been employed in the case of Queen MeryetAmun, sister-wife of Amenhotep I, in order to pad out her own wavy brown hair around the crown and temples in the fashion of the day ⁷⁹. These plaits, measuring between 30 to 37cm in length, were 1cm wide at the top end where they were attached with ties of human hair to the queen's own locks, whilst the bottom ends, which originally hung freely around the shoulders, tapered to 0.5cm, resulting in a top-heavy style familiar from contemporary artistic representation. In addition to these thin braids, three larger, flattened plaits, 22cm long and 4cm wide, had been attached to the back of the head with a 5cm long tie of human hair, a feature again found in artistic representation. A further duplicate set of 10 thin plaits (again originally measuring 30-37cm long) ⁸⁰ (fig.757) and 3 larger ones (22cm long and 4cm wide) ⁸¹ were found wrapped in linen inside two baskets (fig.846) in the corridor of the tomb ⁸², the discovery of a number of empty lice eggs around the top of one of the thinner braids indicating that it must have been worn in life for a continuous period of at least seven days (as discussed above) (fig.758).

The female relatives of Senmut were also buried with additions of false braids, the hair of his mother Hatnefer "adorned by two long heavy rolls, or 'switches', of false hair, each made up of an enormous number of fine tapering braids of black, human hair, their upper ends braided into Hatnefer's own sparse grey locks on either side of the crown of the head, the mass of rolls falling down over the ears and ending in flat spiraled disks on the upper breast" ⁸³ (fig.759-760). Although this description recalls the aforementioned style of Rai, the treatment of the ends of Hatnefer's braids wound around discs provides a clear example of the Hathoric bouffant style again familiar from artistic representation. Another female relative(?) of Senmut had been buried with a similar coiffure of false braids, although in this case set in the full enveloping

style to cover the shoulders and upper arms⁸⁴ (fig.761). She had also been provided with a toilet basket containing "locks and braids of hair, perhaps the contents just as she had them in her bedroom, or possibly to make sure that her wig [sic] would be kept full in the afterworld"⁸⁵, this hair also described as "six bundles of human hair, dark brown in color and including both loose, wavy locks and long slender braids"⁸⁶ (fig.762).

A large number of whole wigs have also survived from the New Kingdom, one of the best preserved⁸⁷ found in a reed box in "a tomb behind the small temple of Isis, Thebes"⁸⁸, presumably in the Deir el-Medina necropolis (fig.763- 765). It has been examined by expert wigmaker J.S.Cox, who states that the wig "is of large size, its circumference being about 23ins (59.69cms). It is dressed in a mass of half-inch (1.270cms) diameter, annular, open-centre, brown curls which are heavily impregnated with a waxy substance composed of a mixture of beeswax and resin. As far as could be ascertained the curls are formed on 7ins (17.78cms) naturally curly, tapered hair, and are of a type that today are called 'stand-up' curls. Each anchored strand of hair is formed into a separate curl at the point-end of an inch-long (2.540cms) straight hair stem. Around the neck of the wig and extending from ear to ear hang several hundred three-strand, thin, tight plaits originally about 12ins-15ins (30.48cms-38.10cms) long, but most of the ends are broken off and only three or four of the plaits remain more or less intact and their full original length of 15ins (38.1cm)"⁸⁹.

Contrary to an earlier statement that "the hair plaits are padded with sheep's wool"⁹⁰, the plaits are actually very thin and made entirely of human hair⁹¹, the whole wig made up of the hair of at least three individuals⁹². It has also been calculated that "the wig is composed of some 300 strands of hair, each strand containing about 400 hairs. All the hair of the wig is coated with a mixture of beeswax and resin"⁹³.

Both curls and plaits (fig.766) are set on a reticulated foundation base which consists "entirely of finely and tightly plaited human hair forming a hair net with rhomboidal apertures, the sides of which are approximately half an inch (1.270cms) long"⁹⁴. In securing the hair to the foundation "an inch (2.540cms) of the root end of each strand is looped around a mesh of the foundation and pressed against the waxed hair stem. Fifteen or so hairs of the hair strand are separated from the stem up to the point of looping. This thin hair strand ('sub-strand') is tightly wound around the hair stem starting close to the foundation and continuing to a fraction of an inch beyond the 'short looped end'. This last quarter of an inch or so of this sub-strand is wound back up the already bound section and the hair ends are pressed into the waxed stem making a secure holdfast"⁹⁵.

Close study of the broken-off ends of the long plaited sections has revealed that whilst some have snapped due to desiccation, the intact looped tops of others (fig.766) reveal that the foundation mesh must have given way in places to release the whole plait, a fact recently confirmed by the discovery of small fragmentary lengths of the plaited foundation around the base of the wig⁹⁶.

Cox has concluded that "the standard of craftsmanship exhibited in the wig is as high as in the best modern wigs, and its

survival, with hair anchorages intact, is convincing evidence that its method of construction was suitable for its purpose"⁹⁷. Indeed, recent calculations regarding the weight of this wig reveal it to be relatively light (approx.0.5 - 1.0kg)⁹⁸, and as such it would have been quite easy to wear⁹⁹.

The style of this wig, with its distinct two-part construction, suggests an obvious link with the double/duplex style found in the representations of officials and noblemen¹⁰⁰. Similar wigs have in fact been discovered in association with male burials, with remarkably similar coiffures worn by Nubian men as recently as this century¹⁰¹. Despite such evidence however, the wig is repeatedly misinterpreted as having originally belonged to a woman¹⁰²!

Another wig displaying the same construction of curled upper section with plaited underpanel¹⁰³ is likewise best regarded as an example of the double style¹⁰⁴ (fig.767-768), and is again made entirely from human hair rather than wool¹⁰⁵. It is less enveloping than the former example, with a comparatively wide upper section of frizzy compact hair composed of flat curls measuring 26cm across the front, and 14cm in height. The seventy or so plaits emerging at the back consist of two-strand twists rather than the usual three strand arrangement, a number of which are further augmented by supplementary plaits attached by substrands and resin in various places along their length (fig.769). Each plait is approx.0.4mm thick and up to 46cm long, although all are now unravelled beyond 28cm, and a significant proportion would appear to have become detached or broken off. The wig's current appearance is therefore quite different from its original state, an early C.19th engraving showing neat curls and an even row of plaits measuring "2 feet in length"¹⁰⁶ (75cm) as compared to the current 60cm.

As noted in the previous example, the hair is attached to a reticulated foundation base¹⁰⁷ (fig.770), although in this case the wigmaker has employed an unusual combination of both the weft and the looping methods of attachment. The plaits are woven into horizontal lengths of 0.4mm wide weft, which are in turn held together by 2-3mm.wide plaits laid at right angles at 2cm intervals; the mass of curls are then secured over this by tiny two-strand plaits looped over and secured by substrands¹⁰⁸.

Fragmentary portions of worked hair were found in the partially disturbed tomb of Yuya and Thuya (KV.46), Davis describing the discovery in a wall niche of "a large ceremonial wig made of flax and dyed black"¹⁰⁹ which is later referred to as "portions of Yuya's woollen ceremonial wig"¹¹⁰. However, Quibell refers to the find as "human hair(?)...finely crimped, and made up at the ends into little plaits which were daubed with fat and now are of a whitish colour [(fig.771)], while the rest of the wig is black. Preservation is very bad, the hair now being very brittle"¹¹¹, Lucas later confirming the human nature of the hair, which was "of very dark brown colour", the whitening caused by limestone dust adhering to the wax fixative¹¹². Contrary to Davis' original statement, Quibell also states that this wig was found on the base of the outer coffin of Thuya¹¹³.

A brief examination of the fragments indicates two distinct portions of hair, and since the tomb had been disturbed in

antiquity with the wig-box (fig.845) found empty, it would seem likely that the original wig was pulled apart in the search for valuables and the portions scattered ¹¹⁴. The plaited lengths and curled sections would furthermore suggest that these portions originally formed a single wig set in the double style which would indeed have been worn by Yuya rather than his wife ¹¹⁵.

It would also appear that some form of curled wig had originally been placed in the tomb of Tutankhamen (KV.62), Carter referring to the discovery of "a small quantity of artificially curled ringlets" ¹¹⁶ (fig.772) which closely resemble those employed in the construction of the double style's upper section. Their fragmentary nature seems indicative of the original wig having been torn apart during one of the robberies which occurred shortly after burial ¹¹⁷, the king's wig-box (fig.841-842) having been found empty. The curls were actually found inside a small calcite chest (fig.843) where they had been placed most likely during the tomb's restoration, along with further portions of what Carter describes as "decayed hair - probably horse-hair" ¹¹⁸. Lucas likewise refers to a possible "horsehair wig" ¹¹⁹, although the hair is almost certainly human, and he himself later states that "confusion with horsehair is understandable" since ancient hair is often quite coarse ¹²⁰.

In addition to the popular double form, rather more 'natural' looking wigs are also occasionally found. Following examination of the mummy of the 20 year old Nubian Maherpra found in his small tomb (KV.36) ¹²¹, his characteristically Negroid, short heliotrichous hair proved to be a wig beneath which "La tête est rasée, la chevelure remplacée par une perruque de cheveux noirs, roussis par les matières préservatrices, frisés et formant de petites mèches en vrilles de 03cm de longueur. La perruque, bien collée sur la tête qu'elle encadre, n'a rien d'exagéré et, au premier abord, on croirait voir la chevelure naturelle" ¹²².

In considering the wigs found with female bodies or amongst their tomb equipment, it will be noted that these are somewhat less elaborate and rather more naturalistic than those generally adopted by men, a fact borne out by contemporary artistic representations.

Two of the earliest New Kingdom examples were discovered on the mummy of Hontempet, sister of Ahmose I, whose own natural hair was "freely streaked with grey" ¹²³. One wig had been placed over the chest area (fig.773), and "in addition to this there were found upon the head the remains of another wig resembling the coiffure seen in Rai's mummy...in the case of the wig which is still in situ strings pass over the top of the head very much in the way we have already seen in the case of Nofretari's mummy" ¹²⁴. From this brief description, it would appear that the wig found on the head of the mummy was originally made up of long plaits, whilst the wig on her chest consists mainly of curls. Smith further states that "both wigs were made of wavy brown hair" ¹²⁵, and Lucas later confirmed the curled example to be made up "of human hair mostly dark brown in colour with a little that is light brown; it has been treated with beeswax in order to produce permanent curling" ¹²⁶.

The second example (fig.773) is described as a "large wig...quite complete and in an excellent state of preservation. When flattened out it measures 0m.30cent. across and 0m.24 cent. from back to front. It consists of wisps of dark brown wavy hair about 0m.21 cent. long, the proximal end of each of which is bound round with string [or hair?]. These proximal ends are arranged around three sides of an oblong, the posterior side 13 centimetres long and the two lateral sides, each 9 centimetres long; and are fixed by plaited strings, some of which pass across from one side of the oblong to the other. Among the wisps of hair a few plaits are found. Along the fourth (anterior) side of the oblong there is a thin wisp of hair, tied at each end to the framework of the wig. To this is attached a series of small corkscrew curls of lighter brown hair, which form a fringe to hang down on the forehead when the wig is worn. Each curl is about 13 centimetres long. In the right postero-lateral corner of the wig a similar fringe is tied: but for what purpose it is difficult to surmise" ¹²⁷. It would however, seem rather more logical to suppose that the two sets of ringlets were designed to frame the face rather than having one set over the forehead and the other at the side, and although Smith refers to this wig as large, it would in fact be rather short when worn.

A rather longer wig measuring 54cm. in length and 30cm. wide (fig.774-778) was discovered in the Deir el-Medina tomb of the Overseer of Works, Kha and his wife Merit, inside a tall wig-box bearing Merit's name (fig.840). Schiaparelli states that "La parrucca, con lunghe trecce, spartite sulla nuca e spioventi sul collo, sulle spalle e anche sul petto della persona che la portava, è tuttora lucente per gli olii profumati di cui era stata cosparsa e, per la sua perfetta conservazione, costituisce uno dei migliori esemplari di parrucca, se non forse il migliore, che sia giunto fino a noi" ¹²⁸. Garetto also found "essa è fornita di frangia: essa è di capelli lunghi che, lasciati liberi sulla fronte, andavano a raccogliersi sulle tempie in due sottilissime treccioline, una a sinistra ed una a destra, di lunghezza uguale a quella dei capelli" ¹²⁹.

Recent SEM analysis has once again confirmed the human nature of the hair, and "la struttura midollare è ben evidente e permette di confermare che non può trattarsi di fibra vegetale" ¹³⁰. Further cleaning and restoration has also made it possible to examine the construction techniques in great detail, which in this case seem to differ from either the weft or loop method of attachment noted in previous examples, the foundation created by setting fine lengths of hair at right angles across a long thin plait which forms a central parting (fig.775-776). These lengths were secured to the central plait by means of complex knot-work mainly in the form of slip knots, and the long crimped braids with twisted ends (fig.777) were then attached to the resulting foundation structure (fig.776). A number of these long braids again incorporate compound locks at various points down their length, and as also noted in previous examples a further braid made up of three thick plaits has been set at the back of the crown (fig.778), "tre o probabilmente quattro grandi trecce appoggiate su un'unica serie di lunghe e disordinate ciocche di capelli non raccolte a colonnina come quelle laterali ma anch'esse composte da più elementi sebbene terminanti in riccioli sciolti" ¹³¹. This wig is a splendid example of the full enveloping style complete with face-framing braids and the distinctive locks at the back of the head so familiar from contemporary representations ¹³².

A wig was discovered with the aforementioned mummy of the unidentified royal(?) female with shaven head found in the side chamber of Amenhotep II's tomb (KV.35), although given its current fragmentary state and with no clear indication of the total amount of hair originally found it is impossible to suggest the original form of style (fig.779). Loret simply states that "une perruque gît sur le sol, non loin de lui [sic]" ¹³³, although Daressy describes it as a "Perruque en cheveux ondulés couleur châtain foncé, montés sur un réseau en cordelettes de cheveux tressés" and "Une longue natte et quatre autres fragments de tresses de cheveux ayant peut-être fait partie de la perruque ci-dessus" ¹³⁴. The fragmentary nature of this example does however allow a close inspection of the construction methods employed, a central parting and skilfully made foundation cap clearly visible beneath the residual hair.

A cache of wigmaking equipment discovered at Deir el-Bahari contained a range of worked hair samples at various stages of production, including "un réseau inachevé fais de fils, formant une trame de perruque, 'la calotte' a env.9cm. de diamètre, les maillons ont env.0.65 x 0.50cm, la longueur des ficelles pendantes est d'env. 40cm, au sommet du réseau, sur un cercle d'env.3cm. de diamètre des bandeaux de cheveux sont tressés à travers les maillons de fils" ¹³⁵, although in this case the net was made of flax threads rather than hair.

It would also appear that Ouriai, wife of Vizier Aper-el, had also been buried with a wig amongst her funerary equipment, although only traces of the hair now remain attached to the wig mount ¹³⁶. It has been noted that "Sur le sommet et à l'arrière du crâne en effet, on distingue encore des sortes de filaments assez épais, de couleur très sombre, collés par plaques sur la peinture noire. Il ne fait pas de doute qu'il s'agit là des restes d'une perruque qui n'a pas survécu aux tribulations subies par l'objet, aux facteurs de destruction divers et plus simplement au temps" ¹³⁷. As with the previous example, "la forme exacte de cette perruque reste bien sûr inconnue, encore qu'on puisse plus ou moins l'imaginer d'après celles qui sont habituellement représentées en ronde-bosse ou en peinture" ¹³⁸.

Rather surprisingly a wig was also found in the Deir el-Medina tomb of "une petite fille", Bruyère describing "une perruque postiche de cheveux naturels noirs divisés en petites nattes, qui n'était posée sur son crâne, mais dans une coupe près du cercueil" ¹³⁹.

The site of Gurob has yielded a number of examples of worked hair, including a collection of small fragments of dark brown plaits (fig.780) described as "pieces of hair, probably from a wig" ¹⁴⁰, although it has also been suggested that they could be part of the natural hair since "such specimens were collected from several bodies at Gurob" ¹⁴¹. However, close inspection has revealed that some of the plaits are still attached to a horizontal weft of worked hair, conclusively confirming the former interpretation.

A similar find from Gurob takes the form of "Hair. Bright brown; made up into small locks; curled at the ends and some plaited. About 9cm in length" ¹⁴² (fig.781). Although it has again been suggested that this is the natural hair taken from a body ¹⁴³, the locks are clearly worked, with each secured at one end by a combination of substrands and resin. In one

example a tiny plait 2mm wide emerges from this secured end (fig.782), and this would suggest that the hair had been formed into small compound locks for inclusion in a wig, to either lengthen or thicken the style ¹⁴⁴.

In the Gurob tomb of a body of unspecified sex, Petrie states that "on the head of the mummy was a copious wig of black hair, reaching down to the waist; but beneath this on the scalp was yellow or light brown hair" (fig.753-754). He goes on to "conclude that the person was light-haired during life, and wore a wig of black, hiding the foreign token" ¹⁴⁵, and since he "was anxious to find non-Egyptians at Gurob to support his theories of an Aegean settlement there" ¹⁴⁶, samples of both the blond hair and black wig were taken ¹⁴⁷.

However, as a result of scientific tests undertaken as part of research for this thesis, Petrie's conclusions can no longer be accepted. The blond hair has been found to contain "some yellow coloration" (see Appendix A.), and cannot entirely be considered as the individual's natural shade. Furthermore, the fragment of the 'black wig' had originally been a dark blue colour which had carbonised with age ¹⁴⁸, SEM tests further proving that the fragment is not hair, but is in fact woollen sprang (double-braiding) ¹⁴⁹, "a stretchy net-like material...made without a weft by twisting together the vertical warp threads" ¹⁵⁰. Its use in the ancient world was largely confined to Denmark, Greece and Roman-Coptic Egypt, where it was generally used to make head-coverings in the form of caps (fig.811), or sometimes rather more voluminous lengths of material up to 90cm long, the two long tails of which were wrapped around the head or under the chin ¹⁵¹. It therefore seems that what Petrie actually found was a body with dyed blond hair beneath a sprang head wrap, the latter being either a very early example or perhaps the result of an intrusive Roman-Coptic burial ¹⁵².

3) Loose Hair

In the circular basket (fig.846) containing the ten aforementioned false braids of MeryetAmun (fig.757), Winlock also found "a ball of loose hair as big as one's fist", and in the oval basket with the three large plaits "a quantity of loose hair and of hair very loosely braided" ¹⁵³. In addition "a further jumble of small plaits and of woolly, unbraided hair from some other receptacle" ¹⁵⁴ had been swept up by inspectors following initial plundering and placed inside a box of preserved meat, with "a lock of hair" finding its way into a large clothes basket ¹⁵⁵. These loose portions of hair could either have come from a wig destroyed by the plunderers, or could perhaps have constituted some form of offering ¹⁵⁶.

Several more examples of loose hair were discovered in the tomb of Tutankhamen (KV.62), a small calcite chest from the antechamber found to be "filled almost to the top with first a single thickness of cloth, and then a mass of decayed hair...also a small number of what look like combings. Underneath the mass got solider and solider [sic] till it ended in a hard resinous mass" ¹⁵⁷ (fig.772), part of which Lucas "chopped out" and once "softened with acetone, removed when soft" ¹⁵⁸.

In the corner of the chest over the mass of hair and cloth Carter also found "two round balls of hair covered with cloth and tied round below ball. These were 5 and 6 [cm.] in diam. respectively" ¹⁵⁹. It has subsequently been stated that such balls

"were associated with some form of contract" ¹⁶⁰, alluding to a possible marriage contract between the king and his wife Ankhesenamun, both of whom are named on the lid of the chest (fig.843).

Carter suggests that since the chest fitted inside an outer wooden box (fig.844) "which served for its outer coffin so to speak", the chest might be "a kind of extra canopic for the king's hair?" ¹⁶¹. It does seem that the chest originally held hair in some form, over which resins had been poured, and following a series of robberies the restorers had also used it to store fragments of the king's aforementioned wig, having left the lid on one side.

The most celebrated example of hair from this tomb however, was found in the treasury, and consists of "a lock of plaited hair, auburn in colour, covered over with linen and saturated with unguents. L.12cm." ¹⁶² (fig.783). It had been placed inside a nest of four miniature coffins, the innermost of which bore the titles of Queen Tiy ¹⁶³ to whom the hair is generally assumed as having belonged.

Carter interprets the lock as an heirloom, such items being "evidence of devotion. They were in all probability pieces of personal property that had been in the family, chattels descending by due succession...the lock of hair was human, the remains of a royal personage, for which reason it received the prerogative of a royal burial" ¹⁶⁴. Lucas states that "small plaited locks of hair sometimes were treasured...and such a lock was found in the tomb of Tutankhamun, the hair being that of Queen Tiy" ¹⁶⁵, and indeed, the piece is most often described as an heirloom or family relic ¹⁶⁶.

Only Desroches-Noblecourt ventures an alternative explanation in that the hair was a necessary part of the deceased's rebirthing process, representing "gold skin and flesh inherited from its mother" ¹⁶⁷. Whilst the epithet *m3'-hrw* in the coffin inscription indicates that Tiy was no longer living and had not therefore cut off a lock of her hair as a funerary offering during her grandson's burial rites ¹⁶⁸, its presence within the tomb may indeed signify the importance of hair as a necessary part of the resurrection process. Furthermore, close inspection of the lock has revealed it to be a loosely plaited braid, the top of which is secured by a substrand; a skilfully worked looped end is also visible ¹⁶⁹ (fig.783), this loop feature used the construction of wigs and false braids suggesting that the lock itself could originally have been used to augment the queen's natural style (discussed above) ¹⁷⁰.

During the unwrapping of the mummy of Ramses V, Smith states that "in contact with the skin over the anterior part of the second left intercostal space a lock of hair was found lying free. It was closely rolled in a narrow spiral (tubular) form 0m.060mill. long and 0m.005mill. in diameter" ¹⁷¹, and since the king's own hair is only 3-4 mm.long, it would appear that the hair had either been taken at a time when his hair had been longer or had come from another source altogether.

Non-royal examples of loose hair found at Deir el-Medina are described as "les mèches de cheveux nouées contenues dans un sachet de la tombe No.1388 et dans un petit panier de la tombe No.1379, qui étaient peut-être de pieux souvenirs prélevés sur la tête des morts au moment de la toilette funèbre" ¹⁷², whilst "nattes de cheveux noirs" were found in the

Ramesseid tomb of a young girl ¹⁷³.

Brunton refers to the discovery of a decorated pot "full of plaits of human hair" in a grave at Badari ¹⁷⁴, and "at least eight" large bundles of long, thin plaits up to 45cm long, partly coated in resin(?) and wrapped in linen, were discovered haphazardly "piled in a corner" of an empty XVIIIth dynasty pit (No.1008) in the Theban necropolis ¹⁷⁵ (fig.784-785). Following examination the hair would appear to have been supplied by at least two different people, and although interpreted by Winlock as "false hair", automatically assuming their cosmetic nature, there would appear to be no visible means of attachment at the ends of the braids ¹⁷⁶ (fig.786). A similar bundle of 42cm long loose plaits wrapped in fine linen was found at Qurna ¹⁷⁷ (fig.787), with a further example acquired in Thebes consisting of a bundle of 36cm long matted braids heavily infested with empty head lice eggs; the tops of the braids have simply been cut and are not secured in any way, although the ends would appear to be artificially(?) curled, all of which suggests that the hair was that of an individual which had been cut off and preserved for burial, bound up with with strips of linen and set with three clay seals and string ¹⁷⁸ (fig.788).

Rather smaller samples of hair were taken from tombs at Gurob, although unfortunately they are not recorded in the excavation report ¹⁷⁹. A loose, three strand fragment measuring 10cm. in length (fig.789) was found in a Ramesseid tomb containing two male bodies and an intrusive female ¹⁸⁰, Bell stating that "these delicate, light-brown braids [sic] were probably taken from the female body" ¹⁸¹. The absence of weft or looped sections would indicate that this piece was indeed taken either directly from a body (either male or female since plaits are not exclusive to women) or had made up some form of hair offering. Two rather more substantial fragments measuring up to 6cm in length and between 1cm and 1.5cm wide (fig.790) were taken from an XVIIIth dynasty(?) child's grave which also contained beads, scarabs and five hair rings, although again the hair was unfortunately not recorded in the excavation report ¹⁸².

A single lock of hair was found beneath a piece of flint in the vestibule of the early XVIIIth dynasty shrine of Hathor at Mirgissa, and Karlin states that "Si la présence du premier objet, le silex, isolément, peut-être due au hasard, si la présence du second objet, les cheveux, isolément, peut encore, mais de façon moins certaine, être due hasard, nous croyons pouvoir dire que la présence simultanée des deux vestiges précisément en cet endroit est le fait d'un dépôt volontaire" ¹⁸³.

Small locks of hair have also been found sealed inside balls of dried mud, Peet and Woolley stating that at Amarna "a quite common object was a small ball of mud, sometimes stamped with the impression of signet-rings, containing a wisp of hair: they may have been dedications, a lock of a child's hair being avowed to a god...or they may represent a more malevolent form of domestic magic" ¹⁸⁴ (fig.791). Two further examples found by Petrie in a XXth dynasty tomb at Kahun ¹⁸⁵ are unmarked, and were found to contain "a tuft of red brown human hair, apparently infantile" ¹⁸⁶ (fig.792).

- 1 In identification of royal mummies, this survey will follow Smith 1912; for most recent arguments against this 'traditional' identification, see Wente & Harris in Reeves ed. 1992, p.2-20.
- 2 Cairo CG.61065, in Smith 1912, p.27, p.25-28, pl.XX-XXII; see also Harris & Weeks 1973, p.35; Harris & Wente 1980, fiche 5.B.2; Weigall 1927 II, pl.IX and Thomas 1966, p.240 (although referring to body as "completely bald" as opposed to 'shaven').
- 3 Cairo CG.61068, in Smith 1912, p.32-36, pl.XXVIII, "Thoutmosis was certainly almost completely bald", p.35; see also Thomas 1966, p.240; Weigall 1927 II, pl.X. and Harris & Wente 1980, fiche 5.B.4.
- 4 Cairo CG.61077, in Smith 1912, p.59, 57-58, frontispiece, pl.XXXVIII, XL-XLI; also Smith & Dawson 1924, fig.21; Harris & Weeks 1973, pl.8 and Harris & Wente 1980, fiche 5.C.9.
- 5 Cairo CG.61083, Maspero in Smith 1912, p.85, see also p.84-87, pl.L-LII; also Smith & Dawson 1924, fig.27; Harris & Weeks 1973, p.46 and Harris & Wente 1980, fig.1.14, p.44, fiche 5.D.4.
- 6 Desroches-Noblecourt 1963, fig.101, p.165; see also Reeves 1990(ii), "the head was cleanly shaven", p.117; Harris & Wente 1980, fiche 5.C.8, and Derry in Leek 1972, p.14, pl.VI-XI, although shaven head not mentioned by Derry in Carter 1954, Appendix I.
- 7 Desroches-Noblecourt 1963, p.165; see comments of Fletcher & Montserrat 1995, p.59-60.
- 8 eg. Thomas 1966, "His shaven head is paralleled to my knowledge only by the younger woman, [CG.]61072, in KV.35 [discussed below]", p.240, and ingeniously suggests that king's hair shaven to imitate baldness, "a symbol of the long life that he did not in fact attain", although shaving head a practical measure and common throughout society.
- 9 Cairo CG.24100, in Daressy 1902, "la tête est rasée", p.60 and Daressy 1903, p.74-75.
- 10 Bruyère 1937, body 1389, "l'un d'eux était entièrement chauve", p.141.
- 11 Toronto ROM I, in Millet et al. 1980, p.76.
- 12 Leeds City Museum D.426.1960, late XXth dynasty, see Osburn 1828, "the head...closely shaved", in David & Tapp ed. 1992, p.64, fig.52, p.143, with Rowling 1961, p.71, finding very short bristles of hair over scalp.
- 13 Minneapolis Institute of Arts MIA.III, in David ed. 1986, fig.54, p.313.
- 14 eg. Morimoto et al. 1988, "since a male mummy had its head shaved, it would be of a priest", p.2.
- 15 Cairo CG.61066, in Smith 1912, p.28-31, pl.XXIII-XXIV, and despite suggestion that hair loss may be due to mummification process, pattern of baldness is standard and almost certainly occurred in life; see also Weigall 1927 II, pl.IX; Harris & Weeks 1973, p.36 and Harris & Wente 1980, fiche 5.B.3. It would appear from recent observations (1994) that some curls have broken off.
- 16 Cairo CG.61069, in Smith 1912, p.36-38; also Carter 1902, pl.I-III; Harris & Weeks 1973, p.138 and Harris & Wente 1980, fiche 5.B.6.
- 17 Cairo CG.61074, in Smith 1912, p.50, 46-51, pl.XXXI-XXXV; also Smith & Dawson 1924, fig.10; Harris & Weeks 1973, p.142 and Harris & Wente 1980, fiche 5.B.8-9.
- 18 Cairo CG.61078, in Smith 1912, p.62, 59-65, pl.XLII-XLIV; also Smith & Dawson 1924, fig.22, p.99; Harris & Wente 1980, fig.1.15, fiche 5.C.10; Paris 1985, p.211-257; Dunand & Lichtenberg 1991, p.82, 84-85 and Milton 1980, p.63.
- 19 Paris 1985, p.256-257.
- 20 Cairo CG.61079, in Smith 1912, p.66, 65-70, pl.XLV-XLIX; also Smith & Dawson 1924, fig.23; Thomas 1966, p.242; Harris & Weeks 1973, p.20, 157 and Harris & Wente 1980, fiche 5.C.11.
- 21 Cairo CG.61084, in Smith 1912, p.87-90, pl.LIII-LIV, LVII(right).

- 22 Cairo CG.61086, in Smith 1912, cropped hair "about 1 millimetre long" p.92-94, pl.LVIII-LIX and Harris & Weeks 1973, p.168.
- 23 Cairo CG.61057, in Smith 1912, p.16, 15-18, pl.XI-XII; also Smith & Dawson 1924, fig.7 and Harris & Wente 1980, fiche 5.A.9.
- 24 Cairo CG.61080, in Smith 1912, p.72, 70-73, pl.LX-LXIII; also Harris & Weeks 1973, p.45 and Harris & Wente 1980, fiche 5.D.1.
- 25 Cairo CG.61081, in Smith 1912, p.80, 73-81, pl.LXIV-LXVI; also Smith & Dawson 1924, fig.25 and Harris & Wente 1980, fiche 5.C.12.
- 26 Cairo CG.61085, in Smith 1912 p.90-92, pl.LV-LVII(left); also Smith & Dawson 1924, fig.28, p.109; Harris & Weeks 1973, p.20 and Harris & Wente 1980, fiche 5.D.6.
- 27 Bruyère 1937, p.141.
- 28 eg. Prague Hrdlicka Museum of Man Inv.No.15/2, male, 50-70 years old, in Strouhal & Vyhnánek 1979, No.2, p.28-30, and Kynzvárt State Castle Museum Inv.No.1086, male, 30-40 years old, in Strouhal & Vyhnánek 1979, No.6, p.35- 36.
- 29 Cairo CG.61073, in Smith 1912, p.44, 42-46, pl.XXIX-XXX, further stating that pl.XXIX retains a black mass on postero-inferior aspect of head, "which makes it look more effeminate than is really the case, because the black area looks like a chignon of hair", p.46; see also Smith & Dawson 1924, fig.17; Harris & Wente 1980, fiche.5.B.7 and Harris & Weeks 1973, p.139, although latter's statement that Tutmosis IV is "slightly bald" would seem rather erroneous following close observation.
- 30 Brugsch & Maspero 1881, pl.30.
- 31 Cairo CG.61067, in Smith 1912, p.31-32, pl.XXV-XXVIII, compare disarrayed style, pl.XXVII, with original neat coiffure photographed by Brugsch in 1881.
- 32 Lansing & Hayes 1937, p.18 and MMA. Archive photograph (M16C.164), body recently 'rediscovered' in Qasr el-Einy Medical School, in Brock, L.P. 1992, p.7; however, body described as "the mummy of Ramose, father of Sanmut" in Eisa 1948, fig.1, p.10 actually that of unnamed female with long plaited braids from same burial (discussed below).
- 33 Cairo CG.51190, described by Smith in Quibell 1908, p.69, pl.LVII-LVIII; also Smith & Dawson 1924, fig.18, p.97; Harris & Weeks 1973, p.19, 41, 141; Harris & Wente 1980, fiche 5.B.11 and Pennsylvania 1980, No.36, p.34; Smith believes white hair "stained yellow by embalming materials", in Quibell 1908, p.69, repeated in Smith & Dawson 1924, p.97, Harris & Weeks 1973 referring to Yuya's "long flaxen hair", p.41 and "long reddish-blond hair", p.141.
- 34 Prague Hrdlicka Museum of Man Inv.No.15/3, in Strouhal & Vyhnánek 1979, No.5, p.33-35.
- 35 Cairo CG.61098, in Smith 1912, p.114-116, pl.XCIV-XCV and el-Mahdy 1989, p.66-67.
- 36 Cairo CG.61052, in Smith 1912, p.6-8, pl.IV; although absence of hair not referred to, he does note "large symmetrical thinning of both parietal bones", p.8.
- 37 Cairo CG.61072, in situ KV.35, in Smith 1912, p.40-42, pl.XCIX; Smith & Dawson 1924, fig.14-15, p.94; Müller 1960, p.55, note 299 and Thomas 1966, mistakenly referring to "a unique hair treatment for the time", p.239.
- 38 Loret 1898, "...le cadavre le plus près du mur semble être celui d'un homme. Il a la tête rase...", p.104, pl.14.
- 39 Cairo CG.61076, in Smith 1912, p.56-57, pl.XXXIX.
- 40 Brunton 1948, eg. grave 805, p.59.
- 41 Cairo CG.61082, in Smith 1912, p.82, 81-84, pl.LXVII-LXVIII; also Smith & Dawson 1924, fig.26, p.101-102;

- Harris & Wente 1980, fiche 5.D.3 and Müller 1960, p.56, note 306 (giving wrong accession number).
- 42 Morimoto et al. 1988, eg. body from tomb No.317, fig.7, p.2.
- 43 Cairo CG.61053, in Smith 1912, fig.1, p.8-11, pl.IV-V.
- 44 Cairo CG.61054, in Smith 1912, p.11-13, pl.VI, VIII, going on to state that "Each mass of hair was carefully wrapped in a spirally arranged bandage, which I left in situ on the left side, but removed upon the right. No attempt was made to unravel the tangle of intertwined plaits and determine their arrangement, for to have done so would have damaged this unique mummy, which alone displays a characteristic mode of hairdressing, well-known in the statuary of the New Empire", p.12; also Smith & Dawson 1924, fig.8-9, p.90 and Müller 1960, p.56.
- 45 Bruyère 1937, eg. No.1382 and No.1388, p.141.
- 46 Brunton 1948, grave 612, p.59.
- 47 Lansing & Hayes 1937, p.31; also MMA.Archive photographs of at least three unidentified women (M16C301g), his mother Hatnefer (M16C203g/M16C204/M16206), and unidentified woman (M16C361-2) wrongly identified as Senmut's father Ramose in Eisa 1948, fig.1, p.10.
- 48 Bruyère 1937, No.1370-1371, No.1379-1380 and No.1382, p.141.
- 49 Loret 1898, p.103, pl.12.
- 50 Cairo CG.61070, in situ KV.35, in Smith 1912, p.38-39, pl.XCVII; also Smith & Dawson 1924, fig.12-13, p.93 and Harris & Weeks 1973, p.36.
- 51 Entirely 'natural' state of coiffure kindly confirmed by Prof.E.Wente, pers.comm.16.6.90.
- 52 Harris et al. 1978, p.1151 and fig.1-5.
- 53 eg. Harris and Wente 1980, p.346, fiche 5.C.2; Robins 1981, p.63; Romer 1981, p.63 and Ryan 1990, p.58.
- 54 Germer 1986, "No-one can deal with the data in the published form...it is impossible to determine if the hair from the tomb of Tutankhamen and that from the 'Elder Lady' differ significantly or not", p.524; see also Germer 1984, p.88-89.
- 55 Carter 1903, p.175-178.
- 56 Newberry in Carter 1903, p.178; body in coffin removed to Cairo Museum by Ayrton in 1906, other body left in situ.
- 57 Thomas 1966, p.138; see also Reeves 1990, p.139.
- 58 Ryan 1990, p.58.
- 59 This is obviously natural hair referred to by Carter, and references to discovery of 'some sort of a wig' (Dr.D.Ryan, paper given at 'After Tutankhamun' Conference, Highclere Castle, and pers.comm, 16.6.90) may be discounted.
- 60 Petrie 1890, tomb 23, p.39, 41-42, portions of hair and scalp UC.31038-31039, and fragments MM.No.705, in Griffith 1910, p.62; thanks to Mrs.R.Janssen and Dr.A.R.David for access.
- 61 Petrie 1890, tomb 24, p.39, 41, portion of scalp with brighter yellow hair, UC.31037; thanks to Mrs.R.Janssen for access.
- 62 Cairo CG.61063, in Smith 1912, p.22, pl.XVIII; also Harris & Wente 1980, fiche 5.A.11.
- 63 Cairo CG.51191, Smith in Quibell 1908, p.71, pl.LIX-LX; also Smith & Dawson 1924, p.97-98; Harris & Weeks 1973, p.19, 41 and Harris & Wente 1980, fiche 5.B.12.
- 64 Smith & Dawson 1924, p.97-98.

- 65 Cairo CG.61055, in Smith 1912, p.13-14, pl.VII, also Smith & Dawson 1924, p.90; Müller 1960, p.56 and Harris & Wente 1980, fiche 5.A.10.
- 66 Cairo CG.61061, in Smith 1912, p.19, pl.XIV.
- 67 Cairo Qasr el-Einy Medical School, in Lansing & Hayes 1937, fig.31, p.26 and Eisa 1948, fig.2, p.11.
- 68 Cairo CG.61064, in Smith 1912, p.25, pl.XIX.
- 69 Loret 1898, p.103-104, pl.13.
- 70 Cairo CG.61071, in situ KV.35, in Smith 1912, p.39-40, pl.XCVIII; see also Smith & Dawson 1924, fig.16; Thomas 1966, p.239 and Rowling 1961, p.101.
- 71 Initially supposed to be a son of Ramses III, although this later amended to son of XVIII dyn. official; see Bruyère 1925, p.147-165 and Thomas 1966, "a boy with a side-lock", p.241.
- 72 Bruyère 1937, p.141.
- 73 Brunton 1948, grave 876, p.59.
- 74 Morimoto et al. 1988, p.2; simply on basis of style body with straight hair assumed to be male, that with waved hair female, although it must once again be repeated that this is a highly unreliable means of sexing bodies!
- 75 Derry in Leek 1972, No.317.a(2), p.21, pl.XXIV, left; 'lanugo' hair defined by Cox 1989, p.95 as fine soft hair without a medulla.
- 76 Derry in Leek 1972, No.317.b(2), p.22, pl.XXIV, right.
- 77 Cairo CG.61055, in Smith 1912, p.13-14, pl.VII, also Smith & Dawson 1924, p.90; Müller 1960, p.56; Riefstahl 1952, p.15 and Harris & Wente 1980, fiche 5.A.10.
- 78 Cairo CG.61061, in Smith 1912, p.19, pl.XIV.
- 79 Winlock 1932, p.9, pl.XIII and Winlock 1930, fig.14, p.15.
- 80 MMA.30.3.15.c, in Winlock 1932, p.9, 34, 47, 76, pl.XXXIII.a; also Hayes 1959 II, p.54, 188 and Freed 1982(ii), "an entire basket of switches", p.196; thanks to Dr.C.Roehrig for access.
- 81 Cairo JE.55157, in Winlock 1932, p.9, 34, 47, 76, pl.XXXIII.b; also illustrated in Riefstahl 1952, p.15.
- 82 Winlock 1932, p.34, 47, both referred to in Lucas 1989, p.31 and Fletcher 1994(ii), p.133.
- 83 Cairo Qasr el-Einy Medical School, in Lansing & Hayes 1937, fig.31, p.26; Eisa 1948, fig.2, p.11, and MMA Archive photographs (M16C203g/M16204/M16206); thanks to Dr.C.Roehrig for access and information.
- 84 Illustrated in Eisa 1948, fig.1, p.10 (wrongly identified as Senmut's father Ramose) and MMA Archive photographs M16C361-2, thanks to Dr.C.Roehrig for access and information.
- 85 MMA.36.3.191-4, in Lansing & Hayes 1937, fig.12, p.8; also Hayes 1959 II, fig.111, p.188, 196 and Lucas 1989, p.31; thanks to Dr.C.Roehrig for access.
- 86 Hayes 1959 II, p.188.
- 87 Although recent examination (10.3.95) revealing significant deterioration within last few years would indicate urgent need for conservation; thanks to Drs.S.Quirke & J.Taylor for access.
- 88 BM.EA.2560, obtained from Salt Collection Sale 1835, lot 1062, provenance given in Birch Slip No.K.2, thanks to Dr.J.Taylor for information and access; see Wilkinson 1988 II, fig.462, p.326; Andrews 1904, p.71-72; Lucas 1930, p.193; Garetto 1955, p.67; Stead 1986, fig.68, p.49-50; Cox 1977, p.67-70, pl.X.1-2; Cox 1983, p.1-2; Cox 1989, fig.248, p.60; Müller 1960, p.56; Broby-Johansen 1968, p.41; Freed 1982(ii), fig.50, p.196; Fletcher 1994, p.32-33 and Fletcher 1994(ii), fig.208, p.127, 133.

- 89 Cox 1977, p.67-69, pl.X.1-2; many thanks to Mr.J.S.Cox for kind help in providing additional notes and information.
- 90 British Museum 1922, p.264, repeated in Broby-Johansen 1968, p.41 and Budge 1977, p.69; also referred to by Lucas 1930, p.193, although having found no trace of wool in any of wigs he examined he further states that "the use of wool for wigs in ancient Egypt needs confirmation", p.194. Use of solely human hair for EA.2560 confirmed by Cox 1977, who regrets that "most of the writings have been based on casual observations through a glass case and imagination", p.67.
- 91 Tiny fragments of vegetable fibre found adhering to plaits during recent examination (1995) a result of wig having originally been stored in reed box; thanks to Dr.J.P.Wild for confirming nature of fibres.
- 92 Three hair types being medium textured light brown/blond and dark brown hair visible on exterior contrasting with much finer, almost black hair used internally.
- 93 Cox 1977, p.69.
- 94 Cox 1977, fig.1, p.69.
- 95 Cox 1977, fig.2-3, p.69, pl.X.2, although despite statement that "the manner in which the hair strands are attached to the open mesh foundation of the British Museum wig is especially interesting and unlike any other published method (ancient or modern) of anchoring hair to a foundation", p.67, this technique one of two employed in case of Berlin wig Inv.No.6911 and is also used for wigs in Cairo Museum (discussed below), see Laskowska- Kuzstal 1978, p.110.
- 96 Found recently (10.3.95) in base of display case; thanks to Drs.J.Taylor & S.Quirke for access to both wig and broken fragments in storage.
- 97 Cox 1977, p.70; his findings allow him to disprove his earlier statement that "a weft method remained the only satisfactory way of securing hair to a foundation until...the 19th century", Cox in Symonds 1965, p.3.
- 98 Weight of wig & block = 6.5 kg
 estimated weight of block = 5.5-6.0 kg
 estimated weight of wig = 0.5-1.0 kg
 thanks to Dr.J.Taylor for this information; unfortunately more accurate figures impossible to obtain since wig now secured to modern wooden mount by numerous metal staples.
- 99 Contrary to comments of Smith 1912, p.36 and Ruffer 1914, p.244, both of whom suggest supposed weight of wigs sufficient to cause skull deformation, although see Leek 1980, p.38-39.
- 100 Fletcher 1994, p.33, originally suggested in unpublished paper given at Rhys-David Seminar, Manchester University Comparative Religion Dept, 23.11.88.
- 101 See Keimer 1953, fig.111-113, 129-131.
- 102 eg. Cox 1989, "Egyptian woman's wig", fig.248; Freed 1982(ii), "an Eighteenth Dynasty Woman's wig", p.196; Andrews 1904, "probably belonged to a woman", p.72; Chiotasso et al. 1992, "della parrucca femminile", p.99; Corson 1980, "a wig belonging probably to an Egyptian lady of high rank", p.40-41, accompanied by rather imaginative reconstruction sketch, pl.5.G-H.
- 103 Berlin Inv.No.6911, 'New Kingdom' (presumably late), unprovenanced, in Schoske et al. 1990, No.85, p.112; Berlin 1967, No.589, p.56; Müller 1960, p.56; Erman 1971, p.224; Lucas 1930, p.194; Laskowska-Kuzstal 1978, p.110; Gauthier-Laurent 1938, p.691; Fletcher 1994, p.32-33 and Fletcher 1994(ii), fig.223, p.133; many thanks to Prof.D.Wildung and conservator Mr.Köpke for access and information.
- 104 Despite comments of Erman 1971, "To one of these ladies belonged the wig in the Berlin Museum", p.224 and Lucas 1930, "a woman's wig in the Berlin Museum", p.194, see Schoske et al. 1990, "Die Perücke zeigt die im Neuen Reich besonders beliebte zweiteilige Form", p.112.

- 105 Although Erman states that "It is not composed of human hair, but of sheep's wool", 1971, p.225 and quoted in Lucas 1930, p.194, SEM tests by Munich University prove hair to be human, see Schoske et al. 1990, "Die früher geäußerte Materialbezeichnung "Schafwolle" ist also nicht aufrecht zu erhalten", p.112 and Fengel 1990, p.1-2, fig.1-6.
- 106 Wilkinson 1988 II, fig.463, p.326, also illustrated in Woodforde 1971, p.4 and Corson 1980, fig.4, p.29 (wrongly identified as the "wig of Entiu-ny").
- 107 Schoske et al. 1990, "in einen netzartigen Untergrund eingeknüpft sind", p.112, also Gauthier-Laurent 1938, p.691, note 2 and Laskowska-Kusztal 1978, p.110.
- 108 Partly amending Cox 1977, p.67 regarding unique nature of construction technique employed for BM. wig EA.2560.
- 109 Davis 1907, "we found a shelf cut into one side of the wall and on it a large ceremonial wig...", p.xxvii and Romer 1981, "in a wall niche lay a huge wig, made of flax and dyed dark brown", p.200.
- 110 Cairo Museum Guide 1930, No.3634, p.49, in Lucas 1930, p.195 and Lucas 1989, p.30.
- 111 CG.51185, in Quibell 1908, p.65, although pl.XLII referred to here does not show the wig.
- 112 Lucas 1930, p.195 and Lucas 1989, p.30.
- 113 Quibell 1908, p.v; confusion reflected in statement of Reeves, "Davis claims to have found on the same 'bench' or shelf 'a large ceremonial wig'... The wig is CG.51185", 1990, p.163, note 142.
- 114 See comments of Zivie 1988, "cette parure ayant été hâtivement arrachée par les pillards", p.186, note 17.
- 115 Fletcher 1994(ii), p.133; Lucas states that "Yuya's ceremonial wig...is similar to that of Queen Isimkhebe [actually her husband's wig, discussed below]...covered with small curls and has long narrow plaits behind", 1989, p.30.
- 116 Cairo JE.61762, Carter No.40, chest illustrated in Carter & Mace 1923 I, p.200, pl.LVIA; see also Edwards 1972, No.5 and Edwards 1976, No.9, p.110; thanks to Drs.J.Malek and D.MacGee of Griffith Institute Oxford for access to notes of Carter and Lucas and photographs.
- 117 Reeves 1990, "...at least two phases of robbery are to be distinguished in KV.62", p.67.
- 118 Carter's notes, No.40, Griffith Institute; see also Edwards 1972, No.5 "a mass of decayed (horse?) hair..." and Fletcher & Montserrat 1995, p.60.
- 119 Lucas' notes, p.58, Griffith Institute.
- 120 Lucas 1930, p.192.
- 121 For information regarding tomb, see Reeves 1990, p.140-147, concluding Maherpra probably buried during reign of Tuthmosis IV.
- 122 Cairo CG.24100, in Daressy 1902, p.60, pl.XVII; see also Daressy 1903, p.74-75.
- 123 Cairo CG.61062, in Smith 1912, p.20, pl.XVI; also Thomas 1966, p.236; Müller 1982, 990 and Fletcher 1994(ii), p.133.
- 124 Smith 1912, p.20.
- 125 Smith 1912, p.20.
- 126 Lucas 1930, referring to "a mass of small curls, not now in the form of a wig, but laid flat on a piece of cardboard", p.195, and further describing "a mass of hair (undated), probably at one time a wig", 1989, p.30; this second wig would appear to have been removed from body at some time and details/date subsequently lost, since it is referred to in Journal d'Entrée simply as "Cheveux; Deir el-Bahari 1881" under number JE.46913 (Ex.No.4074).

- 127 Smith 1912, p.21, pl.XVI-XVII.
- 128 Turin No.S.8499, in Schiaparelli 1927, fig.74, p.101; see also Curto 1984, p.211; Garetto 1955, fig.1, p.66; Carpignano & Rabino Massa 1981, p.229-230, pl.XXV.1; Chiotasso et al. 1992, p.99-105; Manniche 1987, fig.38, p.48; Müller 1960, p.57, note 311; Fletcher 1994, p.33 and Fletcher 1994(ii), p.133; many thanks to Dr.E.Leospo and staff of Turin Museo Egizio for access and information.
- 129 Garetto 1955, p.66; regarding survival of such braids into C.19th Egypt, Lane states that "over the forehead the hair is cut rather short: but two full locks hang down on each side of the face: these are often curled in ringlets and sometimes plaited", 1908, p.45.
- 130 Carpignano & Rabino Massa 1981, p.229.
- 131 Chiotasso et al. 1992, p.101.
- 132 Garetto 1955, fig.1, 3, pl.I, favourably comparing this wig with styles of wife and mother of Userhet in his slightly later tomb scenes (TT.56).
- 133 Loret 1898, p.104.
- 134 Cairo CG.24735/JE.32412 in Daressy 1902, p.182; thanks to Dr.M.Trad for information.
- 135 Laskowska-Kusztal 1978, fig.10, p.87, 110.
- 136 Zivie 1988, "La matière utilisée pour la confection de cette perruque reste encore à déterminer et l'analyse pourra peut-être permettre de dire si on avait affaire à de véritables cheveux humains, ce qui est le plus vraisemblable, ou à une parure artificielle", p.186; also Zivie 1990, p.82; thanks to Prof.Zivie for comments on this, pers.comm.6.9.95.
- 137 Zivie 1988, fig.1, p.185-186 and Zivie 1990, p.82.
- 138 Zivie 1988, p.186 and Zivie 1990, fig.43, p.86 for reconstruction sketch of basic full style.
- 139 Bruyère 1937, p.141.
- 140 UC.27859, "New Kingdom?", in Thomas 1981, No.414, p.61; thanks to Mrs.R.Janssen for access and Mrs.A.Thomas for additional information.
- 141 Bell 1985, p.66, 80, note 39.
- 142 MM.No.554, donated by Jesse Haworth, in Griffith 1910, p.51; thanks to Dr.A.R.David for access.
- 143 Bell 1985, p.80, note 39.
- 144 As noted in case of aforementioned NK wigs Berlin Inv.No.6911 and Turin No.S.8499, and undated worked sample Liverpool Uni.Mus.E.5411, discussed below.
- 145 Petrie 1890, tomb 23, p.39, 41 and Petrie MSS Journal 24.X.1888-23.V.1889; thanks to Mrs.R.Janssen for access.
- 146 Bell 1985, p.66, note 40.
- 147 UC.30137-30139; 30137 - scalp and curly bright yellow hair, 21cm. long, from tomb 23 or 24 (probably 24 on account of brighter colour than that known to have come from tomb 23); 30138 - two pieces of scalp with curly blonde hair and fragment of black 'wig', 23 x 18cm, tomb 23; 30139 - swatch of blonde curly hair and scalp, 27cm. long, tomb 23 or 24, in Bourriau 1979, No.632-634; also MM.No.705, pile of short yellow hairs interspersed with wood fragments, labelled "Natural Yellow Hair, found on a body, under a black wig. The fair hair shows the deceased was a foreigner. Gurob tomb 23. XVIII-XIX dyn. Donor Jesse Haworth", see Griffith 1910, p.62 and Bell 1985, note 39, p.80.
- 148 Thanks to G.Taylor and P.Walton Rogers, Textile Research Associates for undertaking this work.

- 149 Many thanks to Dr.W.Cooke and SEM staff of UMIST for extensive help in identification of fibres.
- 150 Jenkins & Williams 1985, p.411, 415; Hald 1946, p.89 states that sprang appeared in Egypt in C.4-5th AD; see also Rutschowskaya 1990, p.30 and Bourget 1963, p.338-341.
- 151 For example of two-tailed head-cover, Cairo JE.55205, burial 41, C.3-4th AD, Deir el-Bahari, other examples discussed below; thanks to Ms.N.Kajitani of MMA for information and discussion.
- 152 Thanks to Dr.J.P.Wild, Manchester University and Ms.N.Kajitani for discussion regarding possibility of such an early date.
- 153 Winlock 1932, p.34, 41, pl.XXXLB (current whereabouts unknown).
- 154 Winlock 1932, p.34.
- 155 Winlock 1932, p.46.
- 156 Although Winlock assumes plunderers responsible for "scattering false hair all around", 1932, p.41, it might also be possible hair originally placed around tomb as part of funerary rites.
- 157 Cairo JE.61762/Carter No.40, in Carter's notes, No.40, Griffith Institute; see also Carter & Mace 1923 I, p.200, pl.LXVIA; Edwards 1972, No.5; Edwards 1976, No.9, p.110 and Reeves 1990(ii), p.189; thanks to Drs.J.Malek and D.MacGee of Griffith Institute Oxford for access to notes of Carter and Lucas.
- 158 Lucas' notes, p.58, Griffith Institute.
- 159 Carter's notes, No.40, Griffith Institute.
- 160 Edwards 1972, No.5 and Edwards 1976, p.110, also Fletcher & Montserrat 1995, p.60.
- 161 Carter's notes, No.40, Griffith Institute.
- 162 Carter No.320.E, in Carter's notes, No.320.E, Griffith Institute; see also Carter 1933 III, p.86-88, pl.25; Lucas 1989, p.31; Desroches-Noblecourt 1963, p.186; Reeves 1990(ii), p.168-169; Rowe 1940, p.632; Müller 1960, p.57 and Nachtergaele 1981, p.601.
- 163 Rowe 1940, p.623-627.
- 164 Carter 1933 III, p.86-88.
- 165 Lucas 1989, p.31.
- 166 ie. Reeves 1990(ii), "it is probable that relatively few objects may in the strictest sense be so described, the most apparent being the lock of Queen Tiy's hair", p.168, and "the precious remembrance, perhaps, of a much-loved grandmother", p.169; Nachtergaele 1981, "Il s'agit d'une relique que la famille avait conservée comme un objet de pieuse dévotion et qui déposée dans la tombe du dernier représentant de la lignée", p.601, repeated in Nachtergaele 1980, p.243 and Naguib 1990, "for memorial, sentimental purposes", p.18.
- 167 Desroches-Noblecourt 1963, p.186, believing Tiy to be king's mother rather than grandmother as is generally assumed; see also p.65, 100.
- 168 Rowe 1940, p.627; Nachtergaele 1980, p.243 and Nachtergaele 1981, p.602.
- 169 Rather than simple 'curl' as is often stated, eg. Desroches-Noblecourt 1963, p.65, 100, 186.
- 170 For identification of mummy of 'Elder Woman' as Tiy on basis of comparison of mummy's hair with this lock, see Harris et al. 1978 and Meltzer 1978, p.135.
- 171 Cairo CG.61085, in Smith 1912, p.90 (not illustrated).
- 172 Bruyère 1937, p.141.
- 173 Berlin 1899, p.192 and Nachtergaele 1981.

- 174 Brunton 1930 III, grave 5297, p.14, pl.XXIX.200 (pot only).
- 175 MMA.3286, only three examples having survived; thanks to Dr.C.Roehrig for access to hair and MMA. excavation notes/photographs (M3C.254g/MCC.82).
- 176 Winlock 1922, fig.4; on account of hair he assumes pit must once have held female bodies "whose false tresses and transformations were carefully wrapped up in linen cloths against the day when they would want to tie them in amongst their own scant locks to look their best at some ghostly function in the next world", p.21.
- 177 Ox.Ash.1892.626, found with a comb, acquired by G.J.Chester, 1881; thanks to Drs.H.Whitehouse & A.Tooley for access and information.
- 178 Ox.Ash.1881.61, acquired by G.J.Chester, thanks again to Drs.H.Whitehouse & A.Tooley for access and information.
- 179 Brunton & Englebach 1927.
- 180 Ox.Ash.1921.1332, tomb No.605, no reference in Brunton & Englebach 1927, p.16-17, see Bell 1985, p.66, pl.II.
- 181 Bell 1985, p.66.
- 182 MM.No.6706, tomb No.67, no reference to hair in Brunton & Englebach 1927, p.12; thanks to Dr.A.R.David for access.
- 183 Karlin in Vercoutter 1970, p.312, see also Pinch 1993, p.45.
- 184 eg. BME.A.55138, in Peet & Woolley 1923 I, p.66.
- 185 No mention in Petrie 1890, p.32.
- 186 MM.No.6729-6730, in Crompton 1916, p.128, pl.XVI and Lucas 1989, p.31.

THIRD INTERMEDIATE PERIOD

1)Mummy Hair

Male bodies display a variety of styles ranging from the shaven head to long curls. The body of minor priest Horemkenesi¹ and an unnamed priest of Amun from the Deir el-Bahari cache² both have shaven heads. Two male bodies at Matmar were found to have short curly hair³, and in the case of the High Priest and General-in-Chief Masahirti "the hair of the scalp is...short and white; but it is now thickly smeared with a resinous material"⁴. The priest Nesipakaf also had short, "well-trimmed" white hair 1 cm in length, but with a balding posterior parietal region⁵.

A longer style was worn by the High Priest Pinudjem II⁶, and the abundant hair of Djedptahefankh is described as having been "left long and...thickly plastered with resin. It is of a reddish brown colour. Much of it is curled into pendant wisps, each about 0m.015mill. in diameter, which are so disposed that they cover the ears and part of the masseteric region; while a few stray curls hang down behind"⁷, Smith also noting that "there is no trace of grey or any thinning in the hair of the head"⁸.

A young man from the Deir el-Medina necropolis had "dark brown hair forming large curls averaging 1-2cm"⁹, whilst the "light-brown hair, forming curls of a medium large diameter (12-16mm)" are included as one of the features Strouhal believes "point to a Negroid component" in the case of a male body aged 25-35 years¹⁰. Other unprovenanced examples exhibit mid-length hair of a predominantly straight¹¹ or occasionally wavy structure¹².

Female styles are equally varied, and again include the shaven head as noted in the case of the well preserved body of Teye discovered at Deir el-Bahari¹³. Thinning hair is also apparent, the 12cm. white curls of priestess Nesitetnebtai described as "very scanty" on the top of her head¹⁴, with a "bald vertex and scanty fringe of grey hair" found beneath the wig of Queen Nodjmet¹⁵. The "scanty grey locks" of the 70 year old Princess Nany had been touched up with dye¹⁶, and a small bald patch on the head of the priestess Tausertemsutenpa "skilfully concealed by an arrangement of hair and thick layer of paste" made from yellow ochre¹⁷.

As accurately portrayed in artistic representations, short styles are becoming rather popular. Taourhit, Chantress of Amun and wife of High Priest Masahirti, was found to have a short natural style "freely intermingled with white"¹⁸, whilst the hair of Nesitanebashru, Priestess of Amun, is described as "brown, and wavy, and arranged in short curls which hang downward, some of them reaching midway down to the neck. The hair was not pulled down over the ears in the usual manner"¹⁹. The mummified head of a woman aged between 30 and 50 years from the Deir el-Medina necropolis retained "predominantly straight" hair²⁰, whilst other unprovenanced female bodies display short, slightly waved dark brown hair in the case of a woman aged between 50 and 70 years²¹, another of similar age with "dark brown hair...preserved almost wholly"²² and a 14-16 year old having "wavy dark brown hair"²³.

Of bodies from the Matmar necropolis, "the colour, description and length of hair of the females was noted in many instances" ²⁴ . Four examples had hair described as "very short" ²⁵ whilst another four had "short hair" ²⁶, with a wavy structure noted in twelve cases ²⁷ and curls in eight more ²⁸. The hair measured ranged from 5-36cm, giving an average length of 18.95cm ²⁹ (Appendix B.3). Long hair is also found amongst the upper sections of society, the 38cm long hair of the priestess Tauhert "still retaining its natural lustre" ³⁰ whilst that of an unnamed colleague is described as long and white ³¹.

Rather more complex styles include that of the priestess Nesitkhonsu whose hair had been "carefully plaited in ropes" ³², the greying dark brown hair of Queen Maatkare having been "parted in the middle and arranged in very loose plaits, or in some cases left in the form of wavy strands, which were brought round the sides of the face, covering the ears to form a large mass under the chin. The ends of many of the plaits had blobs of solid material (resinous paste) attached to them. Two very loosely plaited wisps of hair were carefully arranged, one on each side of the forehead immediately in front of the main mass of the hair, so as to produce the appearance of a curled fringe" ³³, or more accurately the side braids familiar in artistic representation. The longer bipartite style of Queen Nesikhons "hangs down as far as the front of the chest. There are a few small plaits, but most of the hair consists of simple wavy strands. Most of these have been collected into two large masses, each of which is held together by means of a bandage wound spirally around it" ³⁴.

At Matmar one female body was found with her "very dark brown hair (20 cms.long) in a quantity of small plaits" ³⁵ whilst another wore "two plaits 18cms. long" ³⁶; other styles included "brown hair up to 36 cms.long tied in two groups of thirteen and eleven small tresses" ³⁷, "hair in a quantity of small tresses held together by some adhesive (mud?)" ³⁸ and "dark brown hair up to 20 cms.long in tresses held together by mud apparently" ³⁹.

Brunton also recorded the styles of three female children, a 13 year old found with "very short curly hair" ⁴⁰, another with "short straight reddish-brown hair" ⁴¹ whilst a third aged 10 years had "hair 25 cms.long in a number of small tresses" ⁴².

2) False Hair

During this period the size of men's wigs increased considerably, with a number from the cache found in the Deir el-Bahari tomb of Inhapi (TT.320) providing the largest examples of the Egyptian wigmaker's art ⁴³ (fig.793- 799).

Seven of these wigs are set in the familiar double style ⁴⁴, and although Lucas states that they are "so similar in appearance as to be practically identical" ⁴⁵, their curled upper sections are of varying proportions and the plaited underpanels of widely differing length and thickness (fig.793-799). He goes on to described them as "all of very large size; they are covered in a mass of small curls and have a number of long, narrow plaits hanging down behind...On a close examination it was found that in the interior of...these wigs there are small rounded bundles of reddish-brown fibre, manifestly put in as padding in order to economise hair" ⁴⁶. He identifies these as fibres from the crown of the date palm ⁴⁷, and following further microscopic examination of the hair declares that "it is undoubtedly human hair in every case",

disproving earlier references to horsehair and wool ⁴⁸. The beeswax which was also extracted had been "used to enable the hair to be curled and plaited and to make the curls and plaits permanent" ⁴⁹.

Laskowska-Kusztal describes the construction of these "perruques géantes" in further detail, referring to the use of "petits réseaux tressés de cheveux pour renforcer les longs faisceaux de nattes retombant en arrière. Dans la perruque 'f' [(fig.797)] les nattes passent par le bout des éléments verticaux du réseau. Dans la perruque 'a' [(fig.794)], certaines bandes de cheveux verticales sont tressées en une fine natte reliant les fils horizontaux du réseau tandis que les autres pendent en une natte épaisse" ⁵⁰.

A further wig to be included with the above "has become so compact and firmly fixed in the box in which it was buried, that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to remove" ⁵¹ (fig.800). It is described in the Journal d'Entrée as "Boîte à perruque cachetée au nom de Ramen Kheper; trouvaille de Deir el-Bahari, juillet 1881" ⁵², and in the Cairo Museum Guide 1892 as "Boîte renfermant une perruque de grande taille en poil de mouton noir et en cheveux mêlés. Au moment de la découverte elle était encore maintenue par deux sceaux en terre sigillaire au nom du grand prêtre d'Ammon Menkhopirri; la perruque était destinée par conséquent à la reine Isimkheb, femme de ce personnage" ⁵³. Lucas examined the wig in situ due to its fragile nature, and again found it to be made up of human hair, although in this case without stuffing. He states that the visible sections were "made up into small curls and plaits" ⁵⁴, and that the wig "is of very large size and is covered with small curls and has long narrow plaits behind" ⁵⁵.

However, this is a description of the exclusively male double style, and since the wig was actually found in a box bearing the name of Menkheperre rather than that of his wife Isimkheb, the wig must certainly have belonged to him ⁵⁶ (despite statements to the contrary influenced by the initial mistake in the Museum Guide and repeated by Lucas and others ⁵⁷).

The wig which had belonged to Isimkheb was found alongside that of her husband and is a much smaller example (fig.793, fig.801), in keeping with women's hair fashions of the time ⁵⁸. Lucas states that it "is very different from the other wigs of the same series. It consists of a mass of small brown curls; is of much smaller size than the other wigs and is free from any stuffing...On microscopic examination the material is found to be human hair...mostly of a light brown colour" ⁵⁹. Garetto adds that "i suoi capelli non lunghi, ma corti e fittissimi, ricoprivano con una elegante calotta tutta la testa, inanellati in corti riccioletti pettinati con cura, che ancor oggi hanno quasi tutti conservato la piega originaria" ⁶⁰.

Other female bodies in the cache were also found with wigs. The priestess Nesitkhonsu had been buried with "a large wig of brown frizzy hair placed on the right side of the head and face" over her own abundant plaits ⁶¹, and an unnamed individual was found with a wig behind the head and another under the feet ⁶² (recalling the two aforementioned wigs of Hontempet). Another anonymous woman had been buried with her wig in a box ⁶³, whilst a further individual had been provided with a box containing two wigs and two pairs of sandals ⁶⁴.

The popularity of short styles is further reflected in the wigs of royal women, the style of the aforementioned Taourhit "arranged in curls, probably a wig. Her own hair is freely mingled with white, but there are very few white hairs on the part which seems to be the wig. One of the curls passes down on to the right eyebrow" ⁶⁵.

The wig of Princess Nany, Chantress of Amun, is a much more sturdy example, and is possibly the best preserved of all Egyptian wigs ⁶⁶ (fig.802-804). It was found at the head of her wrapped mummy which made up an intrusive burial in the XVIIIth dynasty tomb of Queen MeryetAmun at Deir el-Bahari (No.65) ⁶⁷. Winlock states that "we had found Entiu-ny's [Nany's] mummy lying in her coffin, at her head a spare [sic] wig, remarkably preserved but almost solidified with the still sticky pomade with which it had been soaked" ⁶⁸. It is made of plaited braids of human hair, which vary in length from 15cm in front to 25cm at the back, an arrangement radiating out from a centre parting (fig.803) to create a layered effect when worn (fig.802). The foundation is formed by the braids having been "woven into linen string to form a caul, or cap, much like a modern wig" ⁶⁹. As in other examples, "the plaits [were] probably treated with beeswax to set them, each ends in a little roll set with wax [(fig.804)]. [The] Whole [is] permeated with grease, still soft" ⁷⁰, and due to this generous resin/wax coating the entire wig is remarkably flexible with none of the brittleness generally associated with more desiccated examples.

The use of linen string is extended in the wig of Nany's sister Henttawy, being the only construction material employed. Smith states that "Upon the head is a wig made of black string, representing hair parted in the middle and framing the face after the manner of the real hair in Makeri's [Maatkare] mummy. It is composed of loosely-coiled spirals, each about 0m.005 mill.in diameter and 0m.350 mill. long. The lower ends (from 0m.04 cent. to 0m.10 cent. in different cases) are tightly coiled to form rope-like strands, which are brought around under the chin, where they are clumped together in a thick mass" ⁷¹, although when extended they would have hung down in tripartite form. It is also noted that a fine length of plaited hair extends around the hair-line at right angles to that which makes up the centre parting.

This longer style of wig is also worn by the mummy of Queen Nodjmet, wife of Herihor, and is described as "an artificial wig, consisting of an elaborate arrangement of long plaits, tied (as in the case of Hent-em-pet's wig) to strings to form three sides of a square. The wig consists of brown hair" ⁷², the ends of the plaited braids once again set by pellets of resin/wax. The centre parting of the wig appears to have been pulled apart (during pillaging?) to expose the bare head beneath, and a long thin side braid is visible on the left side of the face. A further, unique example of false hair is noted in the case of the queen's eyebrows, which have been replaced by "a pencil of hair" over each eye ⁷³.

3) Loose Hair

In the case of one of the bodies in the XXIIInd dynasty Illahun tomb of Tarat and Tabakem, singers of Amun Ra, "the hair had been cut off, and lay in a truss beneath the head" ⁷⁴, whilst in a grave at Matmar, "a little human hair" had been found near the right elbow of an 8 year old child ⁷⁵.

- 1 Bristol Museum Reg.No.HA.7386, in el-Mahdy 1989, p.98-99.
- 2 Smith & Dawson 1924, fig.38.
- 3 Brunton 1948, grave 796, "male with short curly black hair", p.76, 80 and grave 1261, "male with short, light brown hair", p.78, 80.
- 4 Cairo CG.61092, in Smith 1912, p.106, pl.LXXIX.
- 5 Smith 1903, No.1, p.156.
- 6 Cairo CG.61094, in Smith 1912, p.107, pl.LXXXI (although no reference to hair).
- 7 Cairo CG.61097, in Smith 1912, p.114, 112-116, pl.LXXXIX-XCII.
- 8 Smith 1912, p.113.
- 9 Prague Hrdlicka Museum of Man Inv.No.15/13, XXI dyn, in Strouhal & Vyhnánek 1979, No.31, p.75-77, fig.41-42.
- 10 Prague Náprstek Museum Inv.No.P.2463, XXI-XXV dyn, in Strouhal & Vyhnánek 1979, No.40, p.87-90, fig.61-62.
- 11 eg. Prague Náprstek Museum Inv.No.569, 50-60 year old man, XXI-XXV dyn, in Strouhal & Vyhnánek 1979, No.33, "lightly brown to rusty brown hair is preserved...without signs of graying", p.77-80, fig.45-46; Prague Náprstek Museum Inv.No.P.572, 50-60 year old man, XXI-XXV dyn, in Strouhal & Vyhnánek 1979, No.35, "remains of straight dark brown hair" p.81, fig.49-50 and Prague Náprstek Museum Inv.No.P.573, 50-70 year old man, XXI-XXV dyn, in Strouhal & Vyhnánek 1979, No.36, "remains of straight rusty-coloured hair are present", p.81-83, fig.51-52.
- 12 eg. Prague Náprstek Museum Inv.No.P.571, 20-30 year old man, XXI-XXV dyn, in Strouhal & Vyhnánek 1979, No.34, "lightly waved dark-brown hair", p.80, fig.47-48 and Prague Náprstek Museum Inv.No.P.2889, 40-50 year old man(?), XXI-XXV dyn, in Strouhal & Vyhnánek 1979, No.43, p.93-94, fig.63-64.
- 13 Winlock 1926, fig.30, p.25.
- 14 Smith 1903, No.2, p.157.
- 15 Cairo CG.61087, in Smith 1912, p.97, pl.LXXI.
- 16 Winlock 1930, p.19.
- 17 Smith 1906, p.158.
- 18 Cairo CG.61091, in Smith 1912, p.105, pl.LXXVII-LXXVIII.
- 19 Cairo CG.61096, in Smith 1912, p.109-111, pl.LXXXV-LXXVIII; Harris & Wente 1980, fig.1.16, p.46 and Ceram 1962, p.145-146.
- 20 Prague Hrdlicka Museum of Man Inv.No.15/8, XXI dynasty, in Strouhal & Vyhnánek 1979, No.29, p.72-74, fig.37-38.
- 21 Prague Náprstek Museum Inv.No.P.634, XXI-XXV dynasty, in Strouhal & Vyhnánek 1979, No.8, p.38-41, fig.5, 12-13.
- 22 Prague Náprstek Museum Inv.No.P.624.b, "probably XXIst dynasty", in Strouhal & Vyhnánek 1979, No.11, p.45-47, fig.16, 19-20.
- 23 Prague Náprstek Museum Inv.No.P.2888, XXI-XXV dynasty, in Strouhal & Vyhnánek 1979, No.42, p.91-93, fig.65-68.
- 24 Brunton 1948, p.80.

- 25 Brunton 1948, cemetery 700.xlvii, p.74; grave 743, p.75; grave 1249, p.77 and grave 1263, p.78.
- 26 Brunton 1948, grave 710, p.74; grave 785, p.76; grave 1228, p.77 and grave 1273, p.78.
- 27 Brunton 1948, p.80 (although here he gives 13 as he includes a child), grave 706, p.74; grave 725 and grave 763, p.75; grave 785, p.76; grave 1202, grave 1203, grave 1241 and grave 1249, p.77; grave 1253, grave 1256, grave 1283 and grave 1292, p.78.
- 28 Brunton 1948, p.80 (again includes a child to give 9 cases), cemetery 700. xlvi, grave 704, p.74; grave 741 and grave 743, p.75; grave 766, p.75-76; grave 1223 and grave 1228, p.77, and grave 1273, p.78.
- 29 Brunton 1948, 5cm = grave 1292, p.78; 8cm = grave 1223, p.77 and grave 1253, p.78; 15cm = grave 741 and grave 763, p.75, also grave 1202, p.77; 18cm = grave 1203 and grave 1226, p.77, also grave 1256, p.78; 20cm = grave 706, p.74; grave 726, grave 746 and grave 748, p.75, also grave 1241, p.77; 23cm = grave 766, p.75-76; 24cm = grave 704, p.74; 25cm = grave 1283, p.78; 32cm = grave 781, p.76; 36cm = grave 745, p.75; body in grave 724 simply described as "long", p.75.
- 30 Cairo JE.29737 in Smith 1903, No.4, p.160; also Daressy 1907, p.35 and Müller 1960, p.156.
- 31 Cairo JE.29738, in Daressy 1907, p.33.
- 32 Smith 1903, No.3, p.158.
- 33 Cairo CG.61088, in Smith 1912, p.99, 98-101, pl.LXXII, also Müller 1960, p.56.
- 34 Cairo CG.61095, in Smith 1912, p.109, 107-109, pl.LXXXII-LXXXIV.
- 35 Brunton 1948, grave 726, p.75.
- 36 Brunton 1948, grave 1226, p.77, 80.
- 37 Brunton 1948, grave 745, p.75, 80.
- 38 Brunton 1948, grave 746, p.75, 80.
- 39 Brunton 1948, grave 748, p.75, 80.
- 40 Brunton 1948, grave 1244, p.77.
- 41 Brunton 1948, grave 708, p.74.
- 42 Brunton 1948, grave 763, p.75, 80.
- 43 Cairo JE.26252.a-g, (nb. all except JE.26252.e in Room 12, display case L, upper row L-R: JE.26252.c/Ex.No.4070, JE.26252.f/Ex.No.4075, JE.26252.b/Ex.No.4076, JE.26252.d/Ex.No.4071 and lower row L-R: JE.26252.a/Ex.No.4068, JE.26252.g/Ex.No.4073; see Lucas 1930, p.190-192; Lucas 1989, p.30; Eisa 1948, pl.II (left) and Laskowska-Kusztal 1978, p.111.
- 44 Fletcher 1994, p.33 and Fletcher 1994(ii), p.133.
- 45 Lucas 1930, p.190.
- 46 Lucas 1930, and whilst stating that 26252.a "could not be examined without damaging the wig...it seems highly probable that it is the same as the other six", p.190; also Lucas 1989, p.30.
- 47 Lucas 1930, p.191.
- 48 Lucas 1930, p.192-194 and Lucas 1989, p.30, having been described as "laine" in Journal d'Entrée; also Erman 1894 "a mixture of black sheep's wool and human hair", p.225, note 1 and Cairo Museum Guide 1910, "horsehair", p.441.
- 49 Lucas 1930, p.191; also Lucas 1989, p.30-31.

- 50 Laskowska-Kusztal 1978, p.111.
- 51 Cairo JE.26270/Ex.No.4069, in Lucas 1930, p.193.
- 52 Quoted in Lucas 1930, p.192.
- 53 Quoted in Lucas 1930, p.192-193.
- 54 Lucas 1930, p.193.
- 55 Lucas 1989, p.30.
- 56 Fletcher 1994, p.33 and Fletcher 1994(ii), p.133.
- 57 Cairo Museum Guide 1892, No.1206, p.309 in Lucas 1930, p.192-193; Lucas 1989, "the wig of Queen Isimkhebe...is of very large size and is covered with small curls and has long narrow plaits behind", p.30; Erman 1894, "the wig of a queen", p.225, note 1; Griffith 1970, "female wigs were larger", p.269, note 1, and Corson 1980, "high-ranking women wore exceedingly large wigs", p.25.
- 58 Cairo JE.26252.h/Ex.No.4072, referred to as Isimkheb's wig in Brugsch & Maspero 1881, p.29, pl.28; Ceram 1962, p.143; Garetto 1955, p.67; Fletcher 1994, p.33; Fletcher 1994(ii), p.133 and Fletcher in James & Thorpe 1994, p.269; referred to as wig of Princess Nesikhons in Edwards 1891, p.5, with owner's name not stated in Milton 1980, p.50; Lucas 1930, p.192 and Eisa 1948, pl.II.b (on right, showing size compared to a double wig).
- 59 Lucas 1930, p.192, also Lucas 1989, p.30.
- 60 Garetto 1955, p.67.
- 61 Smith 1903, No.3, p.158.
- 62 Cairo (no number given), in Daressy 1907, No.116, p.30.
- 63 Cairo JE.29699, in Daressy 1907, No.17, p.21.
- 64 Athens Museum (formerly Cairo JE.29681), in Daressy 1907, No.72, p.26.
- 65 Cairo CG.61091, in Smith 1912, p.105, pl.LXXVII-LXXVIII and Müller 1960, p.56.
- 66 MMA.30.3.35, in Winlock 1930, fig.22-23, p.19; Winlock 1932, p.55, 81-82; Scott 1980, p.28; Müller 1960, p.57; Fletcher 1994(ii), p.133; Corson 1980, fig.3, p.26 (captioned "Egyptian woman's wig", whilst fig.4, p.29 representing male-style Berlin wig here mistakenly referred to as "wig of Entiu-ny"), also accurate reconstruction pl.5.I, p.40-41; many thanks to Dr.C.Roehrig and MMA. staff for access and information.
- 67 Winlock 1929, fig.24, p.22; Winlock 1930, fig.22-23, p.19 and Winlock 1932, p.55, 81-82.
- 68 Winlock 1930, p.19.
- 69 Scott 1980, p.28.
- 70 MMA. record card, 1981; thanks to Dr.C.Roehrig for information.
- 71 Cairo CG.61090, in Smith 1912, p.103, 101-104, pl.LXXV-LXXVI; also Smith & Dawson 1924, fig.33, p.117; Pennsylvania 1980, No.62, p.60; Fletcher 1994(ii), p.133; Harris & Weeks 1973, p.20, 173 and Harris & Wente 1980, fiche 5.D.9, and D.10 for restored features.
- 72 Cairo CG.61087, in Smith 1912, p.96, 94-98, pl.LXIX-LXXI; also Harris & Weeks 1973, p.48; Harris & Wente 1980, fiche 5.D.8; Fletcher 1994(ii), p.133 and Haynes 1992, comparing this plaited style to those of modern Nubian women, fig.57-58, p.53.
- 73 Smith 1912, p.96.
- 74 Petrie 1891, p.27 (although which body not specified).

LATE PERIOD

1) Mummy Hair

The shaven head is found on the mummies of priest Bakenren ¹, priestess Asru ² (fig.805) and an unnamed adult female ³, with short blond hair found on the head of an unprovenanced mummified body of unspecified sex ⁴.

2) False Hair

Fragments described as "Three bits of artificial wig(?), black, and a piece of black woven material" ⁵ were discovered in temple 'T' of Taharka at Kawa ⁶. They consist of two large tassels 14cm long and firmly bound at one end, a third tassel with a plait running through its length, and a 7cm wide fragment of close-weave fibre, all of which have a fragile, silky texture. Detailed examination and SEM analysis have proved that these are in fact fragments of linen blackened and carbonised by heat ⁷ rather than samples of an extruded fibre such as silk as initially supposed ⁸. The tassels are unlikely to have come from a wig, and are most likely part of ceremonial vestments of a later date.

3) Loose Hair

Four plaited fragments of hair were found inside a 30cm.long terracotta sarcophagus discovered in an intrusive infant burial in a New Kingdom tomb at Soleb ⁹, reminiscent of the lock of Tiy's hair interred within a miniature sarcophagus in the tomb of Tutankhamen (fig.783). A set of unprovenanced braids found inside a small basket consist of 10cm lengths of partly plaited, dark brown hair set in small bunches with tightly curled ends ¹⁰ (fig.806), and an unspecified "quantity of human hair" was found at the 'West Dump' site at Sakkara ¹¹.

- 1 Stockholm Museum of Mediterranean & Near Eastern Studies, c.600 BC, unprovenanced, in David ed. 1986, fig.6, p.335-338.
- 2 MM.No.1777, XXV dyn(?), Luxor(?), in David ed. 1978, p.59 and David ed. 1979, p.5, pl.7.
- 3 MM.No.1976.51.a, XXV dyn(?), Luxor(?), in David ed. 1979, p.5, pl.5.
- 4 Berlin Inv.31.297-2.
- 5 BM.EA.63624, in Griffith's record book of Nubian material; see also Macadam & Griffith 1955 II, No.0695, p.202, pl.CIV.I; thanks to Dr.J.H.Taylor for access and information.
- 6 These fragments are "not likely to be earlier in date than the seventh century BC. Additions to the temple were being made by Meroitic rulers at least as late as the end of the first century BC. Hence the wig(?) fragments could be as late as this, but an even later date cannot be ruled out", Dr.J.Taylor, pers.comm.28.2.91.
- 7 Thanks to Dr.W.Cooke and staff at UMIST SEM Unit.
- 8 Introduction of silk to west via China generally dated to c.300 BC, although this date may be questioned following discovery of XXIst(?) dyn. female mummy from Deir el-Medina with single strand of silk in its hair, in Lubec et al. 1993, p.25.
- 9 Schiff-Giorgini et al. 1971 II, fig.174, 179, p.122, 124.
- 10 Ox.Ash.Q.L.1158, thanks to Dr.A.Tooley for information, pers.comm.18.4.91.
- 11 Martin 1981, "Late Period and Ptolemaic Period" finds, No.686, p.63.

PTOLEMAIC PERIOD

1) Mummy Hair

Shaven heads are noted in a number of cases ¹, Leek noting that in one example "there is a complete absence of hair, lost before completion of mummification, for there are traces of gilding from nose to posterior part of the skull" ².

The male fashion for short hair is observed in the case of a well preserved head complete with eyelashes, beard and moustache ³ (fig.807), and one example exhibits a clearly receding hair-line ⁴.

Following detailed analysis the "fine, thinned, scanty, and short" ⁵ hair of an unprovenanced female head is described as "approximately three to four inches in length, has a straight spatial configuration, is medium in texture, lacks variation in diameter, and is red in colour" as a result of the originally brown hair being coated in an amorphous substance (possibly wax and/or resin) containing red pigment ⁶. Furthermore, Smith and Dawson state that the hair of mummies they examined, "if not matted in resinous material, was usually intact, and in the case of women long and flowing" ⁷. Rather more elaborate styling techniques are also to be found, with the head of a 16-18 year old female exhibiting long "hair in immaculate condition", pulled back from the front and set with a resinous substance(?) in an upswept chignon style ⁸. A partly gilded female head has "curly reddish brown hair, parted in the middle" ⁹ and possibly artificially waved (fig.808), and in the case of a further example from Mostagedda, "The hair was parted in front down the middle of the head, carried back on either side, and ended in two spiral plaits or tresses bound in coarse blue cloth" ¹⁰

Children generally have their hair in a simple short style, as noted from the mummy of a 5-6 year old boy ¹¹ (fig.809).

2) False Hair

The lack of examples of false hair is quite in keeping with the contemporary fashion for 'natural' styles as found in artistic representations ¹².

3) Loose Hair

Despite a lack of tangible evidence, literary evidence reveals that women of the Ptolemaic royal house offered locks of their hair to the gods following Greek tradition, Berenice II dedicating a lock of her hair in the Alexandrian temple of Aphrodite Zephyritis in 246 BC following the safe return of her husband Ptolemy III from war ¹³, her daughter Arsinoe III likewise dedicating one of her locks to Artemis before the battle of Raphia in 217 BC ¹⁴.

It would also appear that during the Graeco-Roman period it became popular for women to substitute an elaborately coiffured terracotta head (6-8cm. high) as an offering, rather than cutting off their own hair ¹⁵.

- 1 eg. PUM.II, Pennsylvania University Museum L.55-15, c.170 BC, in Pennsylvania 1980, No.106.a, p.88 and Cockburn et al. 1975, "PUM II was completely bald [sic], possibly shaved", p.1156.
- 2 Liverpool Merseyside County Museum No.15.2.07.2, unprovenanced, in Leek 1969, pl.XXV.1; thanks to Dr.A.R.David for confirming Ptolemaic date on basis of facial gilding, also Freed 1987(ii), p.21, 23.
- 3 MM.No.5275, said to be Ptolemaic(?) by Smith, unprovenanced, in David ed. 1979, p.11.
- 4 Smith & Dawson 1924, fig.41, "Head of a Ptolemaic mummy".
- 5 Memphis State University Institute of Egyptian Art and Archaeology, in Bell et al. 1987, p.33, see fig.11, p.34.
- 6 Lahren 1987, fig.10, p.37-38.
- 7 Smith & Dawson 1924, p.124.
- 8 UC.31698, unprovenanced, in Leek 1969, pl.XXIV.1, also Petrie 1937, No.330, p.18.
- 9 Leiden Inv.F.96/5.1, acquired on Leiden art market in 1896; thanks to Dr.M.J.Raven, pers.comm.1.7.91.
- 10 Brunton 1937, grave 3413, p.137.
- 11 Stonyhurst Mummy, on loan to Manchester Museum from Stonyhurst College, Lancashire, in David & Tapp ed. 1984, p.24, 52-53.
- 12 Contrary to comments regarding hair of Ptolemaic female, "it may have been cut short for comfort...Outside she would have worn a wig...", in Freed 1987(ii), p.22, with reconstruction of style, fig.67, p.84.
- 13 Frazer 1972 II, p.1023, note 105; Maehler in Smith & Hall ed. 1983, p.92; Pomeroy 1984, p.20, 36; Nachtergaeel 1980, p.240-253 and Nachtergaeel 1981, p.585; see also Cattulus' 'Aetia' 110, trans. Trypanis 1968, p.161-165.
- 14 Nachtergaeel 1980, p.240, note 3.
- 15 Graindor 1939, Nos.41-43, p.116-123, pl.16; also Nachtergaeel 1980, "ces têtes auraient été substituées à de véritables cheveux", p.248, also 247-249, 252-253.

ROMAN/COPTIC PERIOD

1) Mummy Hair

Male bodies are generally found with short hair, that of an elderly male aged 50-70 years from Kharga described as short "straight hair, slightly waved, of a partly dark-brown, partly grey colour" ¹, whilst other examples exhibit balding crowns ². Male bodies from the C.6th AD Ibrim and Kostol cemeteries exhibit black wavy hair of short to medium length ³, some having curly hair which is "not typically Negro", except in one reported case in which the hair is very short and tightly curled ⁴.

Female bodies from the Kharga necropolis have hair of varying lengths, from the short ⁵ and balding ⁶ to quite long styles ⁷. Very long hair was noted in the case of a C.5th AD. female mummy found at Antinoë ⁸, and at Kharga "certaines femmes ont conservé de longs cheveux bouclés" ⁹, including one who had long hair bound up in a chignon ¹⁰ and another with plaited hair wound around the head ¹¹. A similar example from Hawara dated to c.340 AD has "abundant hair, dressed up and fixed by four hair-pins" ¹² (fig.810), the thick brown hair taken back and plaited into a single braid which was then coiled around the crown into a bun secured with hair-pins, similar pins from Roman burials at Qau and Badari "as a rule, found in the hair of women" ¹³. Short plaits are noted on an unprovenanced female(?) head ¹⁴ (fig.811), and in the case of a late (or post-) Meroitic burial of a woman(?) at Wadi Gabati "the full head of hair had been preserved. The hair was dark brown and arranged in long twisted strands..." ¹⁵.

Male children generally have short, straight hair, as noted in the case of Pasheryentaihet ¹⁶ (fig.812) and an unnamed boy ¹⁷, whilst female children exhibit a wider range of styles, from the short and straight ¹⁸ to short and curled ¹⁹, in addition to longer forms including shoulder-length "cheveux ondulés" ²⁰. They also adopt more adult styles on occasion, such as "la très belle coiffure d'une momie de petite fille" from Kharga described as "un chignon de tresses soigneusement enroulées sur la sommet de la tête, et parfaitement conservées" ²¹. A 5 year old child of unspecified sex from Ibrim had short, straight hair with "a tuft of long hair on the crown similar to that on the heads of children of bedouin at the present day" ²² and reminiscent of the ancient sidelock.

2) False Hair

The wig's function as a head-covering is largely superseded by the use of hairnets, veils, headcloths, caps (fig.811) and hats ²³, with wigs constructed from a variety of materials in addition to human hair.

A 'wig' which makes up part of the costume of a sem priest was found in the Theban tomb of Tentwero who died in 61 AD, possibly having been worn during her funerary rites (fig.813-814). However, "being late, the vestments are only imitations of what an earlier priest would have worn. Instead of a wig, the headdress is a stiff casque of linen coated with gesso modelled on the lines of the earlier sem-priest's thickly curled hair with the characteristic plaited lock on the right side" ²⁴, with gilding on both the sidelock and the rosette on the crown.

Two other wigs dated to the Roman period would seem to have been found in a domestic context. The first, found by Grenfell and Hunt in a house at Harit, is described as "a mass of corkscrew curls on a plaited base" ²⁵ (fig.815), most unusually with a short pigtail hanging down at the back (fig.816). It is rather drab in colour "and manifestly is not hair of any sort. On microscopic examination the material is seen to consist of vegetable fibre of a single kind" ²⁶, and rather than the smooth rounded fibres of the date palm ²⁷, Lucas states that it is some sort of grass, the surface of which was coated in a small amount of beeswax.

The second wig is simply described in the Cairo Museum Temporary Register as "Perruque faite en mèches de fibres de dattier(?)" ²⁸ (fig.817), and indeed does consist entirely of date palm fibre. Resembling the grass wig in appearance, its curled locks are shorter and thicker and the general structure somewhat taller. No beeswax was found on the small sample analysed by Lucas, although this does not rule out its use on other parts of the wig ²⁹.

As Cox has noted, "it seems that the Romans, with their close contact with Egypt and its civilisation were afforded ample opportunity to be influenced by the Egyptian wig" ³⁰, and although human hair was generally employed in the wide-scale wig production throughout the Roman world ³¹ (*capillameus*, full-head wig and *galerus*, 'half' wig ³²), wigs made from the locally available vegetable fibre have also been found at Romano-British sites ³³.

Wigs made of both string and human hair have been found in a funerary context, the first, rather crude example being made of undyed string, set in a strip arrangement and attached to the head of the wrapped mummy of a small child of unspecified sex dated to the Roman period ³⁴ (fig.818).

Two similar strip-like examples made of human hair and linen string were discovered in female burials in the Kharga necropolis. In the first example, the burial was initially thought to be that of "une femme paraissant relativement âgée. L'âge probablement avancé de ce sujet s'appuie sur l'existence d'une calvitie compensée imparfaitement par une perruque. Toutefois l'étude radiographique montre à l'inverse que l'âge de ce sujet ne dépassait pas de beaucoup 20 ans! Ceci évoque la momie 20.2.1.4 [discussed below] si la cause du décès n'apparaît pas, toutefois la présence d'une perruque chez cette femme jeune conduit à faire les mêmes supposition que pour la momie sus-citée, à savoir la possibilité d'une typhoïde" ³⁵.

In the second case involving a young girl of approximately 7 years old, "la découverte d'une perruque recouvrant des cheveux courts et poussant en désordre a permis d'évoquer une cause de décès médicale: en effet, on sait que, dans ses formes prolongées, la typhoïde peut entraîner la chute des cheveux puis leur repousse. C'est peut-être ce qui s'est produit avec notre petite fille. Cette hypothèse est confortée par le fait que la perruque était maintenue par une cordelette de lin passant sous le menton, sans souci esthétique particulier. Il est ainsi possible que cette perruque n'ait pas été portée du vivant de l'enfant" ³⁶.

In addition to wigs, smaller hairpieces were also constructed from human hair, an example from Gurob forming a false front of plaited hair into which 62 bronze pins had been inserted³⁷ (fig.819-820). Its rigid crescent shape is formed by the skilful arrangement of the pins set at an angle into the hair, which itself is made up of two rolled sections plaited together and secured with fine hair strands and resin. It takes the form of an 'orbis', "a striking arrangement...in which the front hair was arranged on a crescent shaped wire frame"³⁸. It has been described as "probably the only example surviving of well-known hairdressing at the time of Trajan"³⁹, although most likely dating to c.130-140 AD with the fashion having come slightly later to the Fayuum area⁴⁰ (fig.699-700, fig.704).

It would also appear that false braids were still in use in Coptic times, the "reddish brown" hair of a female body in an elaborate burial at Sakkara set with additional "grey plaits made up of thick and thin strands, presumably fastened to the natural hair either to eke it out or as decoration", the whole head swathed in a dozen layers of material⁴¹.

3) Loose Hair

A significant amount of loose hair samples were found in close proximity to bodies, either laid over or tucked inside the wrappings. In the case of an unwrapped female mummy from Hawara it is noted that "the long hair lies on the breast"⁴² whilst in a second example from the same site "a long mass of hair had been cut off and laid down the front of the body under the bandages"⁴³. In a similar C.2-4th AD burial at Qurna "the cut hair was found between the mummy bandages"⁴⁴, the substantial lengths of matted hair secured at the top with linen string(?) (fig.821).

An example of loose reddish-brown hair from a Romano-Coptic burial at Tanis is simply described as "human hair from a mummy"⁴⁵, and portions of loose hair wrapped in plain linen were discovered inside several terracotta vases in a C.2-3rd AD burial at Kharga⁴⁶.

- 1 Prague Hrdlicka Museum of Man Inv.No.15/9, C.4-5th AD, in Strouhal & Vyhnanek 1979, No.53, p.107-108, fig.87-88; compare with Romano-British men who occasionally wore plaits or pigtails, in Green et al. 1981, p.80-100.
- 2 eg. Dunand & Lichtenberg 1991, 55-60 year old man, p.1; 50 year old man, p.4; 40-50 year old man, p.5; 40-45 year old man, p.6 and 45-50 year old man, p.9.
- 3 Batrawi 1935, Meroitic cemetery 214, p.100 and X-group cemetery 192, No.4, p.194, pl.XXVI.4; for lice in hair of 40% of X-group population, see Armelagos 1969, fig.2, p.256.
- 4 Batrawi 1935, cemetery 193, tomb 33.K, p.174-175, pl.XXVI.1-2.
- 5 eg. body 58.1.1.7, 60 year old woman, in Dunand et al. 1992, "cheveux rares et courts", p.138, pl.32.3-4 and Dunand & Lichtenberg 1991, p.8.
- 6 eg. body 58.2.2.4, 20 year old woman with typhoid, in Dunand et al. 1992, p.142, pl.33.3-4; also see Dunand & Lichtenberg 1991, 60 year old woman, p.7.
- 7 Body 58.1.1.1, 35-40 year old woman in Dunand & Lichtenberg 1991, "sujet gracile ayant conservé de longs cheveux ondulés", p.3 and Dunand et al. 1992, p.51, pl.32.1-2, also body 58.2.2.11, 35-40 year old woman, in Dunand et al. 1992, "Les cheveux sont longs et bien conservés", p.147, pl.34.3-4.
- 8 Paris Musée de l'Homme, in Ceram 1962, p.153.
- 9 Dunand et al. 1992, p.231-232.
- 10 Body 29.1.1.13, in Dunand et al. 1992, p.231, pl.25.2.
- 11 Burial 23, referred to by N.Kajitani, MMA Head of Textile Conservation, in unpublished paper 'Headcoverings from Roman Egypt in the MMA' given to Early Textile Study Group Bi-annual Conference, Manchester 11.9.94.
- 12 UC.28072, in Petrie 1889, p.13, also Petrie 1937, No.331, p.18 and Bowman 1986, pl.6; thanks to Mrs.R.Janssen for access.
- 13 Brunton 1930 III, p.28, body from grave 1769 having two such pins in hair.
- 14 UC.28073, most likely female on account of sprang cap worn over hair; thanks to Mrs.R.Janssen for access.
- 15 Filer 1995, p.25, noting this hair "will make an interesting contribution to a forthcoming study on aspects of hair in Nubia" by Filer & Fletcher; see also reference to burial of young woman in Gabati Tumulus burial 2, "clumps of straight dark brown hair (approx.100-150mm. in length) were found under skull", in Filer 1994, p.27, pl.1.
- 16 Leiden E.XLIII.19, C.1st AD, unprovenanced.
- 17 BM.EA.30364, unprovenanced male, Roman period, in Dawson & Grey 1968, No.73, p.38.
- 18 BM.EA.30363, unprovenanced female, Roman period, in Dawson & Grey 1968, No.72, p.38; also body 20.2.1.4, 7 year old, Kharga, in Dunand et al.1992, p.51-52, pl.24.
- 19 Batrawi 1935, C.6th AD, Kostol tomb XIV, "the hair remaining on the head was black, short and curly", p.148-149, pl.VI.4.
- 20 Body 64.2.1.2, in Dunand et al. 1992, p.164, pl.35.1-3.
- 21 Body 29.1.1.13, in Dunand et al. 1992, p.232, fig.7, p.76.
- 22 Batrawi 1935, cemetery 193, tomb 19, p.30, pl.XXVI.3.
- 23 Sprang nets/veils/turbans, eg. Louvre AF.5868, in Rutschowskaya 1990, p.59 and Bourget 1963, p.338-341; Cairo JE.55204-05, plain sprang, Deir el-Bahari and Cairo JE.65770, burial No.23, Kharga; 19 examples in MMA, (8 others cloth), eg. MMA.90.5.33, striped sprang 2-tailed 'turban', C.3-7th AD female burial, Akhmim; MMA.33.10.22-23, plain sprang 'veils', C.4th AD, girl's burial No.58, Kharga; MMA.25.3.217, red sprang turban

- and MMA.25.3.218, plain sprang cloth, Roman female burial No.24, Deir el-Bahari; MMA.30.3.56, plain sprang 2-tailed 'turban', C.3-4th AD boy's burial No.39.B, Deir el-Bahari, see Winlock 1926, fig.36, p.31-32; Winlock 1929, p.32 and Scott 1939, p.229-230; thanks to Mrs.N.Kajitani for information and Dr.C.Roehrig for access; see also Brunton 1930 III, for reference to Roman bodies at Badari with "ruched hoods" of wool and linen, p.25-26; sprang caps, eg. UC.28073, Coptic(?), unprovenanced; Manchester Whitworth Gallery T.8369/T.8373/T.9864, C.5-7th AD, found by Petrie in 1897, in Cooke & Tullo 1988; Bolton 63.11.21-22, 63.11.24-25, from Karanis/Antinoë/Illahun/Mostagedda (including male burial from latter site), thanks to Mrs.A.Thomas for access and information; for Roman doll with human hair framed by sprang-effect coloured stitching, see Ox.Ash.1888.818, Hawara, in Petrie 1889, p.12, pl.XXI.3, thanks to Dr.H.Whitehouse for information; felt caps/hats of Graeco-Roman date found in male burial at Mostagedda in Brunton 1937, grave 3900, p.137; wide-brimmed felt hat, Bolton 63.11.27, Illahun, thanks to Mrs.A.Thomas for access and information; also bast-fibre cap on head of male body from late-post Meroitic tumuli burial at Wadi Gabati, in Filer 1994, p.27.
- 24 MMA.31.9.5, in Winlock 1932(ii), p.186-7; thanks to Dr.C.Roehrig for access.
- 25 Cairo JE.33434, in Lucas 1930, p.194, also Lucas 1989, p.30 and illustrated in Eisa 1948, pl.II.c (although not captioned or referred to in text); currently exhibited as 'Wig of Amunet'.
- 26 Lucas 1930, p.194.
- 27 As suggested in Cairo Journal d'Entrée, in Lucas 1930, p.194.
- 28 Cairo Temp.Reg.18:1:26:26, in Lucas 1930, p.195, also Lucas 1989, p.30 and Eisa 1948, pl.II.c; again on display as 'Wig of Amunet'.
- 29 Lucas 1930, p.195.
- 30 Cox 1977, p.70.
- 31 eg. Dayagi-Mendels 1989, "From the time of Hadrian on, it became customary to wear wigs, whether full or partial ones", p.86; Allason-Jones 1990, "False hair was often resorted to, either in the form of complete wigs or as extra tresses, particularly in the Flavian period", p.136; Balsdon 1934, p.94, refers to yellow wigs used to imitate blond hair of Gauls; see also Wilkinson 1988 II, p.329; Jackson 1988, p.54; Woodforde 1971, p.7-8 and Corson 1980, p.74.
- 32 Corson 1980, p.74; Wilkinson 1988 II, refers to *capillamentum* and *galerus*, p.329.
- 33 Two identical examples made of hair moss found at settlement sites along Hadrian's Wall; first at Newstead, initially described as 'unfinished basket', c.85 AD, in Curle 1911, pl.XV, second at commander's residence at Vindolanda, c.100 AD, in Birley ed. 1993, p.84, pl.XIII; Allason-Jones 1990, p.136 and Birley 1990, "probably a lady's hairpiece"(!), p.11; information kindly supplied by Dr.R.Birley, Director, Vindolanda Trust, pers.comm. 11.11.88 and Dr.J.Wild, Manchester University Archaeology Dept.
- 34 BM.EA.54051, unprovenanced, in Dawson & Grey 1968, No.78, p.40, pl.XXI.a-b.
- 35 Body 58.2.2.4, in Dunand et al. 1992, p.142, pl.33.3-4.
- 36 Body 20.2.1.4, in Dunand et al. 1992, p.52, pl.24.
- 37 UC.7833 (now unfortunately fragmented into 3 sections), in Petrie 1927, p.5, pl.IV and Fletcher 1994(ii), fig.223.a, p.134.
- 38 Corson 1980, p.74, fig.12, pl.21.J, p.84-85 and Fletcher 1994(ii), fig.224.b, p.134; see also Allason-Jones 1990, p.135 for description.
- 39 Petrie 1927, p.5.
- 40 For comparable situation in Roman Britain, see Allason-Jones 1990, "it is likely that Britain would be several years behind the times, and some hair-dos would continue to be popular despite the dictates of fashion", p.133.

- 41 Martin 1981, p.73-74.
- 42 Blackburn Museum & Art Gallery, in Blackburn 1888; thanks to Mr.M.Millward and Mrs.P.Scott for information.
- 43 Petrie 1891, p.27.
- 44 Copenhagen Nat.Mus.Inv.No.1038, in Kjersgaard 1968, p.33.
- 45 Bolton 94.84.16, thanks to Mrs.A.P.Thomas for access and information.
- 46 Wagner in Nachtergaeel 1981, p.605-606.

UNDATED EXAMPLES

1) Mummy Hair

Detached mummified heads exhibit a range of styles from the completely shaven to longer lengths. A number of examples have a smooth scalp ¹ (fig.822), and short straight hair of no more than a few centimetres in length is commonly found, generally coated in a resin-like substance ² (fig.823).

Longer hair is also found, as in the case of "la mummia di un giovane... aveva capelli color biondo-cenere dalla lunghezza di venti centimetri, molto fini e leggermente ondulati" ³. Other examples of long hair are noted in the case of detached heads, including one example with "long, slightly curving strands of reddish brown hair, parted in the middle" ⁴ (fig.824), and another "with long tresses of blonde hair, rather flattened to the forehead" on account of the leather head-band it originally wore ⁵ (fig.825). Long brown hair approx.15cm long emerges from beneath the wrappings of a further head, which in places appears to have been rather abruptly cut off part way down its length ⁶ (fig.826).

2) False Hair

A rather unusual example from Akhmim (fig.827-828) is described as a "Wig - possibly from a female, consisting of many plaits of human hair, for the top part of the head, with some additions in front of horse hair as a fringe; the back part is open to pass the long back hair through" ⁷, additional notes referring to "Remains of a woman's wig, of braided plaits of human hair arranged across two outer bands with tie cords attached. The long hair originally braided into the plaits is lost" ⁸, such a description assuming that only the wig base has survived.

However, close examination has found no evidence for longer hair ever having been attached, and the piece would in fact appear to be being quite complete. It consists of approximately 25 flattened plaits of 3-4mm width at the top, widening out to 1.5cm at the base, the narrow top of each attached at 0.5cm intervals to a horizontal weft of plaited hair whilst the widened lower ends leave no spaces along a second similar weft beneath. Inside this lower weft is sewn a reinforcing strip of stiffer hair-like material (possibly pinna ⁹ rather than the aforementioned horse hair) set in a scalloped arrangement, over which two small pads of softer hair have been set to provide a cushioned area for the ears. A pair of long black and orange ties are set behind these pads, with another pair at chin level and two shorter lengths interplaited and knotted around the forehead area to join both ends of the top weft, presumably serving to secure the piece in position (fig.827).

This piece is therefore most accurately described as an intricate structure of plaited hair, probably designed to be worn over the natural hair as a form of hair net which would be virtually invisible when integrated into the natural hair to form the basis of a style, a technique used in later cultures ¹⁰.

An unprovenanced sample of worked hair described as "part of an Egyptian wig" ¹¹ (fig.829) consists of a large number of tightly plaited braids of dark brown human hair between 30 and 40cm long, the top of each braid secured with substrands,

and a number fashioned into intricate compound locks (fig.830). The braids are fastened together across the top by means of yellow-orange hair(?), and further down their length with dark brown hair to create an invisible join. It would further appear that the dark brown colour is enhanced with a small amount of tannin (see Appendix A.)¹².

An interesting sample of twenty-four individual braids made of wavy dark brown human hair were found arranged in two layers of twelve, each braid measuring 3.5cm wide and between 26 and 29cm long (fig.831). Compound locks are observed part way down the length of some of the braids, and small plaits extend from the top of each presumably for attachment into the natural hair or wig¹³.

Intricate construction techniques are observed in the case of four small pieces of worked hair found with a plaited fragment at Dra Abu el-Naga, and although the smaller pieces measure no more than 4cm long they include fragmentary compound locks and a 2mm wide plait of orange hair(?) stringing three tiny plaited lengths together¹⁴ (fig.832).

3) Loose Hair

Two portions of hair and linen can reasonably be assumed to have come from mummified bodies, the first example described as "cloth and hair" consisting of a plait 11.5cm long attached to a piece of woven material 13 x 8.5cm to which small fragments of bone also adhere¹⁵. In the second case a small length of plaited hair with a small carnelian bead attached extends from one side of a piece of bandaged scalp 10.2 x 7.5cm¹⁶ (fig.833).

Other examples consist of braids wrapped in linen, in one case the small locks sealed at one end with resin found inside an oval basket¹⁷ (fig.834). A number of similar items obtained by Salt are described variously as "oval package of human hair from the mummy of a man; it has been bound up in linen which has been covered over with bitumen, 6in.L"¹⁸; "packet containing human hair apparently that of a man, in short curls tied up with linen in an oval shape...it has been embalmed separately and deposited with a mummy, 6in.L"¹⁹; "piece of the side locks of a female consisting of long thin, narrow curls plaited in the style of the wig no.2560. It has been wrapped up in linen, 10³/₄ in.L"²⁰; "part of the side hair of a wig, or of a female partly the same as no.6727 and plaited like the wig no.2560. It has been wrapped up in linen or the bandages of the mummy which are adhering to it. 10in.L"²¹; "part of the hair of a female probably taken from a mummy apparently from the back of the head placed in long thin curls like the wig no.2560"²², and "tress of hair in its bandages from a female mummy 2ft.9in.L. wrapped up in a linen bandage"²³. Another example from Thebes is described as "Hair - coil of human hair, wrapped up in mummy cloth"²⁴, and a double 'figure-of-eight' curl of resin(?) -coated red-brown hair 2.3 x 1.8cm was discovered amongst a quantity of unprovenanced linen (wrappings?)²⁵ (fig.835).

Further samples include a sizeable mass of loose wavy braids of dark brown hair²⁶ (fig.836), a similar sample labelled 'Hair of a Mummy' from Deir el- Bahari²⁷ (fig.837), a tiny plait 2mm wide and 8.7cm long found at Amarna²⁸ (fig.838), "a lock of hair from a mummy"²⁹ and a simple "curl of hair"³⁰.

- 1 eg. MM.No.22940, unprovenanced, in David ed. 1979, p.11; MM.No.21475, unprovenanced, in David ed. 1979, p.11; thanks to Dr.A.R.David for access.
- 2 eg. Newcastle Hancock Museum Aregypt 312, "the hair thick and wavy, overall length is about 40mm. It falls forward from the crown", thanks to Ms.E.Watson for information, pers.comm.11.3.92; Cambridge Macalister Collection unnumbered example, in Leek 1969, "There is a good covering of hair", pl.XXVII.1; BM.EA.6719, unprovenanced, thanks to Dr.J.Taylor for access; MM.No.EA.175.M, unprovenanced, thanks to Dr.A.R.David for access; Blackburn Museum & Art Gallery BBE.123, unprovenanced, thanks to Mr.M.Millward and Mrs.P.Scott for access and information, etc.
- 3 Garetto 1955, although unfortunately only details given are "rinvenuta da G.Maspero a Der el-Bahari", p.74.
- 4 Leiden Inv.AMM.27.b, unprovenanced, acquired from Anastasi Collection, in 1828; thanks to Dr.M.Raven for information, pers.comm.1.7.91.
- 5 Leiden Inv.F.1956/10.2, unprovenanced, donated by family of Dutch collector; thanks to Dr.M.Raven, pers.comm.1.7.91.
- 6 BM.EA.unnumbered/unprovenanced head, thanks to Dr.J.Taylor for access.
- 7 Edinburgh RMS.No.1911.270 (bought for £2 from Hilton Price Collection in 1911), in Price 1897, No.5, p.2.
- 8 Edinburgh RMS Accession List 1911, thanks to Dr.E.Goring and Ms.R.Watban for access and information.
- 9 ie. durable substance which forms hinge of mollusc shells, thanks to Dr.W.Cooke of UMIST for this suggestion.
- 10 eg. late C.15th AD Italian styles of noblewomen as portrayed by Boticelli, reconstruction sketch in Corson 1980, pl.44.D, p.140, 150-151.
- 11 Liverpool Uni.Mus.E.5411; thanks to Prof.A.Shore for access and Ms.P.Winker for information.
- 12 Results of dye test (Appendix A.) state that "the tannin may be adventitious, or the naturally pigmented hair may have been 'topped up' with tannin", and since tannin only used "in later ages", this may suggest late date for piece.
- 13 BM.EA. unnumbered/unprovenanced, 'rediscovered' during course of this study inside gents' outfitters box, presence of 2 lice eggs confirming hair human; thanks to Dr.J.Taylor for access.
- 14 BM.EA.59612.2, found in envelope marked "Votive Hair"; thanks to Dr.S.Quirke for access and information.
- 15 Bolton 1.1983.86, unprovenanced; thanks to Mrs.A.Thomas for access and information.
- 16 Macclesfield Museum No.1962.77, in David 1980, K.9, p.70.
- 17 Liverpool Uni.Mus.E.5414; thanks to Prof.A.Shore and Ms.P.Winker for access and information.
- 18 BM.EA.6725, Birch Slip, p.19; thanks to Dr.J.Taylor for access and copies of slips; see also Budge 1977, "Women [sic] greatly hoped that they would have masses of hair...in the Other World, and in order to make this certain their hair, under the New Kingdom, was cut off by relatives and tied up in a bundle, which was placed under the feet of the mummy in its...case", p.70.
- 19 BM.EA.6726, Birch Slip, p.20.
- 20 BM.EA.6727, Birch Slip, p.21.
- 21 BM.EA.6728, Birch Slip, p.22.
- 22 BM.EA.6730, Birch Slip, p.24, which further states "see also mummy of Ka.t.b.t no.6665"; however, unlikely to be hair from mummy of Katebet, since braids marked as "Salt 1821", whilst mummy purchased at sale of Salt's 3rd collection in 1835.
- 23 BM.EA.6729, Birch Slip, p.23; as this is only example of hair wrapped in linen in BM collection not stated to have come from the 1821 Salt sale, it is possible that this is hair from inside coffin of Katebet, referred to in 1835

auction catalogue of Salt's 3rd collection, "in the inside of the case is the plaited hair of the deceased, enveloped in cloth"; thanks to Dr.J.Taylor, pers.comm.18.2.94 for information.

- 24 Ex-Hilton Price Collection, in Price 1897, No.4, p.1.
- 25 Blackburn Museum & Art Gallery BBE.134/1966.14, unprovenanced; thanks to Mr.M.Millward & Mrs.P.Scott for access and information.
- 26 Cairo, unnumbered/unprovenanced, on display in base of XXIst dynasty wig cabinet.
- 27 BM.2560a, presented by G.J.Chester in 1882; thanks to Dr.J.Taylor for access and information.
- 28 BM.EA.55139, from October 1921 excavations; thanks to Dr.S.Quirke for access and information.
- 29 Bolton 1.1983.37, unprovenanced; thanks to Ms.J.Filer for information and Mrs.A.Thomas for access.
- 30 Hartwell House Museum No.509, in Lee 1858, p.71 and Nachtergaeel 1981, p.600.

CONCLUSION

Having examined both the artistic representations and actual specimens of hair, it is evident that the latter were quite accurately portrayed in the former, despite the obvious idealisation inherent in Egyptian art. The numerous styles depicted in sculpture, painting and relief do reflect what was actually worn, the basic elements and characteristic features of the short round style, the bouffant, the chignon, the double and full enveloping styles for example, concisely captured by the ancient artist, the subtle variations which evolved through time providing a convenient means of dating.

In addition to styles of hair, the relatively common occurrence of separate plaits, tufts, locks and balls of hair within burials does suggest that hair played an important role in funerary ritual, most likely as a symbol of regeneration. In certain cases the hair may even be matched to that of the body, and although insufficient to represent the total amount of hair grown in an individual's lifetime, a token amount may have been enough to restore that individual to their former 'complete' state.

Part Four

STORAGE OF FALSE HAIR

When not in use, false hair could be stored in specialised boxes or baskets, whilst for short-term storage wigs could be placed upon a block or mount ¹.

Two such mounts are decorated with idealised female features enhanced by cosmetics and large earrings, their cropped hair suggested by black paint. The first found at Sakkara is described as "une jolie tête...sa coiffure rase évoque l'Ancien Empire mais laisse, en réalité, supposer le port d'une perruque" ² (fig.534), the second discovered in the nearby tomb of Vizier Aper-el similarly described as "la très belle tête de bois...est presque unique dans son genre" ³. Zivie has been able to confirm Lauer's suggestion that these heads were originally wig mounts since a small fragment of hair from the original wig remained stuck to the back of the latter mount ⁴, the elongated necks of both enabling long styles to hang freely. Their erotic connotations have also been commented upon, with the suggestion that they were meant to perform a symbolic function within the tomb in addition to their practical role as an item on which wigs were stored, possibly "dans un meuble, un panier?" ⁵.

Indeed, wigs and false hair were most often stored, and interred, in purpose-made boxes and baskets, examples of various materials and dimensions having survived from the XIth dynasty down to the Late Period.

Middle Kingdom wig boxes are generally plain wooden containers in which the wigs would have been laid flat. Excavations at the southern cemetery at Lisht uncovered a wooden box which had been thrown aside during the plundering of a small tomb, and "when opened it was seen to contain a wig" ⁶. Another wooden box which had originally contained a wig was found in a pit near the southern pyramid at Lisht, and measuring 31.5cm high, 47cm long and 68cm deep, it is described as "un coffre en bois peint en blanc, entouré de minces lanières de cuir, portant encore le sceau d'argile estampillé des signes qui indiquent la 'double maison blanches' ou la garde-robe du roi" ⁷ (fig.839). The crushed remains of a white plaster-coated wooden box (60cm long by 35cm wide) found in a pit outside the entrance to Senebtisi's tomb at Lisht again contained wig fragments ⁸, whilst a decayed box of plain ebony (36.5cm by 55cm) discovered in the Lahun tomb of SitHathorYunet, has been interpreted by Brunton as a wig box by analogy with the other three examples ⁹. Hayes also believes that in addition to the box which "contained the crown and the wig" SitHathorYunet had a second "much larger box, in which was kept another of the massive wigs worn by the princess" ¹⁰.

By the New Kingdom however, wig boxes had developed into rather more ornate and specialised items, standing upright and containing a block or mushroom stand ¹¹ on which the wig could hang freely within.

A fine example found with the wig (fig.774) in situ was discovered in the Deir el-Medina tomb of Kha and Merit (fig.840). Schiaparelli describes "L'armadio, alto un metro e dieci cm., quadrato, apribile nella sua parte superiore, in legno di acacia, conteneva solamente la perrucca della Signora Mirit, e questa era tenuta sospesa su due listelli disposti

trasversalmente, sui quali era stato disteso un pezzo di tela di lino...Le iscrizioni incise sul coperchio e sulla fronte anteriore dell'armadio "Offerta è fatta ad Osiride, Dio grande, sovrano dell' eternità, perchè doni le provvigioni funebri e cose di ogni specie all'ombra (ka) di Mirit" e "offerta è fatta ad Osiride per l'ombra di Mirit" sembrano attestare che l'armadio sia stato espressamente costruito per far parte del mobilio funebre di Mirit: ma parrebbe pure che anch'esso, come già vedemmo pel sarcofago, non sia stato ultimato, poichè sui due fianchi del medesimo si vedono indizi di decorazioni e di figure appena tracciate e non finite" ¹².

A somewhat similar box of plain dark wood inlaid with strips of blue faience and orange-stained calcite (fig.845) was found in the tomb of Tutankhamen (KV.62), and measuring 50cm high, 40cm wide and 40cm deep, it has a 37cm high wooden mushroom support within ¹³ (fig.846). Although described by Carter as a "head-dress box" ¹⁴ or "box for the king's headwear" ¹⁵, since it was found to contain fragments of beaded material in addition to broken jewellery ¹⁶, it is almost certainly a wig box ¹⁷, no doubt originally housing the wig which was found in pieces in the calcite chest ¹⁸ (fig.772, fig.843). The chest was itself originally enclosed within an outer box of sycamore(?) wood painted yellow (fig.844), Carter posing the question "was it a wig box?" ¹⁹.

Two other boxes were discovered in the 1891 Deir el-Bahari cache of mummies, and although they are not described, that belonging to a priestess contained a single wig ²⁰ whilst the other had been used to store two wigs and two pairs of sandals ²¹.

Papyrus stems and reeds were also employed in the construction of wig boxes, and it has been noted that the hollow stems of reeds "are rigid, making it unsuitable for basketry, but...an ideal material for the construction of wig boxes" ²². The double style wig discovered in a tomb at Deir el-Medina (fig.763-765) "was found in its original wig box of reeds, which measures 38.10cm high, 48.26cm long, 25.4cm deep, complete with a separate reed lid" ²³.

A larger and rather more complex "basket for wigs" measuring 50cm high, 107cm long and 51cm deep was found in the tomb of Yuya and Thuya (KV.46) (fig.845), Quibell stating that it is "made of papyrus stems, with lid and an interior double-leaved lid which forms a tray. The basket is raised on four feet which are stiffened by a cross-rail and sloping ties. The outer covering is made of whole reeds lashed to transverse reeds by much thinner stems of the same plant...The double lid opens from the middle at about 0m.14cent. from the outer lid. It too is made of split papyrus on a frame of whole reed and is supported by four other reeds, lashed round with papyrus pith, which are tied to the frame at the corners and the middle of the sides. The basket is ventilated by three windows at each side and one at each end. The windows in the outer walls are composed of reeds wrapped round with papyrus pith; those in the inner walls are of thin strips of the pith alone. The lid was tied down by linen thread and sealed with black clay seals; one of them remains. The box is light, so can only have stored the slightest fabrics" ²⁴. Another such papyrus box set on four feet secured by cross-rails still bears the seals of the High Priest Menkhepperere ²⁵ (fig.800).

Individual braids of false hair were generally stored in smaller baskets, such as the two discovered in the tomb of Queen MeryetAmun. The first, which contained 10 small braids (fig.757), is a lidded, circular basket of coiled and woven grass and palm leaf decorated with black and red dye, measuring 14.5cm diameter and 10.5cm high ²⁶ (fig.846), whilst the second, containing three larger braids, is an oval shaped grass basket, 29cm long and 13.5cm wide ²⁷, both baskets having "seen a good deal of some such use, for the strings to fasten them were soiled from much handling" ²⁸.

A "delightful" coloured grass basket with a domed lid from the tomb of one of Senmut's female relatives was found to contain bundles of hair and aromatic wood chips ²⁹ (fig.762), as did two small round baskets with lids attached by string which were discovered outside the entrance to an XIth dynasty tomb at Deir el-Bahari ³⁰. Loose braids dated to the Late Period were also discovered within a round grass basket ³¹ (fig.806), with similar undated braids found inside a simple oval example ³² (fig.834).

- 1 Cox 1989, p.166.
- 2 Cairo JE.71969, in Lauer 1939, p.450, pl.LXX, also Zivie 1988, p.187, pl.11.
- 3 Zivie 1990, p.86; also Zivie 1988, p.179-195, pl.7-10; thanks to Prof.Zivie for discussion and access to then unpublished material.
- 4 Zivie 1988, fig.1, p.185-186 and Zivie 1990, p.82.; thanks to Prof.Zivie for comments, pers.comm.6.9.95.
- 5 Zivie 1990, p.82.
- 6 Lansing 1933, fig.39, p.36.
- 7 Gautier & Jéquier 1902, fig.48, p.49-50; see also Mace & Winlock 1916, p.10, 105 and Brunton 1920, p.41.
- 8 Mace & Winlock 1916, p.10, 105, pl.IX.A.
- 9 Brunton 1920, "The absence of decoration would also agree with this", p.41.
- 10 Hayes 1953 I, p.246.
- 11 Cox 1989, "a wig stand in the shape of a mushroom", p.107 and "some C.18th wig boxes had a mushroom fitted within upon which wigs were placed", p.166.
- 12 Turin Inv.Suppl.8493, in Schiaparelli 1927, fig.73, 75-76, p.101; also Curto 1984, p.211; Garetto 1955, p.66 and Manniche 1987, fig.38, p.48.
- 13 Cairo JE.61457/Carter No.547 (lid 615), in Carter 1933 III, p.119; Reeves 1990(ii), p.192; Desroches-Noblecourt 1963, fig.82, p.137 and Fletcher 1994 (ii), fig.224, p.134.
- 14 Carter's notes, Griffith Institute; thanks to Drs.J.Malek & D.MacGee for access.
- 15 Carter 1933 III, p.119; also Desroches-Noblecourt 1963, "hat- or wig-box", fig.82, p.137.
- 16 Carter's notes, Griffith Institute, No.547.a, "Fragments of a cap, Beads of gold, and blue, green, yellow glass. Strung with threads and sewn on to cap"; however, this is only very small beaded fragment which seems to have been part of a collar, use of term 'cap' no doubt guided by its discovery in box with mount, although it was found in bottom of box, and could not have been "draped" over mount as Reeves states (1990(ii), p.192), being too small!
- 17 Desroches-Noblecourt 1963, "a wig-box", p.137, and Fletcher 1994(ii), p.134.
- 18 Cairo JE.61762/Carter No.40, in Carter & Mace 1923 I, p.200, pl.LXVIA; Edwards 1972, No.5 and Edwards 1976, No.9, p.110.
- 19 Carter No.115, Carter notes, Griffith Institute.
- 20 Cairo JE.29699, in Daressy 1907, No.17, p.21.
- 21 Cairo JE.29681 (now Athens National Museum), in Daressy 1907, No.72, p.26.
- 22 Killen 1994, p.10.
- 23 BM.EA.2561, in Cox 1977, p.67; also Cox 1983, p.2; Cox 1989, fig.248, p.266 and Killen 1994, fig.4, p.10-11.
- 24 Cairo CG.51119, in Quibell 1908, p.57-58, pl.XLVIII; also Davis 1907, pl.XLII; Englebach 1946, "wig chest in the form of a house", p.89-91 and Killen 1994, p.10.
- 25 Cairo JE.26270 in Lucas 1930, p.192-193; Brugsch & Maspero 1881, p.29, pl.28 and Ceram 1962, p.143 (illustrated alongside small wig of wife Isimkheb).
- 26 MMA.30.3.15.A-B, in Winlock 1932, No.40, p.9, 33-34, 75, pl.XXXII and Hayes 1959 II, fig.25, p.53-54.
- 27 Cairo JE.55157, in Winlock 1932, No.41, p.9, 33-34, 75-76, pl.XXXII.

- 28 Winlock 1932, p.34.
- 29 MMA.36.3.189.ab, in Lansing & Hayes 1937, fig.2, "a delightful toilet basket decorated in colour", p.8; also Hayes 1959 II, fig.111, p.188, 196; thanks to Dr.C.Roehrig for access.
- 30 Winlock 1932(iii), fig.34, p.35.
- 31 Ox.Ash.QL.1156, thanks to Dr.A.Tooley for information, pers.comm.18.4.91.
- 32 Liverpool Uni.Mus.E.5414; thanks to Prof.A.F.Shore and Ms.P.Winker for access and information.

THE WORK OF BARBERS, HAIRDRESSERS & WIGMAKERS

The study of ancient hair has revealed clear evidence of frequent cutting and styling. This could be undertaken by the individual, although the nature of the work involved would generally require the help of a second person employing specialised equipment, either a trained hairdresser/wigmaker or barber, a servant, itinerant worker, relative or friend, depending upon the individual's social status.

Barbers were often professional workers attached to a royal or private houses, temples or army units, or alternatively they could work as itinerants serving the general populace until Graeco-Roman times, when barber shops had become commonplace ¹. Although there is no specific term for 'barber' in the Old Kingdom, the terms s'k and h'k, 'shavers', were in use from by the Middle Kingdom to Late Period ².

The title h'k is found in the XIIth dynasty Beni Hassan tomb scenes of Khety (T.17) and Bakt (T.15) ³, and the Middle Kingdom story of Sinuhe tells how the hero was washed and shaved in the house of a prince upon his return to Egypt ⁴. In the contemporary Instructions of Duaf ('Satire of the Trades') it is stated that the itinerant barber must work "till nightfall, he betakes himself to town, he sets himself up in his corner, he moves from street to street, looking for someone to barber. He strains his arm to fill his belly, like the bee that eats as it works" ⁵. The XVIIIth dynasty tomb scenes of Vizier Ramose (TT.55) portray the "dutiful barbers" Kenamsu and his son Amenemone ⁶, a barber (h'ky) is mentioned in a list of conscripted workers in a letter of Scribe Bekenptah ⁷, and on his funerary cartonnage Ankhpakhered is described as a "barber in the house of Amun" at Karnak during the Third Intermediate Period ⁸.

Artistic representations of barbers at work are relatively rare. The Vth dynasty joint tomb of Royal Manicurists Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep contains a relief of barbers busy shaving faces, bodies and heads, and in the latter scene accompanied by the inscription s'k tp, the barber is shown standing to shave the head of a man seated upon the floor, during which process the back of the man's head is supported in the barber's left hand ⁹ (fig.847). The aforementioned Middle Kingdom scenes of Bakt and Khety show similar scenes except that the barber is now seated ¹⁰. In the XVIIIth dynasty tomb scenes of Userhat (TT.56) the barber once again stands as the army recruit whose hair is being cut sits on a low stool ¹¹, and a Late period relief scene from Bubastis depicts a barber with a razor standing behind a king's son who wears a sidelock ¹².

A unique sculpted group of a barber and his assistant makes up part of a funerary model found in the IXth dynasty Sakkara tomb of Gemniemhet, the barber shown with a case containing three razors(?) attached to his belt whilst the assistant carries a block seat on his head, for either the barber or his client to sit on ¹³.

Although it is not clear precisely where the barber worked, it is most likely that those serving the wealthy would work indoors, or within the temple precincts in the case of temple barbers. Those servicing the army appear to have performed

their work outdoors, as would their itinerant counterparts until barber shops were set up in Graeco-Roman times.

The work itself obviously involved the removal of hair from the scalp, face and sometimes body ¹⁴, although it would seem that barbers also cut hair (discussed below), as is made clear from a scene in the tomb of Userhet (TT.56) in which the army recruits are shown having their hair trimmed as opposed to having it all shaved off ¹⁵ (the shaven head only very rarely found amongst the military ¹⁶).

Both men and women would have employed a barber to shave or cut their hair, with priests and certain priestesses ¹⁷ requiring their services on a more regular basis - "every other day" according to Herodotus ¹⁸. This was especially the case in the Late Period when a shaven head became compulsory, and by Graeco-Roman times an unshaven head was a punishable offence amongst the priesthood ¹⁹.

In addition to tending the living, the skills of the barber would also be needed during the mummification process to prepare the deceased ²⁰, a large number of mummies displaying a smoothly shaven head including those of a number of pharaohs ²¹.

It has been suggested that the earliest peoples would have used flint flakes to shave the head ²², although metal implements identified as razors are found from the late predynastic period onwards. These may be categorised into two types, the first being asymmetrical with a single cutting edge at the side ²³ whilst the second is a form of symmetrical spatula with parallel sides and a rounded cutting edge ²⁴, both types having fitted handles of various materials.

The spatula razor, known as h'kt or h'kt nt d3d3 ²⁵, is the predominant form during the Archaic and Old Kingdoms, as noted from artistic representations such as the fine IIIrd dynasty reliefs of Hesire ²⁶. The form is also found in certain Middle Kingdom coffin scenes ²⁷, actual examples ²⁸ including two particularly fine copper razors 12.4cm long with gold handles 4.5cm long found amongst the cosmetic equipment of Princess SitHathorYunet, accompanied by two small whetstones of sandstone ²⁹ (fig.848). Such razors illustrate the evolving shape of the spatula form, its parallel shape now distorted by the splaying out of one side towards the base.

By the New Kingdom the handle is positioned at right angles to the blade, which now extends to a spur shape at one end as a counterweight to the convex cutting edge at the other, examples of this mh'k razor ³⁰ being numerous ³¹ (fig.849-850). Another form of razor in use at this time is the scalpel-like dg3 razor ³² (fig.849-851), "one of the most characteristic toilette implements of the New Kingdom" ³³; this has a hooked cutting edge and chisel-shaped end, and would appear to have been used for precision cutting, the differing functions of the mh'k and dg3 razors supported by their joint inclusion in shaving sets of the time ³⁴ (fig.849-851).

Other such implements "represent a minor form of toilette knife or razor of the Eighteenth Dynasty, almost invariably with

ornamented handles. Their small size and delicacy suggest that they were women's razors. Their chisel-like edge is very like that on the butt of the *dega* razor and it may be surmised that they performed a similar function"³⁵, the handles decorated with human or animal forms reminiscent of contemporary comb designs³⁶. Razors or knives can also be incorporated into small multifunctional hair-waving implements (fig.849, fig.851, fig.887-888) (discussed below) in order to trim stray hair ends.

Although the absence of any form of container in shaving scenes might suggest that dry shaving was practised, Davies thinks it likely that some form of lubricant in the form of oil or unguent would have been employed since "it seems unlikely that people of substantial means would have subjected themselves to regular shaving without finding some means to render it relatively painless"³⁷.

In addition to barbers to shave and cut the hair, hairdressers and wigmakers were employed to create and maintain styles. Although simple tasks such as combing could be performed by the individual, the intricate styling techniques required to create the majority of fashionable styles would generally necessitate the assistance of another, be they professionally trained or otherwise. Representations of hairdressing generally involve women of high social rank attended by one or two female figures to be identified as general servants where no title is given, since actual hairdressers hold a title indicative of their profession³⁸.

The title of 'Hairdresser'/'Wigmaker' is found as early as the IVth dynasty³⁹, and "Inscriptions of the Old Kingdom bear witness to the fact that in the courts of that period the hairdresser was a person of prominence. From the early Vth Dynasty until the fall of the Old Kingdom, he is mentioned rather frequently. The word used to describe him is...*ir-sheny* [*ir sny*] (fem.*iret-sheny* [*irt sny*]) and it means a 'maker' or 'doer' of hair. It has variously been translated as 'hairdresser', 'hairmaker' or 'wigmaker'"⁴⁰; indeed, these titles are interchangeable, suggesting that the trained hairdresser could also be a wigmaker.

The title can often state that the individual is an Overseer or Director of Royal Hairdressers/Wigmakers, *hrp iri snti nsw*, as opposed to actually performing hairdressing duties. The title is often included with lists of other titles⁴¹, with the nobleman Ti referred to as a 'Beloved and Unique Friend of the King', 'His Lord's Favourite Keeper of the Crown', 'Chief Nekhebite', 'Supervisor of the Mysteries of the House of the Morning', 'Superintendent of the Pyramids of Neferirkare and Niuserre and Sun Temples of Sahure, Neferirkare, Neferure and Niuserre' and 'Lector Priest', in addition to his position as 'Overseer of Royal Hairdressers'⁴². Although it has been suggested that his hairdressing title was honorary⁴³, it has also been stated that Ti might actually have performed the work of a hairdresser, since "any individual carrying out such a personal service for the king would have to be highly trusted; what is more, his proximity to the ruler must have given Ty opportunity to counsel him at times..."⁴⁴.

Other noblemen with a similar title include the IVth dynasty Sekhemptah ('hairdresser', *iri snti*)⁴⁵, Nefer ('Overseer of

the Royal Hairdressers', *hrp iri snti nsw*)⁴⁶, Kawnisut ('Overseer of Hairdressers', *hrp iri snti*)⁴⁷ and Royal Relative Rawer ('Royal Hairdresser', *iri snti nsw*)⁴⁸, and the VIth dynasty Chief Lector Priest Iry ('Overseer of Hairdressers in the Palace', *pr-wr hrp iri snti*)⁴⁹ (fig.852), Redines and Hestenptah depicted in a procession of attendants of Niuserre in his funerary temple reliefs also designated 'Royal Hairdressers/Wigmakers' (*iri snti nsw*)⁵⁰. Such titles are almost always held by men during the Old Kingdom, with only occasional references to women in this role. The Vth dynasty noblewoman Meretites (fig.163) held the titles 'Royal Ornament', 'Royal Relative', 'Mistress of Ceremonies' and 'Overseer of the House of Hairdressing' *imy-r is snti*⁵¹ (fig.853), the latter title also having been translated as 'Overseer of the Chamber of Wigs' with the suggestion that Meretites' work was restricted to either the supervision of female wigmakers, "or, more probably, the care of women's wigs"⁵². A second example is the title *fr sny* which appears before the name of a woman in the mastaba of Wehemka⁵³.

Following the Old Kingdom the title is largely a female one, *irt sny*, and is found beside the names of Inu and Henut, hairdressers of Queen Nefru⁵⁴ (fig.861-862). The alternative term for hairdresser, *nst*⁵⁵, is found beside small female figures on the XIIth dynasty stela of Ameni, Chief Commander of Soldiers⁵⁶ and Nefertut⁵⁷, and in the 'Hekanakhte Papers' Hekanakhte himself warns his family "Do not keep a companion of Hetepet's from her, whether her hairdresser [*nswt*] or domestic servant"⁵⁸.

In the XVIIIth dynasty however, the Old Kingdom title *iri snti nsw* is once again employed, appearing above a row of male offering bearers in a reliefs of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari⁵⁹, and the XIX dynasty official Khaemwaset also bears the title 'Overseer of the Royal hairdressers/Wigmakers'⁶⁰ in a stela relief scene from Memphis.

Later references to hairdressing are found during the Graeco-Roman period, a number of treatises on hairdressing (*κομμωτική*) and hair curling (*ουλοποιία*) attributed to Cleopatra VII after her death⁶¹. In discussing the ideal woman, the neo-Pythagorean philosopher Perictione of Alexandria states that the body must be provided with "a proper measure of clothing and hair setting", and she chastises men who suppose that if given a choice a woman "would cover herself with gold, or braid her hair with artful device"⁶². In Plutarch's 'De Iside et Osiride' the goddess Isis herself is described as visiting Byblos, where "she spoke to no-one except the queen's maids, who she greeted and welcomed, plaiting their hair..."⁶³.

In contrast to the somewhat limited literary references to hairdressers, artistic representations are somewhat more common and are found from the late Old Kingdom to the Saïte Period, being particularly common in the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom. Although discussed in the present context as scenes of actual hairdressing and maintenance, their often erotic overtones have been commented upon most particularly by Derchain, who states that "nous pouvons sans doute interpréter le détail de la scène de coiffure...comme une allusion à la prochaine venue de l'amant attendu..."⁶⁴ and "la présence...des coiffeuses...ajoutent à la représentation de la tendresse des époux l'allusion à l'amour qui leur est ainsi

permis pour la durée de l'éternité" ⁶⁵. The religious nature of some scenes has also been discussed by Riefstahl, who asks "whether the toilet-scenes in the tombs of the queens at Deir el-Bahri had some religious connotation" ⁶⁶, since "they have a hieratic quality which makes me suspect that they...have some connection with the cult of Hathor" ⁶⁷.

Hairdressing scenes are known from the Old Kingdom, despite comments to the contrary ⁶⁸, with perhaps the earliest to be found in the Vth dynasty Sakkara tomb of Ptahhotep, Overseer of the pyramid town of Djedkare Isesi and Overseer of the Two Treasuries ⁶⁹ (fig.854). The tomb owner is shown seated at his toilet, and whilst his hand is being manicured and his feet massaged, a male servant is shown with his right hand on the front of Ptahhotep's short round style and his left hand under master's chin; whilst Davies simply states that "the attendants are busy with his feet and coiffure" ⁷⁰, others have interpreted this as the putting on of a wig ⁷¹, the position of the servant's hands indicative of fixing such an item precisely in place. The scene itself is quite unique, being the only one in which the male tomb owner has his style attended to, and it is only one of two scenes in which men perform such a task.

The other scene in which the attendant is male also dates from the Vth dynasty and occurs in the Sakkara tomb of Princess Idut, daughter of Unas ⁷² (fig.855). The princess wears the ball hairstyle formed by a long weighted plait, the end of which is arranged by the small figure of Seshemnefer, Inspector of Vets(!) who stands behind her. It is also significant that this is the only hairdressing scene in which the parties involved are not of the same sex.

A third example, convincingly dated to "no earlier than the start of the VIth dynasty" ⁷³, depicts what has been described a little inaccurately as "the earliest depiction of hairdressing" ⁷⁴ on the false door of the Giza tomb of Sanwehem ⁷⁵ (fig.856). The scene shows the tomb owner's mother Nefer "having her hair done by a diminutive female servant" ⁷⁶ who stands behind her, extending both hands to reach her subject's long tripartite style. This pose is very similar to those in the previous examples, where none of the servants are referred to as hairdressers and none appear to use any equipment.

During the First Intermediate Period hairdressing scenes become more frequent, appearing in coffin and stela scenes as well as in tomb reliefs. Women are exclusively featured as both subject and hairdresser, with the latter sometimes shown actually styling the hair using specialised tools rather than simply touching it.

The Xth dynasty painted coffin of Intefes, Sole Royal Ornament and Priestess of Hathor, carries a single scene in which an unnamed servant kneels behind her seated mistress and reaches out to touch her tripartite style, as Intefes holds up a mirror to observe the proceedings and a second servant offers refreshment during what may have been a long process ⁷⁷ (fig.857).

A Xth dynasty coffin of a man named Henwy also features a hairdressing scene at its exterior head end involving his wife Mut, Sole Royal Ornament and Priestess of Hathor (fig.858). The couple are shown facing each other whilst an unnamed servant crouches behind the seated Mut again holding a mirror, and touches her tripartite style with both hands ⁷⁸.

A third Xth dynasty example is to be found on the stela of an individual whose name ends '...merer', the man and woman shown seated before offerings (fig.859). A small figure sits behind the woman on a cushion, raising her arms up to hold the end of a lock of hair which extends slightly below the rest of the tripartite style; from the position of the servants fingers, it would appear that the lock of hair is being replaited, a process which shortens the length of the hair ⁷⁹.

A similar task is being performed in a fragmentary scene from the Xth dynasty(?) Mo'alla tomb of Sobekhotep, his wife Inetites sat before a kneeling figure who perhaps was originally designated hairdresser to judge from the remains of the inscription above her (fig.860). She holds a long single lock (all that remains of Inetites' style) in her left hand, whilst restyling it with the other hand using two outstretched and one crooked finger in an intricate process ⁸⁰.

The most detailed representations of hairdressing, however, date from the XIth dynasty and were found in the Deir el-Bahari tombs of Nefru, Kawit and Kemsit, three of the wives of Montuhotep II.

At least two hairdressing scenes originally adorned the walls of the tomb of the Chief Wife and king's sister Nefru III, although these are now in a highly fragmentary state (fig.861-862). One such fragment depicts the upper part of a female figure named Inu, described as *irt sny*, hairdresser, and who holds in her raised hands a three strand false braid ⁸¹. A second key fragment shows the profile of another *irt sny* named Henut (fig.861), standing behind the seated figure of the *hmt nsw* ⁸², Henut portrayed with her arms raised ⁸³ in order to hold a thick lock of the queen's hair, whilst a further lock has been secured at the crown with a hair pin. Taking the two fragments together to form one scene ⁸⁴ (fig.862), it would appear that Henut is preparing the queen's tripartite style for the attachment at the back of the head of the false braid presented by Inu.

A further fragmentary relief from the tomb depicts a female head with a lock of the long striated style pinned up just above the forehead (fig.863), and it would seem more than likely that this was originally part of a further hairdressing scene ⁸⁵.

The most detailed scene of this kind however, is depicted on the side of the limestone sarcophagus of Kawit, Sole Royal Ornament and Priestess of Hathor ⁸⁶ (fig.864). Kawit is seated, and whilst drinking from a bowl offered by an approaching male servant she also holds a mirror to check on the progress of a female servant who stands behind her, attending to her short round style set in rows of small curls. The work undertaken by the servant is shown in great detail, her fingers skilfully rendered to suggest the deft nature of her task as she delicately singles out the lock which needs attention, and "Pour exécuter plus commodément son travail, la coiffeuse a relevé au préalable trois mèches des rangs supérieurs au moyen d'une longue épingle piquée dans la perruque [or style]. La mèche à reformer est donc complètement dégagée et, de même que celles qui sont soulevées, elle apparaît ainsi dans toute sa longueur, tandis que les mèches en place sont à moitié recouvertes par celles du rang précédent" ⁸⁷.

The third royal wife provided with a hairdressing scene is Kemsit, another Sole Royal Ornament and Priestess of Hathor⁸⁸ (fig.865). In a painted scene on the east wall of tomb she is shown seated before offerings as a female figure stands behind her holding part of her short round style, an action which has been interpreted as the untangling of Kemsit's own hair to create the desired rounded appearance⁸⁹.

Hairdressing scenes of the Middle Kingdom are to be found in both tomb and stela scenes, the stela of Nehesnefer, Scribe of the Treasury, depicting a couple seated before offerings whilst behind the woman stands "His daughter Senet", her hands reaching up to touch the hair of her mother(?)⁹⁰ (fig.866).

The XIIIth dynasty tomb of Prince and Chief Prophet Sobeknakht at el Kab contains two slightly differing portrayals of the hairdressing process. In the first scene Sobeknakht sits with his wife before an offering table as two small female figures stand behind the lady's head (fig.867). The nearest reaches out to touch the back of the hair, holding(?) a long thin lock of the same length as the lady's full style which may have been passed to her by the other small figure⁹¹. In the second scene the couple face in the opposite direction as a single female servant performs the same task as before (fig.868), although here the wife wears a tripartite style and the long lock is made up of a double strand of wavy hair⁹². Both scenes would seem to portray either the attachment of a false braid into the natural hair or wig, or alternatively the servant could be dividing off a thin section of the style in order to plait it, the lack of clarity and detail making it impossible to state which is taking place⁹³.

Several sculpted portrayals of hairdressing also date to the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period⁹⁴, a small limestone figurine from Lisht⁹⁵ depicting a woman seated on the ground nursing a child whilst a friend or relative⁹⁶ crouches behind on a low stool (fig.869). Her index fingers and thumbs are stretched out over her companion's hair which she is generally assumed to braiding⁹⁷, although she could alternatively be performing manual delousing as part of the maintenance process (fig.870).

A second, slightly later group from Diospolis Parva⁹⁸ consists of a woman again seated on the ground with a young girl on her lap (fig.871). The woman's hands are placed upon the child's head as her index fingers are held against each other to form an angle, the thumbs close together and her other fingers bent as she diligently pursues her task. Petrie describes her as "apparently plaiting the hair of the little girl"⁹⁹, an interpretation endorsed by Gauthier-Laurent who states that the finger position prevents this being regarded as "une scène d'épouillage" as originally suggested by Maspero¹⁰⁰. Once again however, the latter interpretation is actually quite plausible, the position of the fingers being equally indicative of manual delousing.

Although the styles of both men and women become increasingly more abundant and complex during the New Kingdom and the services of hairdressers and wigmakers never more necessary, representations of hairdressing are surprisingly rather rare and confined to tomb scenes and sketches.

The XVIIIth dynasty tomb of the goldsmith Nefronpet (TT.140) contains a bedroom scene in which a woman is seated upon a low stool or cushion, holding a mirror ¹⁰¹ (fig.872). Her head is slightly tilted back as a second woman seated behind her holds a length of the former's hair with one hand whilst using appears to be a comb, and "Si cette explication est juste, ce serait la seule de nos scènes où la coiffeuse ne se servirait pas uniquement de ses doigts pour accomplir son travail" ¹⁰², since hairpins are only depicted as having been used to secure the hair for styling.

The tomb of another Nefronpet, Supplier of Sweets in the Temple of Nebmaatre (TT.249), also contains a scene which may be interpreted as one of hairdressing, a female banquet guest reaching out to adjust the thick braids of a woman seated in front of her ¹⁰³.

A third, somewhat similar scene is found in the Amarna tomb of Ay and takes place within one of the rooms in the royal harem ¹⁰⁴ (fig.873); as one woman sits on the floor a second sitting behind her on a cushion leans forward to touch the hair in front of her, her left hand resting on the crown whilst the right holds the curled end of one of two long locks which make up the style common to all the harem women.

A further tomb scene not usually included in the category of hairdressing is that of the aforementioned Userhet (TT.56) ¹⁰⁵. Although the figures at work wield razors, and strictly speaking are to be classed as barbers rather than hairdressers, they are shown cutting rather than shaving the hair of the army recruits who sit before them, creating a short thick style designed to protect the head ¹⁰⁶.

Three further hairdressing scenes of late New Kingdom date take the form of small sketches, a partly damaged ostrakon from Deir el-Medina depicting a woman in a long full style and pleated linen seated upon a bed and holding a child, possibly undergoing some form of purification process following the birth ¹⁰⁷ (fig.874). Two almost identical figures attend to her, one in front presenting scented unguent and a second standing behind her raises her hands to touch the back of the mother's style. The second figure has been interpreted as "une coiffeuse ajustant la chevelure de sa maîtresse, car les servantes qui s'occupent d'autres soins de toilette ou de la parure sont généralement placées devant la femme qu'elles apprêtent" ¹⁰⁸, although the two women are unlikely to be servants on account of their fine attire, and are most probably relatives of the new mother.

Two further scenes take the form of satirical studies in which the human participants are replaced by animals. In an ostrakon sketch a mouse is seated upon a dais whilst one cat plays the harp, two more approach carrying unguent, a sunshade and refreshment and another cat(?) stands behind the mouse holding out its paws "dans le geste généralement attribué aux coiffeuses..." ¹⁰⁹ (fig.875). A more detailed satirical study on papyrus repeats this theme ¹¹⁰, a linen-clad mouse seated upon a stool receiving refreshment from one cat as two more approach bearing a sunshade and the mouse's baby, in a parody of the purification process (fig.876). In this example the larger mouse has been provided with long black braids, some of which are draped over the top of its large ears whilst those remaining hang down at the back and are in the

process of being styled by another cat. In order to leave its paws free to work, the cat has secured a false braid behind its own ear with a hair pin, and since part of the mouse's coiffure is longer than the rest it would appear that such a braid has already been used to lengthen it ¹¹¹.

The final representation of hairdressing is found on a small limestone sculpture of Saïte date ¹¹² (fig.877). This portrays a naked woman lying on her side on a bed, her head supported by a cushion whilst a small figure crouches besides her, stretching out its fingers into the woman's short round style, "le geste et l'attitude de la servante étant identiques à ceux de la plupart des coiffeuses des autres scènes" ¹¹³.

Although the majority of these representations are insufficiently detailed to allow a clear interpretation of the specific work in process, it is quite clear that the skills of a trained hairdresser/wigmaker would be necessary to create many of the elaborate styles found in the artistic record and to judge from surviving physical remains. As has been noted, "les femmes égyptiennes, étant donné le genre de coiffure qu'elles avaient adopté, ne se coiffaient pas elles-mêmes" ¹¹⁴, a statement equally true of male styles.

The general duties of the hairdresser would have included the styling of the natural hair if retained, the attaching of false braids into natural or false styles, and as wigmakers the construction of whole wigs; all such tasks would require regular maintenance once complete, the loosened braids needing replaiting, curls resetting, false braids re-attaching and so forth. A passage in the Anastasi Papyrus states that "the youths...are in festal attire every day, sweet moringa oil is upon their heads, having their hair braided anew" ¹¹⁵, whilst in the case of the Idle Scribe "his lock of braided hair (reaches down) to his feet in a work of Kush" ¹¹⁶, in both cases the use of the term *nbd* indicating the false nature of the hair involved ¹¹⁷.

In addition to attending to the hair of the living, hairdressers were also needed to prepare the dead during the mummification process, and it has been noted that the short hair of one Ptolemaic female "appears to have been specially prepared for interment" ¹¹⁸. It is also clear that wigmakers were likewise in demand, and with reference to a cache of wigmaking equipment discovered at Deir el-Bahari "La question reste ouverte si la production de perruques et postiches était destinée uniquement aux défunts ou aussi pour les vivants" ¹¹⁹.

It also seems possible that hairdressing skills may have been needed within the temple sanctuary at least by Graeco-Roman times. Apuleius refers to a procession of Isiac devotees who carry combs and indicate by their arm and finger movements that they were assigned to dress and adorn the hair of goddess Isis ¹²⁰, and an inscription from Megalopolis states that Dionysia, priestess of Isis, not only prepared and bathed the goddess but also "curled and perfumed her hair" ¹²¹; although both examples refer to the Isis cult outside Egypt, it is not unreasonable to imagine that such practices might be performed within Egypt itself.

To judge from the artistic and literary evidence, it would appear that the hairdresser did not require a precise location in

which to work, although wigs could be manufactured in workshops ¹²². It has been noted that the majority of scenes appear to take place indoors, "mais il y en a peu qui comportent un décor suffisamment caractéristique pour que l'on puisse établir dans quelle partie de la maison la scène se passait" ¹²³. In the scenes on the coffin of Henwy (fig.858) and in the Amarna tomb of Ay (fig.873) the work takes place in a columned hall, and many examples feature chairs and tables to suggest an interior location (fig.854-855, fig.857-862, fig.864-868, fig.875-876); the presence of a bed in the tomb scene of Neferronpet (TT.140) (fig.872), on the ostrakon sketch of three women (fig.874) and in the case of the Saïte figurine (fig.877) would seem to confirm that the task could also be performed in the bedroom. It has also been suggested that the two Middle Kingdom/Second Intermediate Period figurines (fig.869, fig.871) might demonstrate that hairdressing could also take place outdoors, "usage que l'on rencontre encore actuellement en Orient" ¹²⁴, a suggestion surely confirmed by the depiction of sunshades in the satirical sketches (fig.875).

The work undertaken by hairdressers and wigmakers required specialised equipment in the form of combs, pins, hair curlers/wavers, knives and so forth, and although an in-depth examination of such equipment is outside the scope of the present study ¹²⁵ they can be briefly discussed within a context of hair and its treatment.

Combs were the most important hairdressing tool prior to the introduction of brushes ¹²⁶, necessary for basic grooming, the removal of tangles, sand ¹²⁷ and parasites ¹²⁸. The verb "b, 'to comb' ¹²⁹, is found in the Story of Sinuhe, the hero stating that "Years were removed from my body...my hair was combed. Thus was my squalor returned to the foreign land" ¹³⁰. An ivory object referred to as *nsi* in a Ramesside memorandum has been interpreted as 'comb', since "the determinative points to carving. As for the root *ns*, it is well attested in different applications all connected with hairdressing" ¹³¹, although the 'n' has subsequently been amended to a 'p' to give *psi*, "the word clearly derived from the verb *ps*, 'to divide', and what else could an ivory divider be than a comb to untangle the hair?" ¹³².

Although depictions of combs are extremely rare, the aforementioned tomb scene of Neferronpet (TT.140) (fig.872) shows a comb painted in yellow ochre being used to groom long hair. A further predynastic example, painted in white on the inside of an Amratian red ware bowl (possibly a receptacle for storing such items) clearly depicts an ivory/bone comb typical of the period with long teeth and the handle carved in the form of an animal ¹³³ (fig.878).

Predynastic combs served both a practical ¹³⁴ and ornamental ¹³⁵ function, Petrie stating that "long wavy hair was fastened up with long toothed ivory combs" ¹³⁶ and Brunton noting that combs were worn as ornaments by the Amratians ¹³⁷ and Badarians ¹³⁸. It is also stated that "elaborate hairdos must have been fashionable because ornamental haircombs...were common" ¹³⁹. Generally made of bone or hippopotamus and elephant ivory, their often ornate handles can be carved into animals ¹⁴⁰ (fig.879-880), birds ¹⁴¹ (fig.879) or human figures ¹⁴² whilst other examples are quite plain ¹⁴³.

By early dynastic times combs tend to be smaller with shorter teeth cut more closely together, a few incised with

decoration as noted from an example inscribed for Djnet from Abydos¹⁴⁴. In the Old and Middle Kingdoms combs tend to follow this same basic shape and are generally quite plain and made of wood¹⁴⁵ (fig.881), although the addition of faience beads and inlay in certain cases (fig.882) suggests their continued use as decoration¹⁴⁶ with an example found in situ in the hair at Matmar¹⁴⁷. By the New Kingdom the ornate zoomorphic handle designs reappear¹⁴⁸ alongside plain forms¹⁴⁹, and double-sided combs common through to Coptic times have wider teeth on one side for general combing and finer teeth on the other for the removal of lice eggs¹⁵⁰ (fig.883-884).

As noted from hairdressing scenes, the creation of intricate styles often involved the use of hairpins in order to secure sections of hair away from the specific area being styled (fig.861-864, fig.876). These are generally made of ivory (hence the term *3b* interpreted as 'hairpin', derived from *3bw*, 'ivory'¹⁵¹) (fig.714, fig.746, fig.885), although wood and other materials could also be used¹⁵². Although often considered as purely functional items¹⁵³ it is quite clear that they could also be worn in a decorative manner, to judge from several Roman panel portraits¹⁵⁴ (fig.699) and as found in a number of male and female burials (fig.714, fig.810).

It has been stated that "ornamental pins may have superseded the long-toothed combs as hair ornaments in Nagada II"¹⁵⁵, and these pins of pre- and early dynastic date are indeed often quite ornate, their tops carved with various birds (fig.885), animals and human figures¹⁵⁶, and in some cases even miniature combs to give a dual function¹⁵⁷ (fig.855). In a female burial at Abadiya "this comb-pin, two bird pins and a spoon were all stuck into the hair"¹⁵⁸ (fig.714), and at Mostagedda Brunton discovered a bone pin with human figure "at the head of a man, no doubt in the hair"¹⁵⁹.

In contrast to the rarity of combs from the Middle Kingdom, hairpins "are numerous...These are long, straight pins of wood or ivory, adorned with incised line decoration and topped with a simple knob, a small human hand or little carved figure of the uraeus serpent or the hippopotamus goddess Ta-weret"¹⁶⁰, an unusual gold example featuring the head of Hathor in her aspect of Bat¹⁶¹. Two long bronze pins were also employed to support the lappets of Princess Ahmosi's long style¹⁶², and New Kingdom examples again range from the plain¹⁶³ to the highly ornate, with animals¹⁶⁴, rosettes¹⁶⁵ or again small combs used for the top¹⁶⁶. Such pins were still used in Roman times, and "as a rule found in the hair of women. In one instance there were two"¹⁶⁷, and one female burial at Hawara had no less than four pins in the hair, two of ivory, the others of horn and silver¹⁶⁸ (fig.810), although bone was the usual material employed for Coptic examples¹⁶⁹.

Another piece of equipment associated with the task of hairdressing and wigmaking is the small bronze implement generally referred to as a 'hair-curler', and described by Petrie as "a curiously shaped utensil...found in burials and towns" of the late Old Kingdom to Late Period¹⁷⁰. Such objects consist of two metal elements fastened together by means of a metal pin, one element in the form of a trough, the other fashioned at one end into either a knife or razor (fig.849, fig.851, fig.887), or a purely decorative feature in the form of a human or animal figure (fig.850, fig.888), such curlers ranging from the plain¹⁷¹ to the highly ornate¹⁷². Petrie further suggests that "the two hingeing points were for winding the little

curls of the wig, if the points were slightly heated, and the curl was then wound round and stretched upon them, the curl would take a set...The small knife would be required to cut off any straying hair" ¹⁷³.

This interpretation is generally accepted ¹⁷⁴, although it has been pointed out that only a small amount of hair could be curled with this method. Furthermore, heat could not have been used, "since none appear to have been subject to flame" ¹⁷⁵, and this would have made them impossible to hold unless some form of protective handle were used.

As a result of such objections alternative theories have been put forward as to their use ¹⁷⁶, although it would seem clear that they were toilet implements having been found with razors and mirrors in both male and female burials ¹⁷⁷, and one New Kingdom example is said to have been found with a curl of hair still wound around it ¹⁷⁸. The use of heat could have been offset by the use of linen strips or detachable wooden handles, a gift list in the Amarna letters including "29 spatulas of silver with handles of boxwood and ebony with which one curls the hair" ¹⁷⁹. The small size of the implements, only slightly more than 5cm long in some cases, would be quite sufficient to create the small waves found in many styles both natural and artificial, an application of wax/resin mixture firmly setting the finished style, and "as the hair was curled over 3,000 years ago, it could be said to have been effective" ¹⁸⁰. By Roman times, heated iron curling tongs (*calamistrum*) were used in conjunction with setting lotions of animal fat in order to create the ever more elaborate styles desired by the fashionable ¹⁸¹.

As stated, the Egyptian hair-waving implements often incorporate a knife or razor which could be used to trim the hair, and it is quite obvious from the physical evidence that the majority of men and women would have had their hair trimmed or cut regularly. In most recorded burials the hair is described as short, ie. no more than a few centimetres long, and short styles are repeatedly found in artistic representations. Although small shears were in use by Roman times ¹⁸², neither scissors nor shears have been found in Egypt before C.1st AD ¹⁸³ (fig.889). Flint knives were found in the Deir el-Bahari wigmaker's cache ¹⁸⁴, and together with bronze knives ¹⁸⁵ (fig.849) and razors (fig.848-851) must have been employed to cut hair. The only depiction of hair actually being cut is found in the aforementioned tomb scene of Userhat (TT.56), in which army recruits are shown "having their hair trimmed into a natural resilient helmet" ¹⁸⁶, a practice supported by the discovery of the bodies of Montuhotep II's soldiers, most of whom had short, fairly bushy hair (fig.738-742) and "one had his hair cut off at the nape of his neck not very long before he died" ¹⁸⁷ (fig.739).

Hair found in the wigmaker's cache was found to have been cut with a sharp instrument ¹⁸⁸ as was that of a Ptolemaic female ¹⁸⁹, and following SEM analysis the ends of early dynastic hair samples would also appear to have been cut with an extremely sharp cutting edge (fig.733), the cut ends exhibiting a very clean, smooth surface with no evidence of 'stepping' which occurs with a less sharp blade. The opposite ends of the same samples show a very smooth rounded tip (fig.734), indicating that the hair had originally been allowed to grow and had never been cut ¹⁹⁰.

In addition to the combs, pins and various implements used for waving and cutting employed by the hairdresser, the

wigmaker would have required further equipment in the form of awls ¹⁹¹, thread ¹⁹², leather strips ¹⁹³ and a wide range of hair samples, in addition to a wig mount (or block) on which to perform his or her work ¹⁹⁴.

A purpose-built wig mount, described by Cox as "a wooden head-shaped block of wood on which to make wigs" ¹⁹⁵, is essential in the construction and restyling process, and ancient examples reveal little difference in design when compared to their modern counterparts ¹⁹⁶. The well-worn "modèle de tête" made of wood coated with a layer of plaster, discovered in the Deir el-Bahari wigmaker's cache, still retained its inked-in guidelines marking the hair-line and position of the ears ¹⁹⁷, although rather more ornate examples complete with realistic facial features ¹⁹⁸ (fig.534) would almost certainly have been used for storage as well as construction.

Human hair ¹⁹⁹ both loose and worked was also found in the Deir el-Bahari wigmaker's cache. The loose hair, "une masse désordonnée et inutilisable" ²⁰⁰, was most likely employed as padding inside the wigs to economise on the better quality hair, some of it having been tied into bundles ²⁰¹. Other samples were secured in plaited or braided lengths which had been tied and sealed, and it is noted that "Les cheveux bien choisis et préparés devaient être une matière de prix, ce que prouve le faisceau de nattes...entouré d'une ficelle est scelle" ²⁰². A number of braids had also been attached to leather foundation strips ²⁰³ and in one case an unfinished linen foundation net ²⁰⁴, differing from aforementioned examples in which hair alone had been used to form the net base.

Contrary to expectations a small amount of unidentified animal fur "caractéristiques pour l'Afrique Nord" ²⁰⁵ was also found in the cache, most likely for use as internal padding with some of it mixed with the human hair ²⁰⁶ and the rest stored separately ²⁰⁷. Although none of the wigs studied have ever revealed the use of animal fibres ²⁰⁸, its use in this context cannot now be entirely ruled out ²⁰⁹.

Close examination of the human hair in the cache proved it to be from at least three different people ²¹⁰, although without the roots from which to extract DNA it is impossible to ascertain their sex ²¹¹. It is also unclear where wigmakers obtained their supplies of hair ²¹², although it is possible that an individual could utilise their own hair once sufficient length had been achieved ²¹³. It is however equally likely that hair could have been used to trade with, a Middle Kingdom accounts list from Kahun listing "20 nb3 and 2 bbwt" alongside gold and incense, Griffith translating both terms as 'wig' and suggesting that since both nb3 and bb are connected with the idea of something circular, the hair is perhaps curly ²¹⁴.

As is common practice in many cultures ²¹⁵, it has been suggested that in ancient Egypt hair could be "purchased from needy peasant women", although a further statement that "it was sometimes imported from Nubia" cannot be substantiated ²¹⁶. It also would seem rather unlikely, since Negroid hair is by nature heliotrichous, the tight frizzy curls proving difficult to work in comparison to the straight to wavy cynotrichous hair of the Egyptians from which almost all such wigs were made ²¹⁷. The physical remains of Nubians and Egyptians show a clear distinction in hair type ²¹⁸, and in the New Kingdom Nubians are distinguished by the epithet nbdw kdw, 'the curly-haired' ²¹⁹.

In later times it is known that hair was extensively traded throughout the Roman Empire with customs duties having to be paid by those involved. Blond hair was also imported from Germany, and Ovid refers to female prisoners-of-war having their hair cut off to supply the wig makers²²⁰.

The hair would presumably have had to be cleaned prior to use, both wigs and natural hair cleaned regularly as part of the general maintenance process. Lice eggs could be removed with a fine-toothed comb (fig.881-884) (discussed above), and the hair could be washed with a combination of water²²¹ and a cleansing agent such as natron, ashes or soda, all of which have detergent properties and dissolve fatty matter²²²; three samples of a yellow-white substance found in the wigmaker's cache actually proved to be a solid soda 'soap'²²³.

In addition to storing separate braids of hair with chips of aromatic wood²²⁴ (fig.762), perfumed oils could also be used to scent the hair, their importance supported by literary references. In the Tale of the Two Brothers, the perfume on a lock of hair was sufficient to cause Pharaoh to fall in love with its owner, Anubis' wife²²⁵, and the potency of perfume is referred to in the Love Poetry of the New Kingdom, "my hair is weighed down with unguent"²²⁶. In Callimachus' 'Lock of Berenice', a lock of the queen's hair states mournfully that "I no longer shall touch that head from which when (Berenice was) still a maiden I drank so many frugal scents, but did not enjoy the myrrh of the married woman's (hair)"²²⁷, suggesting that married women used stronger perfumes. In the tomb of Rekhmire the harpist sings "'ntyw hr bbwyt M'3t"²²⁸, "Put myrrh on the curls of Ma'at"²²⁹, and the perfumed locks of the goddess Shentayt are referred to in the 'Song of the Perfumed Hair', with the refrain "there is perfume, there is perfume in your hair, O holy Shentayt, perfume in your hair"²³⁰, repeated four times. The hair of Hathor is referred to as ndm, 'sweet, perfumed'²³¹, and perfumed hair is also associated with the cult Isis in Graeco-Roman times; the goddess is described as breathing perfume upon the royal maids of Byblos as she plaits their hair²³² and Apuleius describes female Isiac devotees with "locks that were moist with perfume"²³³.

Lucas states that the "perfumes of ancient Egypt consisted chiefly of fragrant oils or fats (ointments), the use of which is mentioned frequently in ancient texts and by several of the Greek and Roman writers. That in a hot, dry climate, such as that of Egypt, oils and fats should have been applied to the skin and hair was only natural..."²³⁴. He also states categorically that any trace of beeswax on ancient hair "is not to be explained by any anointing, which would only be possible with a liquid oil, or a solid fat liquefied by heat before use, or one that became liquid at the temperature of the human body, or of the room where the wig was being worn. The melting-point of beeswax...is much too high for it to have melted and flowed over the wig had it been applied in the solid form and, therefore, it is practically certain that it must have been warmed and rubbed into the hair", in order "to ensure the permanency of the curls"²³⁵.

It is quite clear that beeswax or a beeswax and resin mixture²³⁶ was indeed employed in the form of a fixative or setting agent for both wigs/false braids²³⁷ and the natural hair²³⁸ from early dynastic times onward, whilst oils and fats were

applied separately in order to perfume the hair, inhibit parasites and to give protection from the drying effect of the sun and possible use of harsh cleansing agents on both hair and scalp.

It has been stated that the hair could be "treated with a moisturizing cream placed in a lump on top of the head" and that "this 'cosmetic cone' was made of tallow impregnated with myrrh"²³⁹, appearing in painting, relief and statuary from the early New Kingdom to Late Period. However, these so-called 'cones' have been subject to varying degrees of misinterpretation, being generally described as actual cones of wax or solid fat scented with perfume, which were worn by noblewomen at banquets²⁴⁰; as they melted, they are supposed to have released their perfume over the head and upper body²⁴¹, assuming, of course, that they could be successfully balanced!

As Jones has stated, "it is odd that a people who were known to bath and change their linen should be perceived as the kind of people who would have sat down to a meal with scented animal fat dripping and running down their hair"²⁴² and no doubt carefully made-up face²⁴³. However, her alternative suggestion of a recyclable beeswax cone designed to dispense its added scent without melting seems rather unlikely, and still does not address the sheer impracticality of balancing such an object on the head²⁴⁴, other commentators having suggested that they were either fastened on or held in some form of container²⁴⁵ despite the fact that no such object has ever been found.

Following the custom of the African Gan, Petrie maintained that the object was made of an individual's hair, "shaved off from time to time [and] carefully saved until sufficient is collected to form a sort of cone...This cone of hair seems to explain the cone of the same size represented in the XVIIIth to XXth Dynasties. It has never been understood hitherto"²⁴⁶, although this explanation is altogether unlikely as the cones are almost always white with orange-yellow perfumed streaks (fig.468, fig.494, fig.496-500, fig.553), and are often shown being lifted from ointment containers²⁴⁷ (fig.892). Both Keimer²⁴⁸ and Schweinfurth²⁴⁹ compare the ancient practice to that of modern Africans who use a variety of fats on their hair to guard against the sun.

Having studied the huge number of artistic representations together with literary references it would appear that this 'object' is simply a visual reference to the fact that large amounts of scented oils or unguents had been applied to the hair and scalp²⁵⁰, and the neat cone shape nothing more than artistic convention. When first depicted in numbers in the early New Kingdom, the shape is small (fig.462), with an often bumpy or dotted outline which accurately reflects a modest amount of semi-solid unguent²⁵¹, although this gradually develops in size and height during the XVIIIth dynasty²⁵² until by the Amarna period enormous dimensions have been achieved²⁵³ (fig.335, fig.354, fig.358-359, fig.363), diminishing somewhat in the later New Kingdom (fig.436, fig.448-449), only to expand once again in the Late Period²⁵⁴ (fig.621, fig.651).

As stated, such improbable depictions simply indicate that the figure had been anointed with various unguents and oils, perfumed or otherwise. These mixtures are variously referred to as bt (ointment)²⁵⁵, lb3t (a form of ointment or oil)²⁵⁶,

mrht (oil or grease)²⁵⁷, b3k (moringa/ben oil)²⁵⁸, nhh (sesame oil)²⁵⁹, kmy (anointing oil)²⁶⁰, lbr (costly ointment for body and hair)²⁶¹, sgnn (ointment, or tallow)²⁶², 'd (fat)²⁶³, kn (fat)²⁶⁴, and a number of imported oils²⁶⁵. The use of balanos oil is mentioned in classical texts²⁶⁶, and balanites seeds were discovered in the wigmaker's cache²⁶⁷. The perfume used is frequently described as 'ntyw²⁶⁸ (myrrh) although frankincense mixed with fat was used in the mummification process to anoint both head and hair²⁶⁹.

Whilst the 'cone' is generally referred to as a New Kingdom feature, texts referring to the anointing of individuals date back to the Old Kingdom, the Vth dynasty vizier Senedjemib stating that King Djedkare Isesi "caused that I be anointed with fat"²⁷⁰. Such references can be also supported by artistic representations from the following dynasty, the long coiffure of nomarch Niankhpepi being dressed with "liquid unguent"²⁷¹ (fig.148), whilst the earliest example of an individual shown with an actual cone is noted in the Abydos stela reliefs of Amenysonb, his Asiatic brewer Irsi clearly portrayed with a small lump of semi-solid unguent on his cropped head as he goes about his work²⁷² (fig.292). Indeed, both hair and shaven heads (fig.396, fig.621) are similarly embellished, as is made clear from both artistic representations²⁷³ and textual evidence²⁷⁴.

In contrast to the general assumption that such items are only to be found on the heads of female figures in banquet scenes, they do in fact appear on a wide range of figures of both sexes as they undertake a variety of activities, as portrayed in both two and three dimensional form.

Men are often shown with cones alongside women in New Kingdom banquet scenes²⁷⁵ (fig.433, fig.892), in addition to similar scenes in which they are exclusive to men²⁷⁶. Rows of bowing officials receive conical lumps of unguent in the investiture scene in the tomb of Khaemhet (TT.57)²⁷⁷, as does Vizier Ramose in his tomb scenes (TT.55)²⁷⁸, a number of officials at Amarna²⁷⁹ (fig.354) and in the Memphite tomb of Horemheb²⁸⁰ (fig.363). However, Horemheb himself is only shown with a cone before becoming pharaoh, the only king thus depicted being the Priest-king Pinudjem II²⁸¹.

In addition to adults, children are also shown with cones of unguent atop both shaven heads with sidelocks²⁸² (fig.587) and long hair²⁸³.

Those engaged in some form of physical activity are likewise portrayed, including servants²⁸⁴ (fig.494) and entertainers²⁸⁵ (fig.499-500), nursing mothers²⁸⁶, female traders²⁸⁷, brewers²⁸⁸ (fig.292), flax-pullers²⁸⁹, those on hunting trips²⁹⁰ (fig.498), charioteers²⁹¹ and even those taken violently sick²⁹², all pursuits surely resulting in any such object balanced on the head falling off.

Cones are also to be found in a funerary context, on the head of the mummy as it lies flat during mummification²⁹³ and upright at the funeral²⁹⁴, and even on the heads of ba birds²⁹⁵. Transgressing into the divine sphere, they also appear in depictions of Isis and Nephthys²⁹⁶, Renutet²⁹⁷, Horus²⁹⁸ and three of his sons²⁹⁹ (fig.890).

Although assumed to be rarely portrayed in three dimensions³⁰⁰, a significant number of sculpted forms exist dating from the New Kingdom. Large-scale examples representing the tomb owner and his family are found in Theban tomb chapels³⁰¹, whilst smaller examples include wooden figurines of noblewomen³⁰² (fig.485-486), stone figurines of women lying on beds³⁰³ and nursing children³⁰⁴, and even the occasional male shabti figure³⁰⁵ (fig.386).

Quantities of unguent are also shown in shallow containers³⁰⁶ (fig.874-875), often in the process of being scooped out and applied to the hair³⁰⁷ (fig.891-892) (and skin³⁰⁸). The unlikely amounts provided are not only indicative of a host's generosity, but also symbolise the importance of oils and unguents as an integral part of the maintenance of the hair and scalp.

- 1 See for example Cairo CG.59653/JE.51570, memorandum in Zenon papyri, "Deliver a letter to Orilaos when you sail down at Hermopolis to the barber's shop, the one on the left hand side of the track...", in Edgar 1931, p.95; thanks to Mr.R.Nelson for translation and Prof.A.Lloyd for reference (correcting reference to 'No.5963' in Lloyd 1976, p.154), pers.comm.22.2.94.
- 2 Kaplony 1975, 617; for h'k see Gardiner 1982, U.37, p.520 and Faulkner 1981, p.201, and h'kw, 'barber', in Faulkner 1981, p.201.
- 3 Newberry 1894 II, p.47, 57, pl.IV, XIII and Wilkinson 1988 II, p.352.
- 4 Pap.Berlin 3022, line 291, in Lichtheim 1973, p.233.
- 5 Pap.Sallier II, in Lichtheim 1973, p.186, also Erman 1978, p.69.
- 6 Davies 1941, p.26, pl.XXVI and Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.164-165.
- 7 Pap.Leiden 348, in Caminos 1954, No.5, p.497, note 1.
- 8 Louvre N.2622, c.1000-700 BC, in Louvre 1982, No.12, p.13-14.
- 9 Moussa & Altenmüller 1977, scene 11.1.2.3, p.80-81, pl.10 and Schoske et al. 1990, fig.26, p.40.
- 10 Newberry 1894 II, pl.IV, XIII; Corson 1980, fig.2, p.25; Wilkinson 1988 II, p.352 and Klebs 1922 II, fig.24, p.41.
- 11 Beinlich-Seeber & Shedid 1987, p.68-69, pl.5, 29; Strouhal 1992, fig.219, p.206; Wreszinski 1923 I, 44; Milton 1980, p.62-63; Schoske et al. 1990, fig.18, p.23; Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.101; Davies 1982(ii), fig.49, p.190; Aldred 1987, fig.133, p.191 and Manniche 1987, fig.41, p.49.
- 12 Kaplony 1975, 619 and Montserrat 1991, p.46, note 12.
- 13 Cairo JE.47929, in Firth & Gunn 1926 I, No.10.a, p.53 and II, pl.28.c.
- 14 Kaplony 1975, "die Arbeit des Barbier beschränkt sich auf das Rasieren des Haupt und Barthaars, sowie das Waschen des Gesichts nach der Rasur", 618.
- 15 As stated by Davies 1982(ii), p.190; Manniche 1987, fig.41, "soldiers lining up to have their heads shaven", p.49 and Milton 1980, "shaving the heads of new recruits", p.62; however, see Aldred 1987, fig.133, p.191; Aldred 1957, p.142-143; Fischer 1976, p.41, note 8 and Breasted 1948, p.101.
- 16 A fact borne out by both artistic representations discussed above and physical remains, eg. Winlock 1945, p.9.
- 17 eg. OK priestess on false door CG.1414, in Borchardt 1937 I, p.80-84 and Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.57; NK priestesses in Davies 1948, p.14, pl.XII and Fletcher 1994(ii), fig.219, p.132; XI dyn. God's Wife, Leiden AH.113, in Boeser 1910 III, p.6, pl.XV, with NK examples in Robins 1993, fig.41, p.112 and Davies 1913, p.11, pl.II; priestesses portraying Isis and Nephthys in Osiris myth, in Faulkner 1936, line 1.4, p.121-140.
- 18 'Histories' II.36, trans. de Sélincourt 1954, p.143.
- 19 Lloyd 1976, No.36, p.152.
- 20 eg. Bruyère 1937, "les cadavres Égyptiens sont...lavés, épilés...", p.141.
- 21 ie. Tuthmosis I, Tuthmosis III, Seti I, Ramses III and Tutankhamen, despite Desroches-Noblecourt's comment that latter's shaven head was unique for a king, 1963, p.165.
- 22 Petrie 1920, p.47.
- 23 eg. Brunton 1927 I, p.17, pl.XX.22, 60, and see Davies 1982(ii) p.189.
- 24 eg. Brunton 1927 I, p.17, pl.XX.67, and see Davies 1982(ii), p.189.
- 25 Davies 1977, p.110.

- 26 See Kaplony 1975, 617.
- 27 eg. BM.EA.30842, interior of coffin of Seni, el-Bersheh, in Taylor 1989, fig.7, p.19 and Aldred 1987, fig.85, p.125.
- 28 eg. Petrie 1917, pl.LXI.21-22, and Davies 1982(ii), p.189-190, note 3.
- 29 MMA.16.1.29/16.1.30, in Brunton 1920 I, pl.X, although stating that they "do not necessarily imply that the head was kept shaven", p.37; also Scott 1980, No.32; Hayes 1953 I, fig.155, p.241-242 and Fletcher 1994(iii), fig.187, p.110.
- 30 Davies 1977, p.110-111 and Davies in Boston 1982, p.190.
- 31 eg. ROM 929.52.13, Amarna, in Boston 1982, No.220, p.191 and Lahren 1987, fig.15, p.38; Cam.Fitz.E.152.1932, unprovenanced, in Boston 1982, No.221, p.191; Cairo JE.63686, Thebes, in Griggs ed. 1985, No.20, p.41; razor of Amenemhat, MMA.35.3.28, Deir el-Bahari; razor of Hatnufer, in Lansing & Hayes 1937, fig.45, p.35; see also Petrie 1917, pl.LXI.78-79.
- 32 Davies 1977, p.107-111 and Davies 1982(ii), p.190, examples including Boston MFA.24.1787, Semna, in Boston 1982, No.223, p.192; ROM.909.80.272, in Lahren 1987, fig.16, p.37; MMA.26.7.837.b/12.182.7.d/12.182.7.f, Thebes, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.33, p.64 and Reeves & Taylor 1992, p.102; MMA.35.3.30, razor of Amenemhat, Deir el-Bahari; Edinburgh A.1921.780/A.1891.265; see also Schiaparelli 1927, fig.79, p.105.
- 33 Davies 1982(ii), p.190.
- 34 Suggested by Davies 1982(ii), p.190; set of Tutankhamen (all but one stolen in antiquity) in Davies 1977, p.107-111 and Reeves 1990(ii), p.159; set of Amenemhat wrapped in linen and placed next to head, MMA.35.3.28-31, XVIII dyn, Deir el-Bahari; set from tomb of Kha and Meryt, Turin N.Suppl.8615/8370/8376 etc, in Schiaparelli 1927, fig.40, p.76; both types, Leiden Inv.F.1931/9.8, F.1937/1.83 and Leiden Cat.E.XVII.5, in Fletcher 1994(iii), fig.174, p.103.
- 35 Davies 1982(ii), p.190.
- 36 eg. UC.30135, unprovenanced, in Boston 1982, No.224, p.192 and MMA.26.7.836, unprovenanced, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.164, p.269.
- 37 Davies 1982(ii), p.190; although he states a vessel containing lubricant present in "a barber's scene" from the tomb of Userhet (TT.56), this is most likely a scene of haircutting rather than shaving, and only one of the barbers has such a vessel which may contain refreshment as in the case of several other hairdressing scenes discussed below; furthermore, dry shaving was still practised in Roman Imperial period, see Jackson 1988, p.54.
- 38 For discussion see Gauthier-Laurent 1938, p.685; for Roman equivalents *ornatrix* and *tonstrix*, see Balsdon 1979, "Dieses Werk wurde von einer Frisöse oder von einer oder mehreren Sklavinnen durchgeführt...", p.41.
- 39 See Müller 1977, 331-332, and for detailed study of titles see Speidel 1990; thanks to Dr.D.M.Dixon, UCL, for latter reference.
- 40 Riefstahl 1952, p.11.
- 41 Riefstahl 1952, "Kha-bau-Ptah, for instance, who was Overseer of the Manicurists and Hairdressers of the Great House (ie. the Palace) was certainly more than the manager of a beauty parlour", being a Royal Friend and Relative, Beloved and Honoured of his Lord, etc. p.11.
- 42 Blackman 1918, p.150 and Riefstahl 1952, p.11-12.
- 43 Riefstahl 1952, p.11-14.
- 44 Strudwick 1985, p.342-343.
- 45 Hassan 1941 III, fig.143, p.166, 170-171.

- 46 Hassan 1941 III, fig.171, p.200, 206.
- 47 Hassan 1936 II, fig.86, p.75, 82.
- 48 Hassan 1932 I, "Maker of the King's hair", ie. hairdresser", p.2, also 16, 27, 29, and Riefstahl 1952, p.11, note 7.
- 49 Private Collection, false door inscription, reign of Pepi I; thanks to New York Ancient World Arts for information.
- 50 Borchardt 1907, No.52.1-2, "Perueckenmacher", p.74 and Riefstahl 1952, p.11, note 6.
- 51 Leiden Inv.AST.9, in Boeser 1908 I, p.19, pl.XXIV; Braat & Klaasens 1968, p.32, pl.32; Fechheimer 1914, pl.21; Vandier 1958 III, pl.XXXIV.1; Riefstahl 1952, p.14, note 13; Fischer 1976, No.26, p.72, 74; Vogelsang-Eastwood ed. 1994, fig.1, p.6 and Fletcher 1994(ii), p.127.
- 52 Fischer 1976, p.74.
- 53 Fischer 1976, p.72, note 23.
- 54 Riefstahl 1952 & 1956.
- 55 Faulkner 1981, p.140.
- 56 BME.A.194 [162], in BM.IV 1913, p.10, pl.33.
- 57 BME.A.128 [152], Abydos, in BM.II 1912, p.10, pl.34.
- 58 James 1962, p.33.
- 59 Naville 1901 IV, pl.CIX, given as "coiffeur" by Faulkner 1981, p.268; two of men beneath this title carry boxes bearing 'curl' symbol which may signify they contain false hair, in keeping with ointment, eye-paint and linen carried before them, despite Navilles reference to contents as "carpets or rugs made of coarse material", p.8.
- 60 Cairo Inv.No.605, in Werbrouck 1938, p.82.
- 61 Frazer 1972 IIa, p.548, note 306 and Pomeroy 1984, p.27-28.
- 62 Quoted in Pomeroy 1984, p.68-69.
- 63 Griffiths 1970, p.140-141, 325.
- 64 Derchain 1975, p.65.
- 65 Derchain 1975, p.69.
- 66 Riefstahl 1952, p.15-16.
- 67 Riefstahl 1956, p.17; see also Fazzini 1975, p.48; Posener 1986, p.113 and Müller 1977, 331-332.
- 68 eg. Gauthier-Laurent 1938, "cette scene...semble avoir été complètement ignorée des artistes de l'Ancien Empire", p.673, 693, and Freed 1982(ii), "Scenes of hairdressing first appear in the First Intermediate Period", p.196.
- 69 Paget & Pirie 1898, p.27, pl.XXXV; Davies 1900 I, p.9, pl.XXX; Harpur 1987, p.91; Wreszinski 1936 III, pl.2; Klebs 1915, p.19, pl.8.II and Schoske et al. 1990, fig.15, p.21.
- 70 Davies 1900 I, p.9.
- 71 Paget & Pirie 1898, p.27; Klebs 1915, p.19 and Fletcher 1994(ii), p.128.
- 72 Macramallah 1935, pl.XVII and Harpur 1987, p.112.
- 73 Fischer 1976, p.50, date based on one of styles worn by tomb owner (discussed above).
- 74 Riefstahl 1956, "this seems to be the earliest of the recorded scenes showing a hairdresser actually at work", p.16, note 27, and Müller 1977, 332.

- 75 Boston MFA.27.444, Giza tomb G.2132, in Fischer 1959, p.248-249, note 39; Fischer 1976, p.47-49; Müller 1977, 332; Harpur 1987, p.573, note 112; Riefstahl 1956, p.16, note 27 and Fletcher 1994(ii), p.127.
- 76 Fischer 1959, p.249, note 39.
- 77 Berlin Inv.No.13774, Gebelein, in Gauthier-Laurent 1938, A.1, p.674, 693, pl.1.A; Donadoni 1955, pl.59 and Wreszinski 1923 I, 85.a.
- 78 Berlin Inv.No.13772, Gebelein, in Gauthier-Laurent 1938, A.2, fig.1, p.674-675, pl.1.b and Wreszinski 1923 I, 86.a.
- 79 Cairo CG.1651 in Gauthier-Laurent 1938, B, fig.2, 11, p.675-676, 690-691 and Schoske et al. 1990, fig.16, p.22; also referred to in Riefstahl 1956 as "conspicuously of Gebelein style", p.16, note 27 (although also stating it to be unpublished after having referred to Gauthier-Laurent's work in which it appears).
- 80 Vandier 1950, p.288-289, pl.XLIII.1.
- 81 Brooklyn Acc.No.51.231, in Riefstahl 1952, fig.1, p.7-16; Riefstahl 1956, p.10-17, pl.VIII, X; Brooklyn 1952, No.25 and Fazzini 1975, p.48.
- 82 Brooklyn Acc.No.54.49, in Riefstahl 1956, p.10-17, pl.IX-X; Brooklyn 1974, p.32-33; Fazzini 1975, p.48 and Fazzini et al. 1989, No.17.
- 83 Even though Nefru is seated, Henut still has to raise her arms to attend to her hair, a result of practice of rendering main character on larger scale; presumably in real life hairdressers would be able to stand over their seated subject, making their task much easier.
- 84 As reconstructed in Riefstahl 1956, pl.X; Fazzini 1975, p.48 and Brussels 1976, No.24-25, p.52-53.
- 85 MMA.26.3.353 WW, in Riefstahl 1956, p.17, pl.XIV.C; thanks to Dr.C.Roehrig for information.
- 86 Cairo JE.47397, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.68.b; Naville 1907 I, p.48- 49, 53-56, pl.XIX-XX; Corteggiani 1986, No.32, p.67; Aldred 1969, No.8, p.35; Aldred 1980, fig.69, p.110; Aldred 1987, fig.86, p.128; Smith 1981, fig.155, p.164; Klebs 1922 II, fig.20, 22, p.32-33; Strouhal 1992, fig.87, p.85; Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.83; Gauthier-Laurent 1938, C, fig.3, 9, p.676, 688-689; Riefstahl 1952, fig.2, p.9 & 14-15; Riefstahl 1956, p.16, pl.XIII; Posener 1962, p.114; Westendorf 1968, p.71; Garetto 1955, pl.III; Schoske et al. 1990, fig.17, p.22 and Fletcher 1994(ii), fig.128, p.128.
- 87 Gauthier-Laurent 1938, fig.9, p.689.
- 88 Naville 1913 III, p.9, pl.III; Gauthier-Laurent 1938, D, fig.4, p.677-678, 692 and Haynes 1992, p.16.
- 89 Gauthier-Laurent 1938, p.692.
- 90 Cairo CG.20295, XII-XIII dyn, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1902 I, p.308, IV, pl.XXII and Gauthier-Laurent 1938, G, p.679, 693.
- 91 Tylor 1896, pl.V; Gauthier-Laurent 1938, H.1, fig.5, p.680 and Derchain 1975, p.67.
- 92 Tylor 1896, pl.VIII; Gauthier-Laurent 1938, H.2, fig.6, p.681 and Derchain 1975, p.68.
- 93 See Gauthier-Laurent 1938, "On peut choisir, ici, entre deux interprétations. (a) La natte que la coiffeuse accourt remettre en place pendant le repas ou la réception est peut-être simplement détressé...ce qui serait vraisemblable surtout en H.2 où les cheveux sont figurés avec l'ondulation inégale que présente une tresse dénatté. (b) Le fait que la coiffeuse tient à deux mains la partie supérieure de la mèche, tout près de son point d'attache pourrait aussi suggérer l'idée qu'elle est en train de refixer une natte accidentellement détachée de la monture de la perruque, mais il est probable qu'une telle réparation exigeait que la femme enlevât sa coiffure", p.691-692.
- 94 See also Boston MFA.15.5.664, XII dyn. fragmentary limestone figurine described as "very probably another hairdressing scene" in Breasted 1948, p.56.

- 95 MMA.22.2.35, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.138, p.222; Breasted 1948, Type 2.1, p.56, pl.49.a; Gauthier-Laurent 1938, F, p.679, 690-691, pl.II.A; Wenig 1969, pl.26.b; Janssen & Janssen 1990, fig.7, p.16; Amiet et al. 1981, fig.6, p.231 and Cooper 1971, p.152.
- 96 Unlikely to be a professional or servant, since woman whose hair is being dressed nurses a child and sits on floor.
- 97 Gauthier-Laurent 1938, p.690-691.
- 98 Cairo JE.33732, in Petrie & Mace 1901, p.52, pl.XXVI; Maspero 1915, p.527 and Gauthier-Laurent 1938, E, p.678-679, 690-691, pl.II.B.
- 99 Petrie & Mace 1901, p.52.
- 100 Gauthier-Laurent 1938, p.690-691 and Maspero 1915, p.527.
- 101 Gauthier-Laurent 1938, I, fig.7, p.682, 692; Manniche 1987(ii), fig.30, p.42; Derchain 1975, p.66-67 and Freed 1982(ii), p.196. For comparable bedroom scene in tomb of User (TT.260) involving cosmetics as opposed to hairdressing see Greenlees 1923, p.131, pl.XXI and Manniche 1987, fig.36, p.44.
- 102 Gauthier-Laurent 1938, p.692, this comment misinterpreted by Freed 1982(ii), p.196 as only instance where a comb represented as opposed to only scene of a comb in use; furthermore Garetto 1955, states that "il pettine non compare mai", p.84.
- 103 Manniche 1988(ii), fig.59-61, p.54-55.
- 104 Davies 1908 VI, p.20, pl.XXVIII, XXXVI and Gauthier-Laurent 1938, J, fig.8, p.683.
- 105 Beinlich-Seeber & Shedid 1987, p.68-69, pl.5, 29; Strouhal 1992, fig.219, p.206; Wreszinski 1923 I, 44; Milton 1980, p.62-63; Schoske et al. 1990, fig.18, p.23; Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.101; Davies 1982(ii), fig.49, p.190; Aldred 1987, fig.133, p.191 and Manniche 1987, fig.41, p.49.
- 106 As noted by Aldred 1957, p.142-143; Aldred 1987, fig.133, p.191; Fischer 1976, p.41, note 8 and Breasted 1948, p.101.
- 107 Louvre Inv.No.3026, XIX-XX dyn, in Gauthier-Laurent 1938, M, fig.14, p.695-696; for comparable scene in which grooming complete, see Berlin Inv.21461, in Brunner-Traut 1979, fig.1, p.4 and Schoske et al. 1990, No.113, p.130.
- 108 Gauthier-Laurent 1938, p.695-696.
- 109 Brussels MRAH.E.6379, XIX-XX dyn, in Gauthier-Laurent 1938, L, fig.13, p.694-695.
- 110 Cairo JE.31199, XX dyn(?), in Gauthier-Laurent 1938, K, p.684, 693, pl.IID; Garetto 1955, pl.III; Corteggiani 1986, No.88, p.138-139; Terrace & Fischer 1970, No.34, p.149-150; Freed 1982(ii), fig.51, p.196 and Smith 1981, fig.380, p.382.
- 111 Gauthier-Laurent 1938, p.693, although Terrace & Fischer 1970, p.149-150, believe false lock belongs to cat, which is rather unlikely.
- 112 UC.8650, in Petrie 1937, No.198, p.9; Gauthier-Laurent 1938, N, p.696 (date given here as "probablement Moyen Empire") and Derchain 1975, p.65; thanks to Mrs.R.Janssen for access.
- 113 Gauthier-Laurent 1938, p.696.
- 114 Gauthier-Laurent 1938, p.684.
- 115 Pap.Anastasi III, 3.2-3, in Caminos 1954, p.73.2.
- 116 Pap.Anastasi IV, 4/Pap.Koller, 2.8-3.1, in Caminos 1954, p.131, 436, reference to Kush indicative of shoddy work.
- 117 See aforementioned work of Derchain 1975; in first passage he prefers "un nbd neuf", p.57, whilst the second "ne

- signifie certainement pas que l'homme s'est laissé pousser les cheveux, mais que sa perruque, défaire, pend jusqu'à terre", p.57.
- 118 Lahren 1987, p.38; see also Bruyère 1938, "les cadavres égyptiens...sont lavés, épilés, oints, coiffés et parés avant d'être emmaillotés", p.141.
- 119 Laskowska-Kusztal 1978, p.118; further comment that "La majorité des trouvailles connues de cheveux provienne des tombeaux et était destinée aux défunts précis", 1978 p.118, cannot rule out the use of false hair within the sphere of daily life since a great number of such 'daily life' items have only been found within a funerary context.
- 120 'Metamorphoses' 11.9, in Griffiths 1975, p.81, 183 and Heyob 1975, p.96.
- 121 C.2-3rd AD inscription, referred to in Heyob 1975, p.61, note 37.
- 122 Laskowska-Kusztal 1978, p.118, presumably a specific building sheltered from sun and wind.
- 123 Gauthier-Laurent 1938, p.686.
- 124 Gauthier-Laurent 1938, p.686.
- 125 For use of combs, pins etc. as personal adornment, see current research of S.Lax-Bojtos, UCL, on subject of 'Objects of Adornment in Ancient Egypt with Specific Reference to the Petrie Museum'.
- 126 See Watterson 1991, "as far as is known, they did not use anything resembling a hairbrush", p.113 and Garetto 1955, "Le spazzole non erano conosciute dagli antichi Egizi", p.84.
- 127 See Winlock 1945, "in the hair of the head it [sand] was thickly matted, especially when the hair had been greased", p.21 and Watterson 1991, "particles of it [sand] inevitably lodge in the hair", p.113.
- 128 See Coptic wooden comb NMNZ.FE.1717 in Palma 1991, p.194 and contemporary bronze example BM.EA.24633, latter being almost identical to modern metal 'nit' combs.
- 129 Faulkner 1981, p.39.
- 130 Pap.Berlin 3022, line 291, in Lichtheim 1973, p.233.
- 131 Goedicke 1963, p.173.
- 132 Janssen 1964, "However, though ivory and wooden combs are known from predynastic times onwards, the word *psl* seems to occur only during the New Kingdom. Possibly an older name for this object will eventually turn up", p.178-179.
- 133 Boston MFA.13.3935, Nagada I, despite Freed's comment that Neferronpet scene "is the only instance where a comb is represented", 1982(ii), p.196.
- 134 Despite Murray's comment "the combs had long teeth, and were clearly for holding up long hair, not for combing it", 1963, p.4; it is quite possible to comb hair with long-toothed combs.
- 135 Despite comments of Garetto, that "Capart afferma che talvolta i pettini ornati da sculture erano anche usati a scopo ornamentale, per quanto non ci sia pervenuta nessuna testimonianza di questo fatto", 1955, p.84 and Needler "this type of narrow, long-toothed combs with decorative top...seems to have been designed as a hair ornament, although proof is lacking", 1984, p.316; however, latter goes on to state that "In view of the scarcity of evidence for the sex of the person who wore these combs, and indeed for their use as hair ornaments at all, it may be mentioned that until recently, similar combs...were worn in the hair by men of the Bedja, an example of the apparent survival of many Predynastic traditions among nomads of the Eastern Desert", 1984, p.316, as in Keimer 1952, p.64-77; for 2IP female body with bone comb "perhaps in the hair", see Brunton 1948, p.56 (discussed below).
- 136 Petrie 1920, p.47, pl.XXIX.
- 137 Brunton 1937, p.87, pl.XLII.

- 138 Brunton 1928, p.41.
- 139 Malek 1986, p.22.
- 140 eg. MMA.23.2.8/23.2.2/23.2.5, ivory, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.12, p.21; Louvre E.27438, Nagada II, hippopotamus ivory and Ox.Ash.1895-942, ivory, Nagada (grave 1586), in Crowfoot Payne 1993, no.1904, fig.77, p.231 and Malek 1986, p.22.
- 141 eg. MMA.23.2.7/23.2.4/23.2.3, ivory, in Hayes 1953 I, fig.12, p.21; Brooklyn Acc.No.07.447.764, ivory, late Nagada II-Nagada III, in Needler 1984, No.248, p.317 and Ox.Ash.1895-937, ivory, Nagada (grave 1586) in Crowfoot Payne 1993, no.1917, fig.78, p.232 and Malek 1986, p.22.
- 142 eg. Brooklyn Acc.No.35.1267, early Nagada II, bone, in Needler 1984, No.247, p.316 and Berlin Inv.No.22703, Nagada I-II, elephant ivory, in Schoske et al. 1990, No.89, p.114.
- 143 eg. Cam.Fitz.E.1287, ivory, in Hart 1991, p.19, pl.1.
- 144 Emery 1961, fig.146, p.248; Garetto 1955, p.83; Malek 1986, p.35 and Vandier 1952 I, fig.566, p.849.
- 145 eg. Boston MFA.37.13220, V dyn, Giza tomb G.1102; also example from child's grave at Lisht in Lansing 1933, fig.35 and Hayes 1953 I, "combs are rarely preserved, but a good example from Lisht shows the narrow, fine-toothed type popular in the Twelfth Dynasty", p.240.
- 146 eg. MM.No.223, XII dyn, Kahun.
- 147 Brunton 1948, 2IP grave 5002, "the bone comb was above the head, perhaps in the hair", p.56.
- 148 eg. Louvre N.1359, wooden comb with kneeling ibex, in Zeigler 1990, p.58; Boston 1982, No.230, p.197 and Kozloff & Bryan 1992, No.86, p.360; see also Hayes 1959 II, "crudely carved duck's head" at either end of a XVIIIth dyn comb, p.21 and Ramesside horse-topped example in Petrie 1891, pl.18.46.
- 149 eg. Turin Inv.Suppl.8500, wooden comb of Meryt, in Schiaparelli 1927, fig.78-79, p.105 and Garetto 1955, fig.10, p.84; Cairo JE.63738, XVIII-XIX dyn, wood, in Hildesheim 1984, No.57, p.124; Munich ÄS.784, late NK, wood, in Schoske et al. 1990, No.91, p.115; Boston MFA.72.4341 in Boston 1982, No.229, p.197 and UC.7098, Gurob, in Thomas 1990, No.102, p.54-55.
- 150 MM.No.4224, C.5-6th AD, Oxyrynchus; BM.EA.12555, Thebes, and NMNZ.FE.1717, C.5-6th AD, Antinoë, in Palma 1991, pl.XXI.2.
- 151 See Wreszinski 1932, p.133-134; Weigall 1911, No.13, p.176 and Riefstahl 1956, p.16, note 28; see also Gardiner 1982, No.23, note 0(sic), p.518.
- 152 Materials include wood, steatite, gold and bronze discussed below, with glass example in Winlock 1917, p.21.
- 153 eg. Gauthier-Laurent 1938, "les épingles de tête ne sont pas employées dans la coiffure pour leur valeur décorative, ce sont des accessoires de toilette", p.689, note 1; Riefstahl 1956, "I know of no finished coiffure in which a pin appears purely as decoration", p.17; also Laskowska-Kusztal 1978, p.115-116.
- 154 eg. CG.33237, c.81-96 AD, Hawara, in Edgar 1905, hair in bun on top of head "through which is fixed...a long gold pin with hook-shaped top", p.92, pl.XXXVII; Grimm & Johannes 1975, No.54, p.25, pl.93; Petrie 1889, p.19-20, pl.X-XI and Petrie 1890, pl.I; also Edinburgh RMS.No.1951.160, woman with jewelled pin in similar style, in Parlasca 1966, pl.XVIII.2.
- 155 Needler 1984, p.317.
- 156 See Petrie 1920, "hairpins with figures of birds on the head were usual", p.47, pl.VIII, eg. UC.10156, hippopotamus ivory, predynastic, in Brunton & Caton-Thompson 1928, pl.LXXII.127; Brooklyn Acc.No.07.447.779, Nagada II(?), el-Ma'mariya, in Needler 1984, No.249, p.317; MMA.23.2.28, ivory, predynastic, and Berlin Inv.No.18570, elephant ivory, Nagada II, Abusir, in Schoske et al. 1990, No.86, p.113; for Amratian bone pin with human figure with raised arms, see Brunton 1937, p.72, 87, pl.XLII.59.

- 157 UC.5213, Nagada tomb 1728; also Ox.Ash.E.1038 in hair E.1034 from Abadiya grave B.378, in Petrie & Mace 1901, p.34, pl.VI, see below, note 158.
- 158 Ox.Ash.E.1034, in Petrie & Mace 1901, p.21, 34, pl.VI and Needler 1984, p.317; thanks to Dr.H.Whitehouse for access and information.
- 159 Brunton 1937, p.72, 87, pl.XLII.59.
- 160 Hayes 1953 I, p.240; see for example Cairo CG.44410, MK ivory pin with shaven man top, in Bénédite 1911, p.17-18, pl.IX, with Kahun examples in Petrie 1890, p.30, pl.VIII.4-8.
- 161 Cam.Fitz.E.158.1947, in Bourriau 1988, No.158, p.148.
- 162 Turin.Suppl.5061, in Schiaparelli 1923, p.15, fig.14, p.19; Garetto 1955, p.78 and Chiotasso et al. 1992, fig.2, p.99.
- 163 eg. UC.7875/7876(i)/7876(ii), etc, Gurob, in Thomas 1981, No.420-427, p.12, 61-62; Bolton 58.11, in Thomas 1990, No.103, p.55; Louvre E.21578, in Louvre 1982, Cat.19, p.16; Schiaparelli 1927, fig.78-79, p.105 and Davies 1917, p.42.
- 164 eg. Louvre N.1715.8, in Louvre 1982, Cat.19, p.16; Louvre N.1715, in Boston 1982, No.231, p.198; Cam.Fitz.EGA.125.1949, in Boston 1982, No.232, p.198; see also Hayes 1959 II, p.188-189.
- 165 eg. two of five bone pins found in papyrus hair-pin box in Deir el-Bahari wigmakers cache, in Laskowska Kusztal 1978, No.4.a-b, fig.37-41, p.100-101, 115-116.
- 166 eg. MMA.26.2.1, Sakkara, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.253, p.402 and Fletcher 1994(ii), fig.211, p.128; also BME.A.35910.
- 167 Brunton 1930 III, p.28.
- 168 UC.28072, in Petrie 1889, p.13; Petrie 1937, No.331, p.18 and Bowman 1986, pl.6; thanks to Mrs.R.Janssen for access.
- 169 eg. Martin 1981, No.902, p.74, pl.12, 22.
- 170 Petrie 1917, p.48-49, pl.LXI.
- 171 eg. MK examples from Kahun rubbish heaps, in Petrie 1891, p.12, pl.VIII; NK examples, UC.7783-7787, Gurob, in Thomas 1981, No.409-413, p.12, 61; ROM.909.80.517, XVIII-XIX dyn, in Boston 1982, No.225, p.194 and Lahren 1987, fig.17, p.38; Berlin Inv.No.22221, in Schoske et al. 1990, No.95, p.116-117; MMA.35.3.31, Deir el-Bahari tomb of Amenemhat and Edinburgh A.1921.1360, unprovenanced; see also Chiotasso et al. 1992, fig.1; Downes 1974, fig.82, p.102; Petrie 1917, pl.LXI.1-13; Petrie 1931 I, p.8, pl.XXI.116 and Petrie 1933 III, p.9, pl.XXIV.138.
- 172 eg. UC.8529, XVIII dyn, in Petrie 1917, pl.LXI.18 and Kozloff & Bryan 1992, No.115, p.428; UC.30134, XVIII dyn, in Petrie 1917, pl.LXI.15 and Boston 1982, No.226, p.194; UC.26935, XVIII dyn, in Petrie 1917, pl.LXI.9 and Boston 1982, No.227, p.195; BME.A.36314, NK, in Stead 1986, fig.69, p.51; Turin N.Suppl.8376, XVIII dyn, tomb of Kha, in Schiaparelli 1927, fig.41, p.77 and Chiotasso et al. 1992, fig.1.a, p.99.
- 173 Petrie 1917, p.48-49.
- 174 eg. Thomas 1981, "the instrument was probably used mainly to curl wigs", p.12; Hayes 1959 II, "several different purposes, among which may have been the curling and trimming of small locks of hair on a wig or natural coiffure", p.22; Lahren 1987, "hair-dresser's braid-making tool", fig.17, p.38; Chiotasso et al. 1992, suggesting waves rather than curls were created, "L'oggetto interpretato, secondo me impropriamente, come forbici, pinzette o piegaciglia, potrebbe essere servito ad ondulare pizzo e capelli, non credo ad arricciarli come alcuni sostengono, perché tecnicamente assai poco pratico", p.99.
- 175 Freed 1982, p.193.

- 176 Kozloff & Bryan 1992, No.115, "one conceivable use is in the delicate mummification procedures", p.428.
- 177 eg. Turin Inv.Suppl.8376, equipment of Kha, in Chiotasso et al. 1992, p.99; also MMA.12.182.7c, early XVIII dyn. Theban tomb, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.33, p.64.
- 178 MM.No.11002, NK, unprovenanced, in Fletcher 1994(ii), p.128; thanks to Dr.A.R.David for information.
- 179 Kozloff & Bryan 1992, p.428.
- 180 Cox 1983, p.2.
- 181 Jackson 1988, p.54 and Allason-Jones 1989, p.137; see also Ovid, 'Amores' I.14.24, trans. Showerman 1914, p.374-375.
- 182 Petrie 1917, traces their invention to Italy, 300 BC, p.48, pl.LVIII-LIX; also Jackson 1988, p.54 and Stead et al. 1986, "scissors appear to have been introduced into Britain in post-Roman times", although shears had been used to cut hair of Lindow Man, c.550 BC, "even if such equipment is not known to be a common personal item in British Iron Age cultures" p.68; for Egyptian representation of small shears, see Edinburgh RMS.No.1911.210-4.G, Graeco-Roman painted tablet, Hawara, in Grimm 1974, pl.9.3 and Bowman 1986, fig.65, p.111.
- 183 eg. ornamental shears, MMA.46.2.1, unprovenanced; for scissors from Roman Egypt see Petrie 1917, p.48, Q.38, pl.LIX.
- 184 Laskowska-Kusztal 1978, p.103, 116.
- 185 eg. XVIII dyn. bronze knife of Amenemhat, MMA.35.3.29, Deir el-Bahari.
- 186 Aldred 1987, fig.133, p.191; also Aldred 1957, p.142-143; Fischer 1976, p.41, note 8 and Breasted 1948, p.101.
- 187 Winlock 1945, body No.10, p.9.
- 188 Laskowska-Kusztal 1978, p.120.
- 189 Memphis State University Institute of Egyptian Art and Archaeology, in Lahren 1987, "the tips appear to have been cut with a razor", fig.14, p.37-38 and Bell et al. 1987, referring to "obvious sharply cut ends", p.33.
- 190 Many thanks to Dr.W.Cooke and UMIST SEM staff for extensive help and information, and Dr.A.R.David for sample of MM.No.1198; see also Rabino Massa et al. 1980, p.133-137, and for comparative purposes hair of Lindow Man, c.550 BC, showed clear signs of stepping, in Stead et al. 1986, fig.35, p.67.
- 191 Laskowska-Kusztal 1978, No.92, "une alène probablement de bronze...5.5cm de longueur", p.99, 116 and No.14, "une alène probablement en cuivre avec manche en ébène, long de 9.7cm", fig.50, p.104, 116.
- 192 Laskowska-Kusztal 1978, No.2-3, p.87; No.6-10, p.89; No.17, p.92; No.2, p.94; No.4, p.95; No.5.j, 6, "une pelotte de fil", 7, p.103; No.20, p.105, and p.112.
- 193 Laskowska-Kusztal 1978, No.9, p.89; No.15-16, p.92, p.111.
- 194 As Gauthier-Laurent notes, "la préparation et la composition d'une perruque...n'était pas confectionnée directement sur le tête", 1938, p.686.
- 195 Cox 1989, p.166.
- 196 Cox 1989, fig.182, 185, p.250.
- 197 Laskowska-Kusztal 1978, fig.57-61, p.106-109, 113.
- 198 Cairo JE.71969, in Lauer 1939, p.450, pl.LXX and Zivie 1988, p.187, pl.11; see also Zivie 1988, p.179-195, pl.7-10 and Zivie 1990, fig.38-48, p.86.
- 199 Laskowska-Kusztal 1978, p.110.

- 200 Laskowska-Kusztal 1978, p.112; see No.1.d, p.87; No.1.e, fig.6, p.87; No.2, p.94 and No.1.k, p.96.
- 201 Laskowska-Kusztal 1978, No.1.c, p.84 and No.6, p.89.
- 202 Laskowska-Kusztal 1978, p.111; see No.1.a, "un bandeau composé de deux plus minces, fortement tordus en haut et entourés d'un mince fil ou de cheveux, séparés et tressés en une natte lâche ou enroulés en boucle, terminés par des colimaçons...", p.84; No.1.b, p.84; No.2, fig.7, 11, p.87; No.3, 5, p.87; No.7, fig.14,"des nattes étroites fortement tressées en haut...enfilées sur une ficelle mince tressée de cheveux, long. du fil env.42cm, 107 nattes longues d'env.23cm", and identical example with 115 plaits, No.8, p.89; No.12, fig.17, p.89; No.13, fig.18, p.90; No.3, fig.24, p.94; No.4, fig.25-26, p.95; No.5, p.95; No.6, fig.27, p.95 and No.7, p.95.
- 203 Laskowska-Kusztal 1978, No.9, fig.15, p.89; No.15, fig.19, p.92, p.111.
- 204 Laskowska-Kusztal 1978, No.1, fig.10, p.87; for linen net only see No.5.h-i, fig.43-44, p.103.
- 205 Laskowska-Kusztal 1978, p.120.
- 206 Laskowska-Kusztal 1978, p.112, and No.1.f, No.4, fig.12, p.87, No.5, p.87; No.10, p.89; No.14, p.90 and p.112, 120.
- 207 Laskowska-Kusztal 1978, No.1.i, fig.32, p.96 and No.17, fig.53, p.104.
- 208 See Lucas 1930, p.190-196; Lucas 1989, p.30; Eisa 1948, p.9-19; Cox 1977, p.67; Carpignano & Rabino Massa 1981, p.229 and Fletcher 1994, p.33; many thanks to Dr.W.Cooke for identification of hair samples in this study.
- 209 For analysis/identification of human and animal fibres see Clement et al. 1981, "Human hairs differ from all other animal hairs because of the clear microfibrillar and macrofibrillar ultrastructure of their medullary cells", p.457; also Fengel 1990, p.1-2, fig.1-6; Zivanovic 1982, p.20; Appleyard 1978 and Phan 1991.
- 210 Laskowska-Kusztal 1978, "Cela est prouvé par des traits morphologiques différents qui excluent leur origine d'une seule personne", p.120.
- 211 Laskowska-Kusztal 1978, "...par suite de l'absence de fragments même de racines, on ne peut établir le sexe de ces individus", p.120.
- 212 Naguib 1990, "it is not clear whether [wigs] were a commodity sold and bought on the market or if they were made on special order", p.17.
- 213 For comparison with C.17th England, Arnold states that "Pepys' own hair was thick enough to make a wig", 1970, p.11; thanks to Dr.R.Morkot for this reference.
- 214 Kahun Pap.VI.10, list II, in Griffith 1898, p.39, 48-50, pl.XIX.1-62, repeated on p.50, pl.XX.1-51, although here nb3 given as aba; see also Faulkner 1981, bbwt, "wig (reaching to shoulders?)", p.82.
- 215 See Cox 1989, fig.178, "human hair collector cutting tresses from a peasant, Brittany late C.19th" p.249, and Ferguson 1989, "the hair is provided by poor Italian peasants" in case of modern wigs, p.205.
- 216 Watterson 1991, p.104, latter comment from lecture notes of late Prof.Fairman, Liverpool University; thanks to Dr.B.Watterson for information.
- 217 For exceptions see Cairo CG.24100, wig of Maiherpra made with his own(?) hair, in Daressy 1902, p.60, pl.XVII and Daressy 1903, p.74-75; traces of "cheveux noirs et laineux qui appartiennent aux race soudaniennes" also found in MK wig box, in Gautier & Jécquier 1902, p.49-50.
- 218 eg. Brunton 1937, Badarian hair "varied from wavy to curly, but never woolly" p.45, whilst hair of Pan grave people "black and fuzzy like modern Bisharin", p.123; Batrawi 1935, p.174-175, 194 & Appendix IV-'Report on hair of X-group specimens'; Titlbach & Titlbachova report that in 3 out of 14 samples of NK-Coptic mummy hair examined, a "Negroid admixture was ascertained on a morphological and pigmentation basis", 1977, p.84-85; Hrdy 1978, p.281.

- 219 See Tombos Stela inscription of Tuthmosis I in Breasted 1906 II, p.30 and Sethe 1906 IV, 84.7, although for alternative translation of 'plaited hair', see Murray in Wainwright 1920, p.11, note 6.
- 220 'Amores', I.14.45, "nunc tibi captivos mittet Germania crines. tuta triumphatae munere gentiseris", trans. Showerman 1914, p.374-375; see also Allason-Jones 1989, p.136; Jackson 1988, p.54 and Balsdon 1979, p.42; also Persius 6.43, referring to Caligula's wife Caesonia ordering supply of "yellow wigs...and great images of the Rhine", in Balsdon 1934, p.94.
- 221 Although majority bathed in Nile, bathrooms used by wealthy, see Honigsberg 1940, p.199-246 and Fletcher 1994(ii), p.103.
- 222 Ghalioungui 1973, p.155; also Hughes 1959, p.163 and Bourriau 1984, 362.
- 223 Laskowska-Kusztal 1978, No.1, p.96; No.10, fig.47, p.104; No.19, fig.54, p.105, and p.119-120.
- 224 MMA.36.3.191-4, XVIII dyn, Deir el-Bahari, in Lansing & Hayes 1937, fig.2, p.8, also Hayes 1959 II, fig.111, p.188, 196 (thanks to Dr.C.Roehrig for access); for XI dyn. example see Winlock 1932(iii), fig.34, p.35.
- 225 Pap.d'Orbiney/Pap.BM.10183, 10.1, in Lichtheim 1976, p.207; Erman 1978, p.156; Derchain 1975, p.57, note 8 and Naguib 1990, p.11-12.
- 226 eg. Pap.Harris 500/Pap.BM.10060, in Erman 1978, p.244; also Pap.Harris 500. V.1-3, in Manniche 1987(ii), p.91; Cairo 25218/IFAO.1266, in Manniche 1987(ii), p.88, 91 and Foster 1974, p.25, 27, 30, with Bourriau commenting upon "the allure felt by men for long fragrant hair", 1988, p.126.
- 227 Callimachus, 'Aetia' 110, trans. Trypanis 1968, p.85.
- 228 Sethe 1909 IV, 1164.7, 1165.4, and Davies 1943 II, pl.LXVI, LXIX.
- 229 Davies 1943 I, "(Put) balsam on the locks of Ma'at", p.60-61.
- 230 XXII dyn. Osiris stela, Koptos, in Nachtergaeel 1981, p.593, note 39.
- 231 Posener 1986, p.113.
- 232 Plutarch, 'De Iside et Osiride', in Griffith 1970, p.140-141, 325.
- 233 'Metamorphoses' XI.10, in Griffith 1975, p.81 and Heyob 1975, p.61.
- 234 Lucas 1989, p.85, also Lucas 1930(ii), p.44-47; for modern Nubian's use of perfumed grease during celebrations, see Blackman 1920, p.59.
- 235 Lucas 1989, p.30-31.
- 236 Wax-like material used on hair of BM wig analysed in BM Research Laboratory, with result that "about two-thirds of the composition was beeswax and one-third resin. No attempt was made at the time to analyse the resin, and only suggestions, based on the known resins, such as myrrh or shellac...could be made as to the possible identification of it", p.69; see also Lucas 1989, for number of undated samples of "beeswax mixed with an aromatic resin and a small proportion of vegetable oil" and a NK jar of "beeswax and resin mixture...it is possible that they were employed for fixing the hair", p.89; for resins used in NK Egypt see current research of M.Serpico, UCL, 'Mediterranean Resin as a Commodity in New Kingdom Egypt', with thanks to latter for discussions on subject.
- 237 For Cairo wigs see Lucas 1930, "beeswax used to enable the hair to be curled and plaited and to make the curls and plaits permanent", p.191-192, in Lucas 1989, p.30 and Garetto 1955, "la quale era probabilmente usata per render docili i capelli e per render permanente l'arricciatura e l'intrecciatura", p.69, Yuya's wig also in Quibell 1908, "little plaits which were daubed with fat", p.65; BM. wig in Cox 1977, "the mixture of beeswax and resin used to hold the hair ends", p.69-70; Cox 1983, "wax...used to ensure longer life to the curls", p.2; Berlin wig, Schoske et al. 1990, "Aus den Ergebnissen ist zu schliessen, dass die 'Pomade' aus Wachs besteht...um seine Konsistenz zu erhalten und zur Haftfähigkeit auf dem Haar beizutragen", p.112, with thanks to Prof.D.Wildung

- for analysis results of Prof.D.Fengel; XII dyn. Lisht wig in Lansing 1933, p.26, 31; VIII dyn(?) flax wig of Hefefi "coated or impregnated with a resin to give it stiffness", in Kanawati 1993, p.65; Laskowska-Kusztal refers to "Les mottes d'une substance rappelant de la résine séchée trouvées en nombre dans le vase No.4" in wigmaker's cache., 1978, p.112-113, see 1.j, p.96, 10, p.104 and 19, p.105; also false braids of MeryetAmun "liberally greased to hold their shape", in Winlock 1932, p.9; other XVIII dyn. plaited braids (MMA.3286) and curls of early dynastic worked fragments (Pitt-Rivers/Leiden/Brussels/Berlin samples etc.) also set with some form of fixative (not analysed).
- 238 XI dyn. soldiers' hair in Winlock 1945, p.21; NK examples include mummy of Ahmose I, Cairo CG.61057, thick resinous paste covering most of hair, in Smith 1912, p.16; also Bruyère 1938, "les chevelures nattées des femmes sont enduites de graisse parfumée", p.141; Morimoto et al. 1988, p.2, and Carpignano & Rabino Massa 1981, "Questa antica popolazione, per ottenere la conservazione dei capelli, usava spalmere, durante il processo di mummificazione, una soluzione di cera vergine sia sulla capigliatura sia sulle parrucche", p.229; Ptolemaic examples in Smith & Dawson 1924, p.124, analysis of hair of Ptolemaic female revealing "an amorphous substance...not soluble in water...The chemical make-up of this covering is unknown. However, it has been suggested that it might represent beeswax, a hair dressing commonly used by the Egyptians...", in Lahren 1987, fig.12, p.37.
- 239 Freed 1982(iii), p.199.
- 240 eg. Manniche 1987, "the wig was crowned by an unguent cone, a lump of scented fat which was remodelled during the evening as the fat melted and envelopped the wig and clothes in fragrant grease", p.44; Stead 1986, "a popular form of pomade was the so-called cosmetic cone worn on top of the head. They are frequently represented in banqueting scenes, worn not only by the guests but also servants...as the evening progressed, the cone would melt, and scented oil would run down over the wig and garment creating a pleasant scent, and no doubt, a sticky mess", p.51; Tyldesley 1994, "cones of fat balanced precariously on the head during social occasions", p.153; Davies 1917, "a pinch of fragrant ointment on top of the head...served to fix the lotus bud there", p.56; Davies & Gardiner 1915, "an unsavoury custom", p.36; see also Ghalioungui 1973, p.155; Baines & Malek 1984, p.197; Milton 1980, p.51; Watterson 1991, p.117; Corson 1980, p.25; Strouhal 1992, p.38; Houston 1954, p.54; Ruffle 1975, p.147, etc.
- 241 Staining on clothing surely a result of skin beneath having been rubbed with similar unguent, as opposed to unguent having run down from head!
- 242 Jones 1989, p.49, also putting forward odd suggestion that 'cone' may have acted as an "air freshener...and might even have been impregnated with some form of insect repellent", p.52.
- 243 For cosmetics available see Lucas 1930(ii), p.41-44; Hughes 1959, p.159- 176 and Fletcher 1994(iii), p.106-109.
- 244 See Montet 1958, "the conical object...stayed balanced miraculously upright", p.73, and "the artists of tomb paintings, who missed no opportunity...of depicting the laughable or ridiculous, have left us no picture of the disaster of one of these ornaments falling off", p.93.
- 245 eg. Aldred 1971, ornaments of Menna's daughters described as "golden boxes for their cones", p.205; Davies 1903 I, "some receptacle for ointment", p.14, "cruse of ointment secured by a band", p.36; Davies 1905 III, "tall festal cone or cap which a fillet keeps in place", p.4; Davies 1917, "a cap of some sort which imitated a lump of ointment", p.57; Budge 1977, "a light framework", p.69; also Brooklyn 1956, p.8; Cartland 1916, p.213; Garetto 1955, p.74 and Genders 1972, p.30.
- 246 Petrie 1914, p.168-169.
- 247 He disagrees that cones are made up of ointment taken from a container, since they are sometimes shown larger than container, and "the truth seems to be that the cone is of hair, like the modern African", in Petrie 1915, p.141.
- 248 Keimer 1953, quoting C.19th traveller H.A.Stern in that the bedouins to the south of Egypt have "a passionate fondness for rancid grease, which ran in stagnant and blistering streams down their natted and bushy hair", p.342.

- 249 Schweinfurth 1907, with reference to Ethiopian practice of using fat, oil and butter on the hair, in addition to lumps of raw, chewed mutton fat which he believed to be "der Salbkegel der Aegyptologen", p.187-190.
- 250 See Lange & Hirmer 1957, "the lumps on the head have hitherto generally been explained as being lumps of ointment which, as they melted, scented the hair...But probably they are a more direct reference to the fact that the use of myrrh on this occasion was lavish", p.326; see also Davies 1927, for "lavish provision of ointment", p.44-45.
- 251 Small 'cones', eg. UC.28722, early XVIII dyn, unprovenanced, in Stewart 1979, pl.23; el Kab tomb scenes of Paheri, in Tylor & Griffith 1894, pl.IV, VII; tomb of Userhat (TT.56) in Beinlich-Seeber & Shedid 1987, pl.1; dotted outlines, eg. tomb of Nakht (TT.52), in Davies 1917, pl.I, XV-XVI and tomb of Rekhmire (TT.100), in Davies 1943 II, pl.LXVI; larger examples with same outline, in tomb of Amenemhat (TT.82), in Davies & Gardiner 1915, pl.XV.
- 252 For useful study see Muhammed 1966, p.155, also Freed 1982(iii), p.199 and Manniche 1988, p.137.
- 253 During reign of Amenhotep III, eg. Nebamun scenes, BM.EA.37984, 37986, 37987 etc. in James 1985, p.27-29 and Manniche 1988, pl.45-46, etc; also Hildesheim RPM.1027, in Manniche 1989, p.56; Amarna tomb scenes, eg. Davies 1903 I, pl.XXXVI and Davies 1905 III, pl.XX; late XVIII dyn, eg. Memphite scenes of Horemheb, Leiden H.III.PPPP, in Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.201-203; Martin 1989, p.88-89, pl.107 and Martin 1991, fig.46-47.
- 254 Although by this time 'cone' and floral decoration rather abstract, with three such examples on stelae of Mentuza, Hor and Da-merti described as a "headdress of sprouting green plants"(!), in Petrie 1925, No.6-7, 9, p.12, pl.XXXII; see also Akhmim tomb scene of Nesmin, BM.EA.1306; stela of lady Djedamuniufankh, Cairo 25:12:24:20, in Corteggiani 1986, No.91, p.142, and Tuna el-Gebel tomb of Petosiris, in Lefebvre 1923 III, pl.XXV.1.
- 255 Although Faulkner translates it as 'cone(?)', from Pap.Bremner-Rhind I, 15.13-14, "Mayest thou have a soul, O male, lord of women, with the ointment cone(?) [bt] on thine hair...the ointment cone on thine hair is of the myrrh which comes forth of itself", and 15.28, in Faulkner 1936, p.131; also see Keimer 1953, p.372; Freed 1982(iii), p.199 and Müller 1984, 366.
- 256 Keimer 1953, "Art Salbe oder oel", p.364.
- 257 eg. Pyramid Text 10.9, in Blackman 1920, "unguent", p.59; Pap.Berlin 3022, line 295, in Lichtheim 1973, "fine oil", p.233, and Faulkner 1981, "oil, grease", p.112.
- 258 eg. Pap.Berlin 3022, line 83, in Lichtheim 1973, "oil", p.226; Pap.Anastasi III, 3.2, in Caminos 1954, "moringa oil" p.73; Pap.Anastasi IV, 15.2, in Caminos 1954, p.198; Pap.Sallier IV verso, in Caminos 1954, "moringa oil is sweet", p.333; inscription from lost tomb (TT.A.4) in Manniche 1988, "ointment of moringa oil", p.66, pl.7; see also Faulkner 1981, "moringa oil", p.78; Manniche 1989, "moringa oil", p.122, although Pendlebury gives "olive oil", 1951 III, p.175.
- 259 eg. Pap.Anastasi IV, 15.2, in Caminos 1954, "strictly sesame oil, although here oil in general", p.198; Manniche 1989, "sesame oil" p.147 and Pendlebury 1951 III, p.175.
- 260 eg. Pap.Anastasi IV,3.8 in Caminos 1954, "kmy is not the raw material kmyt, 'gum/resin' but some anointing oil or pomade made from it", p.137; kmyt referred to in Pap.Sallier IV, recto, in Caminos 1954, "adorned...upon their heads with resin", p.333; Pap.Harris 500.13-14,1, "besprinkled with kemi-oil" in Erman 1978, p.249; also Pendlebury 1951 III, "gum", p.175.
- 261 eg. Pap.Leningrad 1115, line 140, in Lichtheim 1973, "ibl oil", p.214, Faulkner 1981, suggesting "ladanum(?)", p.15, and Keimer 1953, "Art kostbare Salbe für Leib und Haar", p.364.
- 262 eg. Manshiyet es-Sadr stela inscription in Hamada 1938, "ointment for anointing your heads every week", p.223, 228-229; Pap.Sallier I, "ointment to anoint them three times by the month", in Caminos 1954, p.307; Pap.Sallier IV, recto, in Caminos 1954, "ointment", p.333; Pap.Turin B, in Caminos 1954, "ointment"; NK votive inscription,

- "Give to me...sweet and pleasant oil for my baldness [shaven head]", in Pinch 1993, fig.18, p.334; Keimer 1953, "weich machen durch Salben, salböl...", p.364, and Faulkner 1981, "tallow", p.252.
- 263 eg. Pap.Sallier IV, verso, in Caminos 1954, "fat abundant...(a cone of(?)) fat (upon) their heads...sweet fat ['d ndm]", p.333; Keimer 1953, "Fett", p.364, and Faulkner 1981, "fat, grease", p.51.
- 264 Keimer 1953, "fett", p.364 and Faulkner 1981, "fat", p.279.
- 265 eg. In Pap.Anastasi IV, a list of "the many oils of the port to anoint (the king's) army and chariotry" includes *dft* and *inb* oils of Cyprus(?), *kdwr* oil of Khatti, *nkfr* oil of Babylon, *knnl* oil of Amor, *gt* oil of the Kadesh region and moringa oil from Naharin, in Caminos 1954, p.198; for reference to imported oils see Freed 1982(iii), p.199 and Fletcher 1993(iii), p.105.
- 266 eg. Theophrastus, 'Enquiry...' IV.2.6, trans. Hort 1980, p.297; Lucas 1989, p.86; Lucas 1930(ii), p.45 and Manniche 1989, p.81.
- 267 Laskowska-Kusztal 1978, "30 graines durcies au total qu'il est possible d'identifier comme du *Balanites aegyptica*", p.112.
- 268 In MK Instructions of King Amenemhat, Pap.Millingen, "those perfumed with my myrrh" in Lichtheim 1973, p.136 and Breasted 1906 I, p.231; Admonitions of Ipuwer, Pap.Leiden 344, recto, "See, the baldhead who lacked oil has become owner of jars of sweet myrrh", in Lichtheim 1973, p.157; MK Harpist's Song from tomb of King Intef, in Lichtheim 1973, "Put myrrh on your head", p.196, and Erman 1978, p.133; NK Harpist's Song in tomb of Rekhmire, in Sethe 1909 IV, 1164.7, 1165.4 and Davies 1943, p.60-61, pl.LXVI, LXIX and Faulkner 1981, p.44; Songs of Isis & Nephthys, Pap.Bremner-Rhind I, 15.14, 15.28, "The smell of the incense on thine hair is of the myrrh which comes forth of itself" in Faulkner 1936, p.131, 139; inscription from lost tomb (TT.A.4), in Manniche 1988, "unguent of myrrh", p.66, pl.7; see also Lucas 1930(ii), p.45.
- 269 Pap.Boulaq 2,1. in Smith & Dawson 1924, p.47 and Pap.Boulaq 7,1-2. in Smith & Dawson 1924, p.49.
- 270 Breasted 1906 I, p.122.
- 271 Blackman 1953 V, p.10, pl.XI.
- 272 Liverpool Uni.Mus.E.30, thanks to Prof.A.Shore & Ms.P.Winker for access; feature not referred to in either Kitchen 1961, p.10-18 or Bourriau 1988, No.48, p.60-63, and although Prof.Shore believes it to be a feather, (pers.comm.17.7.88), Dr.S.Quirke agrees it is to be regarded as a 'cone' (pers.comm.31.10.94).
- 273 eg. tomb scenes of Nebamun, B.M.EA.37984, in James 1985, p.29; Neferhotep (TT.49), in Davies 1933 I, pl.XXXIX; Ramose (TT.55), in Davies 1941, pl.XXXIV; Paheri, in Tylor & Griffith 1894, pl.IV; Tutu, in Davies 1908 VI, pl.XX; tomb fragment, Brussels MRAH.E.2877, in Wreszinski 1923 I, 392 and Strouhal 1992, p.132..
- 274 Admonitions of Ipuwer, Pap.Leiden 344, recto, "See, the baldhead who lacked oil has become owner of jars of sweet myrrh", in Lichtheim 1973, p.157; also NK votive inscription, "Give to me...sweet and pleasant oil for my baldness [shaven head]", in Pinch 1993, fig.18, p.334.
- 275 eg. Rekhmire (TT.100), in Davies 1943 II, pl.LXVI; Nakht (TT.52), in Davies 1917, pl.XV-XVII; Puyemre (TT.39), in Davies 1922 II, pl.XLI; Nebamun, B.M.EA.37984, in James 1985, p.29 and Manniche 1988, pl.45; Maie, Turin Inv.Suppl.7886, in Curto 1984, opp. p.188; Apy (TT.217), in Davies 1927, pl.XXV, compare with XXX dyn. tomb scenes of Petosiris & wife in Lefebvre 1923 III, pl.XXV.1.
- 276 eg. Silsilah West shrine of Senynufe, No.11, in Caminos & James 1963, pl.23 and Abydos stela of Khonsu, Cairo CG.34089, in Lecau 1909 I, pl.XLIII.
- 277 Wreszinski 1923 I, 203-205; Aldred 1968, pl.50 and Aldred 1980, fig.134, p.169.
- 278 Davies 1941, pl.XXXIV.
- 279 eg. Meryra, in Davies 1903 I, pl.XXX; Panehesy, in Davies 1905 II, pl.X; Meryra II, in Davies 1905 II, pl.XXXIII; Huya, in Davies 1905 III, pl.II; Mahu, in Davies 1906 IV, pl.XVIII; Parrenefer, in Davies 1908 VI,

pl.III; Tutu, in Davies 1908 VI, pl.XX, and Any, in Davies 1908 VI, pl.XXX.

- 280 Horemheb as official, Leiden H.III.PPPP, in Martin 1991, fig.46-47 and Martin 1989, pl.107; for other officials see Martin 1976, pl.I.
- 281 BM.EA.10793.1, in James 1985, fig.71, p.61.
- 282 eg. Prince Siatum on stela of Meryra, Vienna ÄS.5814, in Berg 1987, p.213- 216 and Kozloff & Bryan 1992, No.58, p.292; Horemwia's son on Abydos stela Cairo CG.34079, in Lecaue 1909 I, pl.XL and Imamhab, daughter of Apy (TT.217), in Davies 1927, pl.XXIV.
- 283 eg. daughters of Nakht in Papyrus BM.EA.10473, in Glanville 1927, pl.XX and daughters of Amenhotepise (TT.57), in Davies 1923, pl.IV.
- 284 eg. servants in tomb of:- Djoserkaresonb (TT.38), in Mekhitarian 1954, p.67 and Manniche 1987, fig.34, p.42; Nebamun, BM.EA.37986, in Manniche 1988, No.64, pl.45; Amenhotepise (TT.75), in Davies 1923, pl.IV; as Montet 1958 states, "the serving girls do not seem to have been in the least incommoded in their work by wearing this conical ornament on their heads", p.93.
- 285 eg. harpist of Amenemhat (TT.82), in Davies & Gardiner 1915, pl.XV; musicians of:- Nakht (TT.52), in Davies 1917, pl.I, XV, XVI; Nebamon (TT.90), in Davies 1923, pl.XXIII; Nakht (TT.161), in Manniche 1986, fig.10, p.75; Wensu (TT.A.4), in Manniche 1988, pl.7; Nebamun, BM.EA.37984, in James 1985, p.29 and Manniche 1988, No.64, pl.45; Ptahmay, in Manniche 1991, fig.2, p.10; Tutu, in Davies 1908 VI, pl.XX; also Karnak talatat, Luxor J.210, in Luxor 1978, No.174, p.70 and Smith 1981, fig.296, p.306.
- 286 eg. Amenemipet nursing young Amenhotep II, in Davies 1930 II, pl.IX.A and Aldred 1972, pl.29; relative on stela of Horemwia, Cairo CG.34079, in Lecaue 1909 I, pl.XL; ostracon sketch Berlin Inv.No.21461, in Brunner-Traut 1979, fig.1, p.4, and Schoske et al. 1990, No.113, p.130; also NK sculpted figurine Cairo CG.1253, in Borchardt 1934 IV, pl.173.
- 287 eg. tomb of Apy (TT.217), in Davies 1927, "female hucksters", p.57, pl.XXX; Wreszinski 1923 I, 366; Klebs 1934 III, fig.134, p.230 and Jones 1989, fig.2, p.52; see also figures from lost tomb of Wensu (TT.A.4), market scene, in Manniche 1988, p.66, No.14, pl.7.
- 288 eg. MK stela, Liverpool Uni.Mus.E.30, in Kitchen 1961, p.10-18 and Bourriau 1988, No.48, p.60-63.
- 289 eg. funerary papyri BM.EA.10063.3 in Stead 1986, p.26.
- 290 eg. tomb of Menna (TT.69), in Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.121 and tomb of Nebamun, BM.EA.37977, in James 1985, p.27 and Manniche 1988, No.73, pl.51.
- 291 eg. Meryra II, in Davies 1905 II, p.36, pl.XXXVI and Ani, Cairo JE.29748, in Davies 1908 V, pl.XXII and Corteggiani 1986, No.64, p.108.
- 292 eg. lady in tomb of Neferhotep (TT.49), in Davies 1933 I, pl.XVIII; lady in tomb of Neferhotep (TT.A.5), in Manniche 1988, No.5, pl.2; man with shaven head, Brussels MRAHE.2877, in Wreszinski 1923 I, 392 and Strouhal 1992, p.132.
- 293 eg. tomb of Pesuir (TT.106), in Davies 1938, fig.9, p.37; also funerary papyri of Ani, BM.EA.10470.7, in Faulkner 1985, p.46 and Nakht, BM.EA.10471.20 in Faulkner 1985, p.147.
- 294 eg. tomb of Nebamun & Ipuki (TT.181), in Davies 1925, pl.XXI and Nims 1965, pl.94; Nakhtamun (TT.341), in Davies 1938, fig.10, p.37; Userhet & Shepsut (TT.51), in Davies 1927, pl.XIII; Amenemone (TT.277), in Baines & Malek 1984, p.104; Huya, in Davies 1905 III, pl.XXII and funerary papyri of Hunefer, BM.EA.9901.5, in James 1985, fig.60, p.55 and Faulkner 1985, p.54, and Nakht, BM.EA.10471.14, in Faulkner 1985, p.85 and Glanville 1927, p.50- 56; see also Aldred 1988, fig.28, a figure of Meketaten in chamber gamma of Amarna Royal Tomb "anointed and clothed, stands in a bower either as a statue or as a mummy", p.284.

- 295 eg. ba of Pesuir (TT.106), in Davies 1938, fig.9, p.37; on coffin of Amunemopet, MMA.17.2.7.b, in Hayes 1959 II, fig.267, p.421; on coffin of Henttawy, MMA.25.3.6 and in funerary papyri of Teye, in Winlock 1926, fig.34, p.29.
- 296 eg. Louvre E.17401, funerary pap. of Nespekashuti, in Ziegler 1990, p.75.
- 297 eg. tomb of Amenmose (TT.254), in Strudwick 1994, p.35; thanks to Dr.N.Strudwick for information.
- 298 eg. coffin of Pasenhor, BM.EA.24906, in James 1985, fig.84, p.70.
- 299 Although large jackal ears of Duamutef prevent cone being clearly depicted; for other 3 sons, see MM.No.9645, coffin of Karhet; Macclesfield No.16, coffin of Shebmut, in David 1980, E.16, p.52; BM.EA.24906, coffin of Pasenhor, in James 1985, fig.84, p.70; also Quibell 1889, pl.XVI, XXI, XXVIII.
- 300 Freed 1982(iii), p.200, note 14.
- 301 eg. Nefersekheru and two wives (TT.296), in Muhammed 1966, pl.7, 10; Khay and wife (TT.173), in Muhammed 1966, pl.8; Thay called To and wife (TT.23), in Muhammed 1966, pl.12; Neferronpet called Kenro and wife (TT.178), in Manniche 1987, fig.58, p.71 and Westendorf 1968, p.184; Neferhotep and wife (TT.49), in Davies 1933, frontispiece.
- 302 eg. Tuty, Brooklyn Acc.No.54.187, XVIII dyn, Gurob, in Brooklyn 1956, No.9.A, p.7-8; Kozloff & Bryan 1992, fig.50.a, p.259 and Posener 1962, p.115; Brussels MRAH.E.5849, NK, in Brussels 1934, pl.54; Berlin Inv.No.16400, XVIII dyn, Abusir, in Priese ed. 1991, No.145, p.239; Fechheimer 1914, pl.76 and Rubensohn & Knatz 1903, p.17; MMA.07.228.78, XIX dyn, unprovenanced wooden female figurine; Cairo, NK figurine, in Fechheimer 1921, No.61; see also Cairo JE.6056 in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.155, "the cone of scented fat which originally crowned her wig" having disappeared.
- 303 eg. MM.No.913, in Pinch 1993, p.207-208; BM.EA.20982, in Pinch 1993, pl.46.B; BM.EA.2371, in Stead 1986, fig.21, p.18; BM.EA.21953, in Hornblower 1939, No.3, pl.IX; Louvre E.1678; see also Peet & Woolley 1923 I, pl.XII.4, XXXIII.5 and Bruyère 1939, pl.XLIV.
- 304 eg. Cairo CG.1253, in Borchardt 1934 IV, p.130, pl.173.
- 305 eg. XVIII dyn. shabti of Paser, MM.No.4348, Rifeh, in Petrie 1907, p.22, pl.XXVII (although feature missing from plate and no mention in text).
- 306 eg. scenes of Nebamun, BM.EA.37986, in Manniche 1988, pl.45-46; Nakht (TT.52), in Davies 1917, p.57, pl.XV-XVI; Djeserkaresonb (TT.38), in Mekhitarian 1954, p.67; Nabamun & Ipuki (TT.181), in Davies 1925, pl.VII; tomb of Any, in Davies 1908 V, pl.IX; Parrenefer, in Davies 1908 VI, pl.IV; Meketaten presents 'cone' to Akhenaten in tomb of Meryra II, in Davies 1905 II, pl.XXXII; princess with unguent 'cone', Boston MFA.1971.294, in Aldred 1973, No.124, p.193; see also bedroom scene (TT.260), in which large supplies of unguent are being carried, in Greenlees 1923, pl.XXI and Manniche 1987, fig.36, p.44.
- 307 For application of liquid unguent from a vase in MK tomb scene, see Blackman 1953 V, pl.XI; for semi-solid unguent applied in NK tomb scenes see those of Paheri in Tylor & Griffith 1894, pl.IV, VII; Rekhmire (TT.100), in Davies 1943 II, pl.LXIV; Nebamun & Ipuki (TT.181), in Davies 1925, pl.VII; Khaemhat (TT.57), in Aldred 1980, fig.134, p.169; Suemnut (TT.92), in Keimer 1953, fig.167, p.440; Sennedjem (TT.1), in Smith 1981, fig.372, p.379; Amenemhat (TT.82), in Davies & Gardiner 1915, pl.XV-XVI; lost tomb scene fragment, Turin Inv.Suppl.1341, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1989, fig.336, p.223; Memphite tomb of Horemheb, in Martin 1976, pl.II and Martin 1989, No.19, pl.33; see also BM.EA.20982, NK female figurine on bed having unguent applied(?), in Pinch 1993, pl.46.b.
- 308 eg. tomb of Amenhotepsise (TT.75), in Davies 1923, pl.IV; gold shrine scenes of Tutankamen, Cairo JE.61481, in Eaton-Krauss & Graefe 1985, pl.XVIII and golden throne scene, Cairo JE.62028, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.179.

HAIR COLOUR

An important aspect of hair is its colour, the predominant shade of Egyptian hair being a very dark brown, almost black, with a certain amount of lighter browns, auburns, blond and grey-white shades also occurring both naturally and with the help of dyes. In artistic representations black was used in the great majority of cases to indicate very dark brown, although blue, red, green, yellow and white were also used to varying degrees.

The term for black, *km*¹, uses the three-strand braid as a determinative, and this seems to have been the preferred colour among Egyptians themselves, as reflected in Middle Kingdom love poetry, "Black is her hair, blacker than night, than the berries of the thorn bush"², whilst a spell in the Book of the Dead states that "your hair is blacker than all the doors of the Netherworld on the day of darkness"³.

The black pigment⁴ used in funerary scenes has often faded however, and in some cases "practically disappeared...so that the wigs on many figures appear never to have been painted black at all"⁵. This is particularly notable in certain tomb scenes⁶, and in those of Kenamun (TT.93) "the exact mode of wearing the hair has been lost with the black pigment"⁷ to give a misleading impression of the original style⁸. A similar problem is encountered if the colour has been applied too generously, blurring the outline of a style and resulting in "a dark aura surrounding the wig"⁹.

Blue is the second most common colour used for hair, with the suggestion that "certain kinds of black hair appear to have a bluish tint in a strong light"¹⁰. This idea is echoed in the Book of the Dead reference to black hair "bestrewn with lapis-lazuli"¹¹ and with "hair of true lapis-lazuli"¹² eulogised in love poetry. Both Osiris¹³ and Ra¹⁴ are described as having blue hair, which in artistic representations was generally confined to divine, royal or deceased figures¹⁵, "the blue color symbolic of eternal resurrection and renewal"¹⁶ and reflecting the colour of the sky and the river. Gods and goddesses are frequently depicted with blue hair¹⁷ (fig.9-10, fig.15, fig.23, fig.651), and it is presumably in the capacity of divine servants that various priests and royal figures are given blue sidelocks on otherwise black styles¹⁸ (fig.330, fig.418, fig.423-424). Queen Nefru is shown in her tomb scenes about to have a contrasting blue braid attached to her black style¹⁹ (fig.862), whilst her husband Montuhotep II²⁰ (fig.205) and another wife Ashayet²¹ (fig.214) are portrayed with entirely blue coiffures as are numerous royal figures most notably in the Amarna²² (fig.322, fig.340, fig.463-464, fig.510, fig.523, fig.527-528, fig.577-578) and Ramesside periods²³ (fig.415, fig.437, fig.537), the deified king Amenhotep I generally portrayed at this time in a short blue style²⁴ (fig.414).

Blue is also used to colour the various styles of many non-royal individuals throughout the pharaonic period. The seated figures of the XIth dynasty officials Meri²⁵ (fig.202) and Iker²⁶ (fig.203) have short blue styles, the XIIth dynasty archer Neferhotep is depicted with a plain blue khat-style²⁷ (fig.233), the bouffant style of an unnamed figurine is coloured blue²⁸ as is the full style of Dedyet on the stela of her father Montwosre²⁹ (fig.279), and the cropped hair of Ipepi likewise coloured blue on his funerary stela³⁰ (fig.295). In the tomb of Amenemhat (TT.82) both the tomb owner and Vizier User

wear textured styles "consisting of thick beads of blue colour" whilst Amenemhat's sons wear plain blue forms ³¹. Blue coiffures are fashionable at Amarna ³² (fig.515), and the dwarf steerswoman on a calcite barque of Tutankhamen has a blue style with sidelock ³³ (fig.530), Nubian princes in the tomb of Huy (TT.40) wearing their blue sidelocks against red styles ³⁴. In the tomb scenes of Inherkha (TT.299) the tomb owner is portrayed several times with a highly unusual double style in which the underpanel is coloured blue to contrast with the black upper part (fig.450). A wooden statuette of a woman from Matmar has her long tripartite style coloured blue ³⁵ in similar fashion to so-called ancestor busts ³⁶ (fig.454). In the Late Period tomb scenes of Petosiris blue is employed for the styles of both the tomb owner and his wife ³⁷ (fig.651), and blue styles are also found in contemporary funerary stelae ³⁸ (fig.668) and papyri ³⁹.

Whilst blue hair conveys an image of divinity and serenity, the colour red is generally indicative of volatility and the unpredictable, with links to evil in many cultures. As has been noted in an anthropological context, any unusual colouring within a population can provoke hostile reactions, "as when red hair is looked upon as fearsome in an unsophisticated black haired population" ⁴⁰. Individuals with red hair are often thought to possess negative characteristics possibly due to the relative rarity of this particular hair colour, and this does seem to have been the case in Egypt. Here the colour red evoked the desert and its wildlife, and those with red hair "were deemed to be somewhat fiendish beings...They were referred to perjoratively as 'red-headed forms', 'Companions of Seth'" ⁴¹. Indeed, "we have it on the authority of Manetho that they used to burn red-haired men and scatter their ashes with winnowing fans, and it is highly significant that this barbarous sacrifice was offered by the kings at the grave of Osiris" ⁴².

However, in contrast to this, one of the Seven Cows of Hathor is known as "Much Beloved, Red of Hair/Hide", wrt *mrwt.s dsrt snw*, in the Book of the Dead ⁴³, and red is used to colour the hair of various individuals during the dynastic period. In the tomb reliefs of Queen Nefru her male bearers are portrayed with cropped red hair ⁴⁴ (fig.198), as is the official Wehemky ⁴⁵ (fig.224) and a number of officials and family members on the stelae of Vizier Senwosret ⁴⁶. Figures in the tomb of Userhet (TT.56) have red hair ⁴⁷, and Neferhotep is portrayed with an unusual red double style in one of his tomb scenes (TT.49) ⁴⁸ (fig.359), as is Ramses III in the tomb scenes of his sons Khaemwaset (QV.44) ⁴⁹ and Sethherkhopshuf (QV.43) ⁵⁰. Sidelocks can also be coloured red, as in the case of nomarch Ukhhotep's small daughter ⁵¹ and an Amarna princess ⁵² (fig.527). Non-Egyptians with red hair include slain Asiatics in the reliefs of Montuhotep II ⁵³ (fig.221), men of Retenu in the tomb of Rekhmire (TT.100) ⁵⁴ and Nubian princes and chieftains in the scenes of Huy (TT.40) and on the glazed tiles from the Medinet Habu palace of Ramses III ⁵⁵ (fig.603, fig.607).

Green is an extremely unusual choice for hair colour, although it is noted in the case of a 1st Intermediate period female offering bearer ⁵⁶ and a number of Late Period coffins ⁵⁷.

Although again by no means common, yellow is occasionally used to colour the hair of certain figures, the most celebrated example being that of Queen Hetepheres II in the Giza tomb of her daughter Meresankh III ⁵⁸ (fig.160).

Despite initial assumptions that this was proof of the queen's Libyan origins⁵⁹, yellow hair is in fact found throughout the dynastic period on a variety of figures, including the priest Setka⁶⁰, Nebti, mother of Chancellor Meru⁶¹, the weapon bearers of Djehutihotep⁶² (fig.225), the official Khnumnakht⁶³, Senmut's sister(?) Aahotep (TT.71)⁶⁴ (fig.493) and the Ptolemaic figures of Hor⁶⁵ and Pakhy⁶⁶ (fig.661). A group of non-Egyptians in the Middle Kingdom scenes of Khnumhotep have been identified as Libyan simply on account of their blond hair⁶⁷ (fig.293), and two Nubian princesses in the tomb scenes of Huy (TT.40) also have bright yellow styles⁶⁸.

The final colour variation employed for hair is white/grey, the term *skm*, 'to be/become grey haired' using a three-strand braid as a determinative⁶⁹. The use of white as a colour for hair is largely a New Kingdom phenomenon suggesting old age, since "Years do not show in the face the way the Egyptian artist was inclined to depict his model...[and] the painter...decided to let the greying hair speak for itself"⁷⁰.

White lines over a black style suggest greying hair in the case of Sennedjem (TT.1) (fig.441), whilst the styles of Sennefer (TT.96)⁷¹ and Neferhotep (TT.49)⁷² are painted with black lines on a white background; those of Nebamon (TT.181)⁷³ and a scribe of Khaemwaset (TT.261)⁷⁴ employ black lines and triangular spots on a grey background, with one of Nakht's vintners (TT.52) shown with plain grey hair⁷⁵.

Plain white is used for the hair of Mayor Kenamun (TT.162) as he sits beside his wife⁷⁶ (fig.353), Huy's mother Wanho (TT.40)⁷⁷ and four other figures in the tomb including an old woman who leans on a stick⁷⁸, a couple in the tomb of Irinifer (TT.290)⁷⁹, one of the men in the funeral procession of scribe Ani⁸⁰ and one of Apy's fishermen (TT.217)⁸¹. In the tomb of Pashedu (TT.3) the whole family are portrayed with varying degrees of grey in their hair depending on their age, ranging from the black styles of the young to the pure white hair of the eldest⁸² (fig.403).

A further example in the tomb of Apy (TT.217) depicts the tomb owner himself making a libation to the gods, the context prompting Davies to suggest that this may signify a desire for happy old age in the divine presence⁸³. Similar examples featuring predominantly white hair include Yuya as he is purified⁸⁴, Hatiay as he offers to Osiris⁸⁵ (fig.357), and Sennedjem (TT.1)⁸⁶ and Ani⁸⁷ (fig.448) as they both kneel before the god, and it does seem that in the New Kingdom at least, white was used as a hair colour to convey the idea of ageing, particularly in the presence of the gods where it was hoped to spend eternity. In contrast, later Roman and Coptic examples are rather more realistic if less flattering, using white/grey hair in conjunction with varying amounts of facial lines⁸⁸ (fig.681, fig.708).

Having examined the artistic depictions of hair colour, comparison with actual physical remains confirms that a wide range of shades were present, and whilst the majority are naturally occurring variations, a number are the result of dyes.

In the chronological study of hair samples discussed above, it will be noticed that the ancient hair is generally dark brown. In a description of the hair of 30 Badarian bodies from Mostagedda, Brunton notes that 9 could be described as black, 7

dark brown and 6 brown, and that "black to brown is therefore the usual colour"⁸⁹, the early predynastic cemetery N.7000 at Naga ed-Dêr also producing a majority of black or dark brown examples⁹⁰ (fig.715). The hair colour of 39 bodies dating from the IV-Xth dynasties at Mostagedda revealed 3 black and 19 brown or dark brown⁹¹, and also at Matmar "It was possible now and then to record the colour of the hair" of bodies of similar date, the nine examples given including 2 dark brown, 2 brown and 1 black⁹². In summarising the XXIIInd to XXIVth dynasty bodies at the site Brunton again states that "The colour...of hair of the females was noted in many instances. The colour was almost always brown or dark brown"⁹³.

In their study of New Kingdom to Coptic bodies, Titlbachova and Titlbach concluded that "on macroscopic inspection the colour of the hair of Egyptian mummies is mostly distorted because of surface impurities. As far as can be ascertained it is dark brown sometimes even black, blackish-brown"⁹⁴, a conclusion also reached by Lucas in his study of the hair of XXIst dynasty wigs. He states that "The hair when cleaned appears to the naked eye to be black in four cases, very dark brown in two cases and brown in one case, but seen under the microscope, none of it is black, six cases are dark brown and one brown"⁹⁵. In describing the loose hair in the wigmaker's cache Laskowska Kuztal also states that "la majorité est de teinte brune en diverses nuances"⁹⁶.

The second most commonly observed shade is best described as auburn, or red-brown. A number of predynastic bodies from Naga ed-Dêr had red-brown or auburn hair⁹⁷, and Brunton notes that amongst a selection of 30 Badarian bodies from Mostagedda one had 'light brown-red' hair, another 'sandy' and a third 'ginger'⁹⁸, a predynastic body from Gebelein also known as 'Ginger' on account of the hair colour⁹⁹ (fig.713).

Of 39 IV-Xth dynasty examples from Mostagedda, 5 were red-brown, sandy or ginger, "the five reddish...all of the IVth Dynasty"¹⁰⁰, and the hair of an unregistered VIIIth dynasty female from Matmar is simply described as 'red'¹⁰¹. The Middle Kingdom body of Karenen from Sakkara was found to have 'reddish' hair¹⁰², and amongst New Kingdom royalty the hair of Tuthmosis IV is described as dark reddish-brown¹⁰³, that of Siptah described as 'red-brown'¹⁰⁴, and the hair of Queen Tiy would appear to be have originally been auburn¹⁰⁵. 'Reddish brown' hair was also noted on a female body from Matmar dated to the XXIIInd-XXIVth dynasty¹⁰⁶, and a Coptic female from Sakkara also had hair described in such terms¹⁰⁷.

Amongst the hair of New Kingdom and Coptic mummies, Titlbachova and Titlbach note that in certain samples "often an orange shade predominates. Deviations from dark and blackish-brown colouring can be taken as being the result of time or of the mummification process"¹⁰⁸, comments confirming the earlier results obtained by Brothwell and Spearman who state that in general such colour changes are generally due to the oxidation of the melanin pigment. However, "Transverse sections of hair from an Egyptian mummy were interesting in that there was a strong uniform reddish fluorescence of the keratin with acridine orange, but the melanin granules in the medulla and cortex were black. In view of the covering of the

body of the mummy with cloth it suggests that atmospheric oxidation was not responsible for this change, which may have been produced by the embalming preparation"¹⁰⁹, these findings repeated by Hrdy¹¹⁰ and discussed elsewhere¹¹¹.

Whilst red hair colour can indeed be due to chemical changes over time, the embalming process or even the use of dyes (as discussed below), various shades of red hair are a naturally occurring phenomenon, the extent to which is governed by ethnic origin, genetic make-up and so forth. This is also true of lighter shades including yellow/blond hair, which are also to be found amongst the ancient Egyptian population¹¹². In his studies into the hair of ancient Nubians, Hrdy refers to "a significantly lighter-haired population than is now present", noting that "Blondism, especially in young children, is common in many dark-haired populations, and is still found in some Nubian villages"¹¹³.

Examples of "yellowish hair" were found at the predynastic Naga ed-Dêr cemetery¹¹⁴ (fig.716-718), and amongst Badarian bodies at Mostagedda Brunton states that of 30 recorded examples of hair colour, 2 were light brown¹¹⁵, with golden, fine yellow hair noted in the case of a young child¹¹⁶. The early dynastic bodies of three men and one woman from Matmar were found to have light to very light brown hair¹¹⁷, and of 39 IV-Xth dynasty bodies from Mostagedda, 12 were "light brown to yellow or golden"¹¹⁸; since five were dated to the IVth dynasty Brunton suggests that "this may be due to a fair strain in the population which was gradually dying out"¹¹⁹, and only one VIIIth dynasty body from Matmar was found with yellow hair¹²⁰.

However, blond hair continues to be found throughout the dynastic period, Carter discovering two denuded female mummies with "long hair of a golden colour" in the small tomb KV.60¹²¹, and "la mummia di un giovane, rinvenuta da G.Maspero a Dêr el-Bahari, aveva capelli color biondo-cenere dalla lunghezza di venti centimetri"¹²². A female of XXII-XXIVth dynasty date from Matmar was found with light brown hair¹²³, a Late Period mummy of unspecified sex exhibits very bright yellow hair¹²⁴, and undated examples are also known¹²⁵ (fig.825). Furthermore, a small amount of loose blond hair was found in the XVIIIth dynasty wigmaker's cache¹²⁶.

The mummies of Yuya and Thuya are described by Harris and Weeks as having "long reddish-blond hair"¹²⁷, Smith having stated that this colour was due to the staining of their originally white hair by embalming fluid¹²⁸. Whilst this might indeed be the case, the occurrence of blond hair amongst naturally mummified bodies which have not been in contact with any such embalming material¹²⁹ would argue against any generalisation, and the overall uniformity of colour in the case of the couple's hair would perhaps point to blond as their natural colour, since discoloration is often patchy¹³⁰.

Two further bodies found at Gurob by Petrie are described as having "yellow or light brown hair" (fig.753-756), which in one case is covered by "a copious wig of black hair" (actually a sprang headcover, discussed above) (fig.753-754). He goes on to state that "the causes often supposed to produce the light hair on mummies cannot be granted here: fashion could not have induced the dyeing of the hair hidden below a wig; the soil cannot have changed hair beneath a hair wig which is unaltered; treatment of the mummy can scarcely have affected the hair, as the body was apparently not

mummified but only dried and had gone to dust; and old age would have made it white or grey and not brown. We must, then, conclude that the person was light-haired during life, and wore a wig of black, hiding the foreign token" ¹³¹. Although Petrie regarded this discovery as evidence for an Aegean population, the yellow colour of the hair had been enhanced by a form of yellow colorant (Appendix A.) and cannot entirely be regarded as the individual's natural shade.

Nevertheless, blond hair did occur naturally amongst the native Egypt population, Brothwell and Spearman noting genuinely blond samples using reflectance spectrophotometry. The light shade was not a result of bleaching, since "The use of oxidizing substance as intentional bleach of the hair would probably be detected in specimens by changes in fluorescence" ¹³². They also argue against a blond colour being the result of fading after burial, "as it seems very unlikely indeed that such a light colour could result from an originally dark specimen...Even if some of the blond samples are a result of staining by embalming fluid or ground solutions" ¹³³ a further technique involving the examination of the melanin granules within the hair can be undertaken, since granule length is related to the original hair colour ¹³⁴ (Appendix A.).

Rather surprisingly, "short hair gone green" was noted by Brunton and Caton-Thompson in a grave at Badari ¹³⁵.

White hairs are also found amongst ancient hair samples and generally reflect the proportion of elderly within the population, their follicles having ceased to produce pigment with the onset of old age ¹³⁶. The few examples from various sites may be regarded as indicative of a relatively short life-span, with only 8 examples recorded at Naga ed-Dêr ¹³⁷, Brunton finding only 2 men with grey hair amongst 30 Badarian bodies from Mostagedda ¹³⁸, and amongst 39 IV-Xth dynasty bodies from the site, "only one instance of grey hair was observed, an old woman of the IXth Dynasty" ¹³⁹. However, the discovery of two grey-haired women of VIIIth dynasty date at Matmar ¹⁴⁰ poses a problem in that "one of these was quite young, and the other had her infant buried with her", Brunton suggesting that "the greyness of the hair could not be due to old age, but rather to some chemical change after death" ¹⁴¹. An alternative cause might have been a result of dust adhering to their hair which had been coated with some form of lubricant or fixative, as noted in later examples ¹⁴².

In his examination of sixty XIth dynasty soldiers' bodies, Winlock found only two with grey hair, one coloured "iron-gray" (fig.740) whilst the other had "one or two streaks of gray" ¹⁴³; none of the bodies showed signs of ageing which no doubt reflects the nature of their work, whereas the increased longevity enjoyed by the upper sections of society seems naturally to have led to an increase in the amount of examples of white hair. In the case of NekhtAnkh, David notes that "the dark brown hair was turning grey" ¹⁴⁴, and similar examples are especially noticeable amongst the New Kingdom royal mummies, the white locks of Tuthmosis III ¹⁴⁵, Amenhotep II ¹⁴⁶, Ramses II ¹⁴⁷ and Meneptah ¹⁴⁸ indicative of relatively advanced age. The feature is also noticed in the case of the mummies of certain royal women ¹⁴⁹, in addition to the High Priest Masaharti ¹⁵⁰ and an elderly priest and priestess from the Deir el-Bahari cache ¹⁵¹.

A final curious example involves a Coptic burial at Sakkara in which a woman was found with "grey plaits made up of thick and thin strands" attached to her own reddish brown hair ¹⁵², the use of grey hair for false braids quite unique.

As stated, dyes ¹⁵³ were sometimes employed to enhance or change the natural hair colour, most often from grey to a darker shade in an attempt to disguise the onset of old age as commented upon by the Alexandrian philosopher Perictione ¹⁵⁴. Recipes 'to render the hair black again' in the medical papyri Ebers ¹⁵⁵ and Hearst ¹⁵⁶ generally recommend the use of animal products such as the blood of a black calf, raven's egg, blood from the horn of a black ox, fish brains, tadpoles, fat of a black snake, burnt ass hoof and so forth, although vegetable matter such as juniper berries and myrtle(?) are also recommended. Later Roman dyes include a black hair dye made from leeches soaked in wine or vinegar in a lead vessel ¹⁵⁷, whilst equally harsh bleaching treatments could lead to hair loss ¹⁵⁸. Milder plant dyes made from saffron ¹⁵⁹, brambles ¹⁶⁰, elderberries or nutshells ¹⁶¹ were also available however, in addition to a Gallic suet and ash mixture designed to colour the hair red ¹⁶². Henna (*lawsonia inermis*, *lawsonia spinosa* and *lawsonia alba*) ¹⁶³ was also extensively used as a hair colorant throughout the Roman world ¹⁶⁴, Dioscorides referring to its use as a hair dye by the Egyptians ¹⁶⁵, and despite comments to the contrary it would appear that it was also employed for such a purpose during the dynastic period ¹⁶⁶.

Brunton states that the light red-brown hair of "a very old female" found in the Badarian cemetery at Mostagedda "might possibly be due to henna" ¹⁶⁷, Smith referring to the dark reddish brown hair of Tuthmosis IV as "henna colour" ¹⁶⁸, and also suggesting that the "brilliant reddish" shade of Honttimihou's scant hair might be a result of henna dye ¹⁶⁹. Batrawi also refers to the use of "the native dye henna" in the case of a grey-haired woman in the Meroitic cemetery 214 ¹⁷⁰, its use on any unpigmented hairs giving a very bright result indeed.

Henna could also be used to achieve a more yellow shade, as in the case of a sixty year old woman from Kharga, "la couleur résultant de la teinture au henné de cheveux blancs" ¹⁷¹. Recent studies have also revealed that the yellow tint of Ramses II's hair is not a result of the embalming process, and instead would seem to be the result of henna. It is stated that "The sample investigated comprised identical percentages of fully depigmented and pigmented hairs, the overall colour being a light fair red with some tendency towards yellow. Although the microscope examination was able to show strong evidence of red pigments, no evidence of possible 'fair' pigments was obtained: the latter might be present in a 'diffuse' component which could be matched by a faint yellow dye (probably arising from dilute 'Henne' or one of its derivatives)" ¹⁷², Desroches-Noblecourt going on to state that Maspero had initially noted that the king's white hair had been dyed with henna ¹⁷³, "and this fact is unquestionable" ¹⁷⁴. It would therefore seem that the original auburn hair of Ramses' youth was artificially maintained in his old age.

Research for this thesis has also found possible traces of henna in a sample of blond hair from Gurob tomb 23 ¹⁷⁵ (fig.753-754), Taylor and Rogers stating that "it is possible that the colorant is yellow henna" (Appendix A.).

Darker shades may also be the result of dyeing, as noted from samples of early dynastic auburn hair ¹⁷⁶ (fig.729, fig.731) and undated worked braids ¹⁷⁷ (fig.829). Following detailed analysis both were found to contain tannin, although in the auburn sample "it is debatable whether this contributed to the colour" (Appendix A.). A late date might apply to the worked sample, since "in later ages tannin was used in conjunction with iron mordant to obtain dark browns and blacks" (Appendix A.), and Lucas states that the Egyptians were using salts of iron as a mordant by early Christian times ¹⁷⁸.

Corson states that the Egyptians employed indigo as a hair dye ¹⁷⁹, and although no direct evidence could be used to substantiate this claim the use of indigo as a textile dye has been noted as early as the XVIIIth dynasty ¹⁸⁰. However, further dye tests undertaken for this thesis reveal that the aforementioned sample of sprang from Gurob tomb 23 ¹⁸¹ (fig.753-754) had been dyed with indigotin, "the colorant in woad and indigo", which had been further darkened by the addition of red madder (Appendix A.).

In addition to the use of such relatively permanent vegetable dyes, a more temporary colour change could have been achieved by an application of various powdered minerals set in a wax-resin mixture. Garetto believes that "la polvere calcarea venisse collocata dove occorreva dare ai capelli un colore grigio-bruno" ¹⁸², and whilst this may be the unintentional result of dust adhering to the waxed or oiled hair ¹⁸³, a packet of very fine dark powder found in the Deir el-Bahari wigmaker's cache proved to be very finely ground manganese dioxide and quartz. Laskowska-Kusztal states that "Cette substance pouvait remplir un rôle de moulure ou pour obtenir des effets de reflet, dispersée sur les cheveux en particulier foncés. La poudre semble avoir des propriétés de teinture" ¹⁸⁴. Smith notes that the hair of Nesikhons had been "thickly strewn with powdered red resin" ¹⁸⁵, and the priestess Tausertemsutenpa had a thick coating of yellow ochre over the top of her head, perhaps to colour the hair in addition to hiding a small bald patch ¹⁸⁶.

- 1 Faulkner 1962, p.286.
- 2 Louvre Stela No.190, in Garetto 1955, p.73-74, note 1.
- 3 Spell 172, in Faulkner 1985, p.171.
- 4 Lucas 1989, "The black pigment was almost always carbon in some form", p.339.
- 5 MacKay 1918, p.113.
- 6 eg. Amenmose (TT.89) in Kozloff & Bryan 1992, fig.IX.7, p.267; Nebamon (TT.90) in Kozloff & Bryan 1992, fig.IX.8, p.267; Haremheb (TT.78) in Kozloff & Bryan 1992, fig.IX.9, p.267 and Rekhmire (TT.100), in Wachsmann 1987, p.42.
- 7 Davies 1930 I, p.21, pl.IX, X and 1930 II, pl.X.A.
- 8 Certain line drawings of lute player depicting less hair than originally intended, eg. Erman 1971, p.223; Dayagi-Mandels 1989, p.10, whereas in Davies 1930 II, pl.X.A faint traces of black show thicker hair at back of head.
- 9 Fischer 1959, p.239, as in OK scenes of Nikawhor and Hetepnikhnum.
- 10 MacKay 1918, p.113; also Faulkner 1936, "lapis-lazuli as a description of hair which is glossy black in colour", p.140.
- 11 Spell 172, in Faulkner 1985, p.171.
- 12 Pap.Chester Beatty I, in Lichtheim 1976, p.182 and Manniche 1987(ii), p.75.
- 13 Pap.Bremner-Rhind I, 15.20-23, "Thine hair is of true(?) turquoise...thine hair is of true lapis-lazuli, it belongs to lapis-lazuli, Lo, lapis-lazuli is over thine hair", in Faulkner 1936, p.131, 140.
- 14 'Destruction of Mankind', "his bones being silver, his flesh gold, his hair true lapis-lazuli", in Lichtheim 1976, p.198; MacKay 1918 believes this refers to "the august appearance of the god", p.113.
- 15 See Schäfer 1974, "When gods', kings' and dead people's hair is depicted blue in paintings one wonders if this may have a symbolic basis", p.71.
- 16 Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.80.
- 17 eg. Ptah in tomb of Amonhirkhopshef (QV.55), in Siliotti & Leblanc 1993, p.89 and Westendorf 1968, p.179; Horus in tomb of Khaemwaset (QV.44), in Siliotti & Leblanc 1993, p.81; Thoth in tomb of Khaemwaset (QV.44), in Siliotti & Leblanc 1993, p.81; Geb in tomb of Tawosret (KV.14), in Hornung 1990, pl.33, p.65; Nefertum in tomb of Horemheb (KV.57), in Hornung 1990, pl.39, p.69; Anubis in tomb of Horemheb (KV.57), in Hornung 1990, pl.34, p.66; in tomb of Amonhirkhopshef (QV.55), in Siliotti & Leblanc 1993, p.89; in tomb of Tawosret (KV.14), in Hornung 1990, pl.33, p.65, pl.89, p.132; in tomb of Siptah (KV.47) in Hornung 1990, pl.35, p.66; Isis in tomb of Horemheb (KV.57), in Hornung 1990, pl.22, p.53; in tomb of Tawosret (KV.14), in Hornung 1990, pl.87, p.130; in tomb of Amonhirkhopshef (QV.55) in Hassanein & Nelson 1976, p.25; in tomb of Sethirkhopshef (QV.43), in Siliotti & Leblanc 1993, p.83; Nephthys in tomb of Tawosret (KV.14), in Hornung 1990, pl.87, pl.130; in tomb of Sethirkhopshef (QV.43), in Siliotti & Leblanc 1993, p.83; Hathor in Memphite tomb relief Cairo Temp.Reg.3:7:24:2, in Hildesheim 1984, No.83, p.174-175; tomb of Amonhirkhopshef (QV.55) in Hassanein & Nelson 1976, p.25; blue and black layered style in tomb of Horemheb (KV.57), in Davis 1912, pl.XXIX, XXXVII; Hornung 1990, pl.21, p.52; Baines & Malek 1984, p.100 and Milton 1980, p.64; blue and cream layered style in tomb of Seti I (KV.17), Louvre B.7, in Ziegler 1990, p.52 and Florence No.2468, in Westendorf 1968, p.178; Ma'at in tomb of Horemheb (KV.57), in Hornung 1990, pl.37, p.68 (despite reference to "black" wig); tomb of Tausert (KV.14), in Hornung 1990, pl.88, p.131; Nut inside Roman coffin of Soter, in Bowman 1986, fig.80, p.135; for Greek comparisons, see Englert & Long 1973, "Neptune had a blue beard", p.236; also IIIrd IP faience 'Götterperücke' from composite figure, Berlin Inv.No.22726, in Schoske et al. 1990, No.88, p.113.

- 18 eg. Iunmutef priest, in Memphite tomb of Horemheb in Martin 1989, pl.52- 54; in Abydos funerary temple scenes of Seti I, in Otto 1968, pl.VII and Baines & Malek 1984, p.115; in tomb of Nofretari (QV.66), in Siliotti & Leblanc 1993, p.150-152, 155; Khaemwaset's shabti figures, Louvre AF.428, N.445 and Northampton X.685; Prince Montuhirkhophef in tomb scenes (KV.19), in Romer 1981, p.97 and Romer 1984, pl.30, etc; for exception of black lock on blue style worn by priest, see funerary papyri scenes of Ani, BM.EA.10470.12.
- 19 Brooklyn Acc.No.51.231, in Riefstahl 1952, fig.1, p.7-16; Riefstahl 1956, p.10-17, pl.VIII, X; Brooklyn 1952, No.25; Fazzini 1975, p.48 and Brussels 1976, No.24-25, p.52-53.
- 20 Edinburgh RMS.No.1906.349, in Aldred 1969, No.15, p.37-38; Westendorf 1968, p.70 and Price 1970, p.64; see also Naville 1907 I, pl.XILD, XIII.F and Naville 1913 III, pl.XII.1-2.
- 21 Cairo Temp.Reg.11:11:20:17, in Naville 1907 I, p.69, pl.XVIII; Naville 1910 II, pl.XIV, XVI-XVIII and Hildesheim 1984, No.21, p.54-55.
- 22 eg. Amenhotep III, Louvre N.521; for original position in tomb (WV.22) see Hornung 1990, p.16 (after Nestor l'Hôte), and for examples in situ see Brock 1992(ii), p.18-27; Nefertiti & daughter, Brooklyn Acc.No.60.197.8, in Aldred 1973, No.92, p.164-165; Cooney 1965, No.12, p.20; Fazzini et al. 1989, No.50; Fazzini 1974, Cat.69, p.85; Smith 1981, fig.319, p.336 and Brussels 1976, No.48, p.89; Nefertiti, Cleveland 76.4, in Werner 1979, p.329, pl.XXXI; Brooklyn Acc.No.78.39(L.69.38.1), in Aldred 1973, No.25, p.111 and Fazzini et al. 1989, No.49; princess, MMA.1985.328.5, in Cooney 1965, No.10, p.19 and Aldred 1973, No.129, p.196; Akhenaten, BM.EA.24431, acquired 1891; royal head, Brooklyn Acc.No.35.1999, in Aldred 1973, No.48, p.126 and Pendlebury 1951 III, pl.LXVII; unnamed king, Berlin Inv.No.15000, in Aldred 1973, No.120, p.188-189; Fay 1982, p.98-99; Basle 1953, No.98; Westendorf 1968, p.141; Aldred 1961, No.130, p.80; Brunner-Traut et al. 1984, No.73, p.92; Schäfer 1974, pl.47; Tutankhamen & Ankhesenamun, Cairo JE.62028, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.179; Westendorf 1968, p.154; Lange & Hirmer 1957, pl.190-191; Abbate 1972, No.62; Desroches-Noblecourt 1963, pl.VIII-IX; Aldred 1961, No.160, p.89; Tutankhamen with blue sidelock, Cairo JE.61496, in Carter 1927 II, pl.LXXIV; Edwards 1976, No.19, p.127-128, pl.11 and Desroches-Noblecourt 1963, pl.XIII, etc.
- 23 eg. Amenhotep II in tomb of Suemniwet (TT.92), in Bryan 1995, p.15; Siptah, Deir el-Bahari relief fragment Edinburgh RMS.No.1907.712.6; Nofretari (QV.66) in Siliotti & Leblanc 1993, p.101; limestone figure of Ramses II's daughter Meryetamun, Cairo CG.600/JE.31413, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.208; Borchardt 1925 II, p.152, pl.108; Aldred 1980, fig.158, p.192 and Griggs ed. 1985, No.32, p.53; Ramses III in tomb of Khaemwaset (QV.44), in Siliotti & Leblanc 1993, p.57; layered style of unnamed queen of Ramses III, in Siliotti & Leblanc 1993, p.87; Amonhirkhopshef (QV.55), in Siliotti & Leblanc 1993, p.54, 89 and Khaemwaset (QV.44), in Siliotti & Leblanc 1993, p.49, 54-55.
- 24 eg. BM.EA.37993, tomb of Kynebu (TT.113), in James 1985, fig.36, p.36 and Bierbrier 1982, fig.4, p.14, and Berlin Inv.No.2061, tomb of Inherka (TT.359) in Priese ed. 1991, No.89, p.148-149.
- 25 BM.EA.37896, in James 1979, fig.76, p.201; Aldred 1969, No.4, p.34, and Vandier 1958 III, pl.LVII.5.
- 26 MMA.26.7.1393, Deir el-Bahari.
- 27 Cairo JE.47709, Deir el-Bahari.
- 28 Gallatin Collection No.15, XIII dyn, in Cooney 1953, p.6, pl.XII.
- 29 MMA.12.184, XII dyn, Abydos, in Metropolitan 1984, No.13, p.17 and Hayes 1953 I, fig.195, p.298.
- 30 Berlin Inv.No.24031, 2nd IP, in Priese ed. 1991, No.38, p.59.
- 31 Davies & Gardiner 1915, p.31-32, pl.III.
- 32 eg. two officials, Richmond, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts 61.5, in Aldred 1973, No.140, p.204, and court ladies, MMA.1985.328.14, Amarna, in Aldred 1973, No.139, p.203 and Cooney 1965, No.23, p.43.

- 33 Cairo, Carter No.578, XVIII dyn, Thebes (KV.62), in Reeves 1990(ii), p.199.
- 34 Davies 1926, pl.XXVII-XXVIII and Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.44-45.
- 35 BM.EA.63453, NK, in Brunton 1948, p.72, pl.XLVIII.37, LII.10.
- 36 eg. Brooklyn Acc.No.54.1, XIX dyn, Deir el-Medina, in Boston 1982, No.409, p.300; see also Bruyère 1939, p.168-175, pl.XXI.
- 37 Lefebvre 1923 III, pl.XXV.
- 38 eg. Pa-imen, 300 BC, Turin Inv.Cat.1556, in Curto 1984, p.313.
- 39 eg. Hor, BM.EA.10479.7, in Faulkner 1985, p.106.
- 40 Firth 1973, p.270; see also Cooper 1971, for links to Judas, the devil and witch-hunts of C.16-17th Europe and America, p.74-75.
- 41 Desroches-Noblecourt in Paris 1986, p.390.
- 42 Frazer 1993, p.378; this comment particularly interesting in light of so many hair samples having been found at site of 'Osiris'/Djer's tomb.
- 43 Spell 148, in Faulkner 1985, p.137 and Hart 1986, p.79; see also text in tomb of Nofretari (QV.66), in Hornung 1990, pl.150, p.195 and Siliotti & Leblanc 1993, p.141 and that of Amenemhat (TT.82), in Davies & Gardiner 1915, p.108, pl.XXXVI.
- 44 MMA.26.3.353.g.h; thanks to Dr.C.Roehrig for information.
- 45 BM.EA.558, XII dyn.
- 46 Louvre C.16, XIII dyn.
- 47 Beinlich-Seeber & Shedid 1987, pl.4.
- 48 Davies 1933 I, pl.XLI and II, pl.VI.
- 49 Siliotti & Leblanc 1993, p.57.
- 50 Siliotti & Leblanc 1993, p.83.
- 51 Blackman 1953 VI, p.32, pl.XVII.
- 52 MMA.1985.328.5, in Cooney 1965, No.10, p.19 and Aldred 1973, No.129, p.196.
- 53 BM.EA.732 in Naville 1907 I, p.25, pl.XIV.D and Strouhal 1992, fig.214, p.201; see also Berlin Inv.No.17891.
- 54 Davies 1943, p.27, pl.II, XXI-XXIII.
- 55 For tomb scenes see Davies 1926, princes, p.24, pl.XXVII-XXVIII and chieftains, p.25, pl.XXVII; for tiles, Cairo JE.36457.b, in Saleh & Sourouzian 1987, No.226 and Nims 1965, p.165; also Kofler Truniger Collection K.9620.D, in Müller 1964, A.138, p.199-200 and Westendorf 1968, p.196, and Boston MFA.88.997.
- 56 Boston MFA.05.231, in Breasted 1948, No.D.4, p.63, pl.56.a; however, this may be result of original colour having deteriorated over time.
- 57 eg. BM.EA.24906, XXII dyn, in James 1985, fig.84, p.70.
- 58 Dunham & Simpson 1974, frontispiece, p.14, fig.7, pl.VII.c; Vandersleyen 1976, pl.XIX; Smith 1949, pl.44.c and Wenig 1969, pl.9.
- 59 Reisner 1955, p.7; Schäfer 1974, p.71 and Chiotasso et al. 1992, p.100.
- 60 VI dyn. Aswan tomb scene, in Baines & Malek 1984, p.72.

- 61 Turin Inv.Cat.1447, XI dyn, in Donadoni-Roveri ed. 1988, fig.137, p.104- 105; Curto 1984, p.86 and Klebs 1922 II, fig.14, p.22.
- 62 BM.EA.1147, in James 1985, fig.77, p.67 and Reeves & Taylor 1992, p.29.
- 63 Cairo CG.20518, XII dyn, Abydos, in Lange & Schäfer 1908 II, "Kurzgeschornes gelbrothes Haar", p.113-114.
- 64 MMA.36.3.239, in Lansing 1937, fig.51, p.39.
- 65 BM.EA.10479.6, in Faulkner 1985, p.31.
- 66 Stela of Pakhaas, Brooklyn Acc.No.71.37.2, in Brooklyn 1988, No. 123, p.232; Fazzini 1975, Cat.109, p.125; Fazzini et al. 1989, No.90 and Brussels 1976, No.76, p.123.
- 67 Bates 1914, p.xiv, pl.V.
- 68 Davies 1926, p.24, pl.XXVII-XXVIII.
- 69 Gardiner 1982, No.3, p.450 and Faulkner 1981, p.251.
- 70 Manniche 1987, p.82.
- 71 Desroches-Noblecourt et al. 1985, scene 16.
- 72 Davies 1933 I, p.13, frontispiece.
- 73 Davies 1925, p.53, pl.VIII.
- 74 Wilkinson & Hill 1983, p.100 and James 1985, fig.11, p.14
- 75 Davies 1917, pl.XXVI.
- 76 MMA.fac.30.4.192, in Wilkinson & Hill 1984, p.98.
- 77 Davies 1926, p.15, pl.XI.
- 78 Davies 1926, pl.XVI.
- 79 Manniche 1987, fig.69, p.82.
- 80 BM.EA.10470.5, in Faulkner 1985, p.38 and Dunand & Lichtenberg 1991, p.34- 35.
- 81 Davies 1927, pl.XXXVII.
- 82 Zivie 1979, pl.10, 23-24; Michalowski 1969, fig.574 and el-Saghir 1990, p.71.
- 83 Davies 1927, p.40, pl.XXII-XXIII, although his suggestion (note 4) that hair may be powdered seems unlikely.
- 84 Davis 1907, p.13; Davis 1908, pl. XVIII and Schäfer 1974, pl.61.
- 85 Cairo CG.34138, XVIII dyn, Qurna stela, in Lecaue 1909, p.188-189, pl.LVII.
- 86 Campbell 1912, suggesting "a moral or ceremonial change", p.143.
- 87 BM.EA.10470.4, in James 1985, fig.62, p.56; Rossiter 1979, p.31 and Price 1970, p.149.
- 88 eg. Roman portrait panels Cairo CG.33249, in Parlasca 1977 II, No.452, p.81, pl.110.4; MMA.44.2.2, in Parlasca 1977 II, No.444, p.79, pl.109.1 and MMA.09.181.5, in Parlasca 1977 II, No.310, p.44, pl.73.3; also Coptic icon scene Louvre E.11565, C.6-7th AD, Baouit, in Zeigler 1990, p.93.
- 89 Brunton 1937, p.45; see also Brunton & Caton-Thompson 1928 for Badarian bodies, "There were 16 black, 11 dark brown, 12 brown...", p.20.
- 90 eg. N.7490 in Lythgoe 1965, p.309 and N.7590 in Lythgoe 1965, p.386; see also Podzorski 1990, p.85.
- 91 Brunton 1937, p.105.

- 92 Brunton 1948, p.42.
- 93 Brunton 1948, p.80.
- 94 Titlbachova & Titlbach 1977, p.84.
- 95 Lucas 1930, p.192.
- 96 Laskowska-Kusztal 1978, p.110.
- 97 Lythgoe 1965, eg. N.7369, p.221, N.7346, fig.92.e, p.208 and Podzorski 1990, p.85.
- 98 Brunton 1937, p.36, 45.
- 99 BM.EA.32751, in Dawson & Grey 1967, No.1, p.1, pl.I.a and Dunand & Lichtenberg 1991, p.28.
- 100 Brunton 1937, p.105.
- 101 Brunton 1948, grave 560, p.42
- 102 Smith in Quibell 1908(ii), p.13-14.
- 103 Cairo CG.61073, in Smith 1912, p.44, pl.XXIX-XXX.
- 104 Cairo CG.61080, in Smith 1912, p.72, pl.LX-LXIII.
- 105 To judge from lock of her hair from tomb of Tutankhamen, Carter No.320.E, in Carter notes, No.320.E, Griffith Institute; see also Carter 1933 III, p.86-88, pl.25; Lucas 1989, p.31; Desroches-Noblecourt 1963, p.186; Reeves 1990(ii), p.168-169; Rowe 1940, p.632; Harris et al. 1978; Müller 1960, p.57 and Nachtergaeel 1981, p.601; hair colour of 'Elder Woman', Cairo CG.61070, described as 'lustrous brown' in Smith 1912, p.38, pl.XCVII.
- 106 Brunton 1948, grave 708, p.74, 80.
- 107 Martin 1981, p.74.
- 108 Titlbachova & Titlbach 1977, p.84; these findings also observed in Iron Age Lindow Man, see Priston in Stead et al. 1986, "ginger colour most likely due to the destruction of the less stable brown pigment", p.71.
- 109 Brothwell & Spearman 1963, p.433.
- 110 Hrdy 1978, p.281.
- 111 eg. in discussing red hair colour of Ptolemaic mummified female head, "It is the opinion of this author that the red pigment is not a hair colouring product...but that it is part of the funerary preparation of Se-Ankh", in Lahren 1987, p.37.
- 112 eg. Garetto 1955, "Non mancarono tuttavia individui dai capelli biondi", p.411 and Watterson 1991, "an aberrant red-gold sometimes occurred (and still does)", p.113.
- 113 Hrdy 1978, p.281; see also Rook & Dawber ed. 1991, "foci of blondness are to be found even in North Africa, the Middle East....", p.383, and thanks to Dr.A.R.David for useful discussion on this point.
- 114 eg. N.7491, in Lythgoe 1965, p.309-310 and Podzorski 1990, p.85, although latter believes hair may originally have been white or grey and had discoloured over time; see also MM.No.4005 and MM.No.8/9.
- 115 Brunton 1937, p.45.
- 116 Brunton 1937, grave 2709, p.41, here referred to as 4 year old child with fine yellow hair, whilst on p.45 referred to as "a small child about nine years old".
- 117 Brunton 1948, male bodies viii, x, xv in grave 2000, p.26, and female body, grave 218, p.24.
- 118 Brunton 1937, p.105, including grave 2616, female with "almost golden hair", p.97.

- 119 Brunton 1937, p.105.
- 120 Brunton 1948, grave 3040, p.42.
- 121 Carter 1903, p.175-178, one of bodies removed to Cairo Museum by Ayrton in 1906, other body left in situ; see also Thomas 1966, p.138; Reeves 1990, p.139 and Ryan 1990, p.58.
- 122 Garetto 1955, p.74.
- 123 Brunton 1948, grave 7000 (xlvi), p.74, 80.
- 124 Berlin Inv.No.31.297-2.
- 125 eg. Leiden Inv.F.1956/10.2, head of female(?) mummy; thanks to Dr.M.Raven for information.
- 126 Laskowska-Kusztal 1978, p.110.
- 127 Cairo CG.51190/51191, in Harris & Weeks 1973, p.141, also described as "long flaxen hair", p.41.
- 128 Smith in Quibell 1908, p.69; also Smith & Dawson 1924, p.97, and see el- Batrawi 1935, quoted in Brothwell & Spearman 1963, p.433.
- 129 eg. Brunton 1937, p.45, 110, etc; also Filer 1995, p.25, for findings of "golden" hair amongst late/post Meroitic population of Gabati, Sudan.
- 130 eg. Prague Naprstek Museum Inv.No.P.2889, male mummy, c.XXI-XXV dyn, in Strouhal & Vyhnanek 1979, No.43, fig.63-64, with remains of dark brown hair, "in some places light-brown or even blond, due to discolourization", p.93.
- 131 Petrie 1890, tombs 23-24, p.39.
- 132 Brothwell & Spearman 1963, fig.62, p.432-433.
- 133 Brothwell & Spearman 1963, p.433.
- 134 Brothwell & Spearman 1963, p.433, pl.XXI for English medieval example, and Zivanovic 1982, p.20; for description of melanin granule lengths see Morris 1985, p.27.
- 135 Brunton and Caton Thompson 1928, grave 5727, p.15.
- 136 Rook & Dawber 1991(iii), p.385-386 and Morris 1985, p.26.
- 137 Lythgoe 1965, grave 7076, "probably an old man, hair...varying from light brown to yellowish white...", p.42; grave 7081, elderly female, hair "tinged with grey", fig.17.i, p.43-45; grave 7199, "adult woman, little hair, short, dark and grey", Smith adding "old woman", p.114; grave 7371, "old man, short black hair, few brownish, possibly grey", p.223; grave 7455, adult female with "grey mix" in her dark hair, p.280; grave 7491, elderly female with hair a "corn yellow (discoloured white)", p.309-310; grave 7585, adult male with hair "mostly grey", p.383 and grave 7633, old female with "considerable grey" in her hair, p.415.
- 138 Brunton 1937, p.45.
- 139 Brunton 1937, grave 5006, p.105.
- 140 Brunton 1948, grave 422, p.34, 42 and grave 440, p.35, 42.
- 141 Brunton 1948, p.42.
- 142 eg. Cairo CG.51185, wig of Yuya including "little plaits which were daubed with fat and now are of a whitish colour", in Quibell 1908, p.65, with Lucas stating that the "plaits were daubed, not with fat....but with beeswax and the whitish colour...due to limestone dust adhering to the waxed portions", 1930, p.195.
- 143 Winlock 1945, No.14 and No.69, p.9.

- 144 David ed. 1979, p.1; see also Murray 1910, p.31.
- 145 Cairo CG.61068, in Smith 1912, p.35.
- 146 Cairo CG.61069, in Smith 1912, p.36.
- 147 Cairo CG.61078, in Smith 1912, p.62 and Paris 1985, p.390.
- 148 Cairo CG.61079, in Smith 1912, p.66
- 149 eg. Tetisheri, Cairo CG.61056, in Smith 1912, p.14; Hontempet, Cairo CG.61062, in Smith 1912, p.20; Nodjmet, Cairo CG.61087, in Smith 1912, p.96; Maatkare, Cairo CG.61088, in Smith 1912, p.99 and Taiourhit, Cairo CG.61091, in Smith 1912, p.105.
- 150 Cairo CG.61092, in Smith 1912, p.105.
- 151 Smith 1903, No.1, p.156 and No.2, p.157.
- 152 Martin 1981, grave 15, p.74.
- 153 See Forbes 1964, "the term dye is applied to any substance used for the tinting of fabrics [including hair], most of which, however, are of organic origin. Dyes should be properly distinguished from pigments, the dry colour powders used in painting...", p.99.
- 154 Her comment "to artfully dye her greying hair", in Pomeroy 1984, p.68-69.
- 155 Pap.Ebers 450-463, in Ghalioungui 1973, p.134-135, 156; Kamal 1967, p.214 and Dawson 1934, p.42; E.459, "blood of a black ox and oil", in Naguib 1990, p.7 and Manniche 1989, p.46; see also E.471, "hair ointment" with possible colourant properties, containing a red mineral, kohl, myrtle(?), oil or fat, gazelle dung and hippopotamus fat, in Manniche 1989, p.125; compare with Greeks' use of raven's eggs for similar purpose, in Frazer 1993, p.32.
- 156 Pap.Hearst 147-149, in Leake 1952, p.89; Kamal 1967, p.214 and H.147, "juniper berries and two unidentified plants kneaded into a paste with oil...the natural colouring matter in the plants would rub off on the hair", in Manniche 1989, p.46.
- 157 Pliny, 'Natural History' XXXII.xxiii.67-68, "capillum denigrant sanguisugae, quae in vino nigro diebus XXXX computuere. alii in aceti sextariis duobus sanguisugarum sextarium in vase plumbeo putrescere iubent totidem diebus, mox in lini in sole", trans. Jones 1963, p.504-505.
- 158 Ovid, 'Amores' XIV.1-28, "Dicebam 'medicare tuos desiste capillos' tingere quam possis iam tibi nulla coma est", trans. Showerman 1914, p.372-373.
- 159 Tertullian, 'On Female Dress' VI, in Allason-Jones 1989, p.136 and Corson 1980, p.74.
- 160 Pliny, 'Natural History' XXVI.xciii.164, trans. Jones 1956, "Lycium [bramble] juice dyes the hair flaxen; hypericum, also called corissum, dyes it black, as does ophrys, a plant like indented cabbage, but with only two leaves. Polemonia, too, boiled down in oil, imparts a black colour", p.385.
- 161 Corson 1980, p.74.
- 162 Pliny, 'Natural History' XXVIII.li.191, trans. Jones 1963, p.128-131; Allason-Jones 1989, p.136; Corson 1980, p.74; Jackson 1988, p.54, note 83; Balsdon 1979, p.42 and Dayagi-Mendels 1989, p.86.
- 163 Wojnarowska 1991(iii), p.469.
- 164 Propertius, 'Elegies' II.18.b, in Allason-Jones 1989, p.137.
- 165 Greek Herbal of Dioscorides, trans. Gunter 1934, with reference to lawsonia alba, "the leaves macerated in the juice of Struthium, and beaten small, and soe anointed on, doth dye the haire yellow", p.65-66; see also Loret 1892, p.80 and Manniche 1989, possibly known as hnw, p.114.

- 166 eg. Watterson 1991, "henna does not seem to have been employed as a hair treatment", p.113; see Lucas 1989, "probably...the leaves were used as a cosmetic to colour the palms of the hands, the soles of the feet and the hair", p.309-310; Manniche 1989, "Some mummies were found to have their hair dyed red, and henna may have been used to do this", p.114; Freed 1980(iii), "Henna...is thought to have been found on the...hair of mummies, although other opinion has it that the red colouring may be only a discoloration caused by the embalming material", p.200.
- 167 Brunton 1937, p.45 and Lucas 1989, p.310.
- 168 Cairo CG.61073, in Smith 1912, p.44.
- 169 Cairo CG.61061, in Smith 1912, p.19; Lucas 1989, p.310 and Freed 1980(iii), "the copper-red colour...certainly resulted from a henna dye", p.200.
- 170 Batrawi 1935, No.47, p.100; also possible "artificial dyeing" of hair on an X-group sample which was not henna, p.194.
- 171 Dunand et al. 1992, mummy 58.1.1.7, p.138, pl.32.3-4 and Dunand & Lichtenberg 1991, p.8.
- 172 Cairo CG.61078, in Paris 1985, p.256; see highly detailed analysis of this hair, Chapter 7, p.212-257.
- 173 Maspero in Smith 1912, p.59-65.
- 174 Desroches-Noblecourt in Paris 1985, p.390.
- 175 UC.30138, thanks to Mrs.R.Janssen for access and samples and P.Walton Rogers and G.Taylor, Textile Research Associates, for analysis (Appendix A.).
- 176 MM.No.1198; thanks to Dr.A.R.David for samples and Textile Research Associates for analysis (Appendix A.).
- 177 Liverpool Uni.Mus.E.5411; thanks to Prof.A.Shore and Ms.P.Winker for access and sample and Textile Research Associates for analysis (Appendix A.).
- 178 Lucas 1989, p.154.
- 179 Corson 1980, p.25.
- 180 See Eastwood 1984, p.10, 12-14, 16; also thanks to Dr.R.Germer, pers.comm. 10.2.94.
- 181 UC.30138; thanks to Mrs.R.Janssen for sample and Textile Research Associates for analysis (Appendix A.).
- 182 Garetto 1955, p.69.
- 183 eg. Cairo CG.51185, wig of Yuya, in Quibell 1908, p.65 and Lucas 1930, "the whitish colour...due to limestone dust adhering to the waxed portions", p.195.
- 184 Laskowska-Kusztal 1978, p.119-120; see No.3, fig.8, p.87, "on peut considérer comme une teinture à cheveux la poudre brune trouvée dans un paquet de toile du vase No.1.3", p.112; thanks to Dr.W.Cooke for comments on this.
- 185 Cairo CG.61095, in Smith 1912, p.109.
- 186 Smith 1906, p.158.

Appendix A

Report on Egyptian Hair, Wig and Textile Samples

on behalf of J.Fletcher

Introduction

Four samples were provided by J.Fletcher. They are as follows:

Manchester Museum 1198: Ginger hair from Egyptian mummy, early dynastic period

Liverpool University E.5411: Dark brown hair from Egyptian wig

Petrie Museum UC.30138: (i) blond hair from Egyptian mummy, c.1300 BC(?)

(ii) black sprang from Egyptian wig, c.1300 BC(?)

Microscopy

Because the intention was to identify the source of the present colour in the samples, each was first examined by high-power light microscopy, using a polarising analyser.

The three hair samples showed the typical smooth profile and uneven medulla of human hair. Natural pigment could be seen in both the ginger and dark brown samples. In the ginger the pigment granules were evenly distributed but in the dark brown the density of pigment varied from fibre to fibre, so that the sample is really a mixture of brown and dark brown fibres.

No natural pigment could be seen in the blond hair or in the wool fibres of the sprang. The latter, however, was a dark blue under the microscope, rather than black, indicating the presence of dye.

Dye Analysis

All four samples were tested for dye in the usual way. Any colorant was extracted and identification was attempted by spectrophotometry and thin-layer chromatography (TLC).

The results were as follows:

ginger hair.....yellow/brown colorant containing tannin (note 1)

dark brown hair....brown colorant containing tannin (note 2)

blond hair.....yellow colorant (note 3)

sprang.....indigotin & small proportion of madder (note 4)

Note 1: Some colorant was extracted by the solvent systems. TLC showed that the colorant contained some tannin, but it is debatable whether this contributed to the colour.

Note 2: In later ages tannin was used in conjunction with iron mordant to obtain dark browns and blacks. In the case of the dark brown hair, the tannin may be adventitious, or the naturally pigmented hair may have been 'topped up' with tannin.

Note 3: Solvents removed some yellow coloration. It is possible that the colorant is yellow henna, as there is some agreement between the absorption spectra of the two. The spectrum of henna is, however, not diagnostic and some other yellow dye may have been used.

Note 4: The blue dye proved to be indigotin, the colorant in woad and indigo - it is not possible to say which was used. The madder (presumably used without a mordant) seems to have turned the heavy shade of blue to black.

Discussion

All three hair samples appear to have been tinted, probably with some sort of vegetable stain. The sprang had definitely been dyed with indigotin to a heavy shade of blue. It was also tinted with madder, presumably without a mordant. Possibly this was an attempt to get a rich black; in later ages, blacks were made by combining heavy shades of blue, red and yellow.

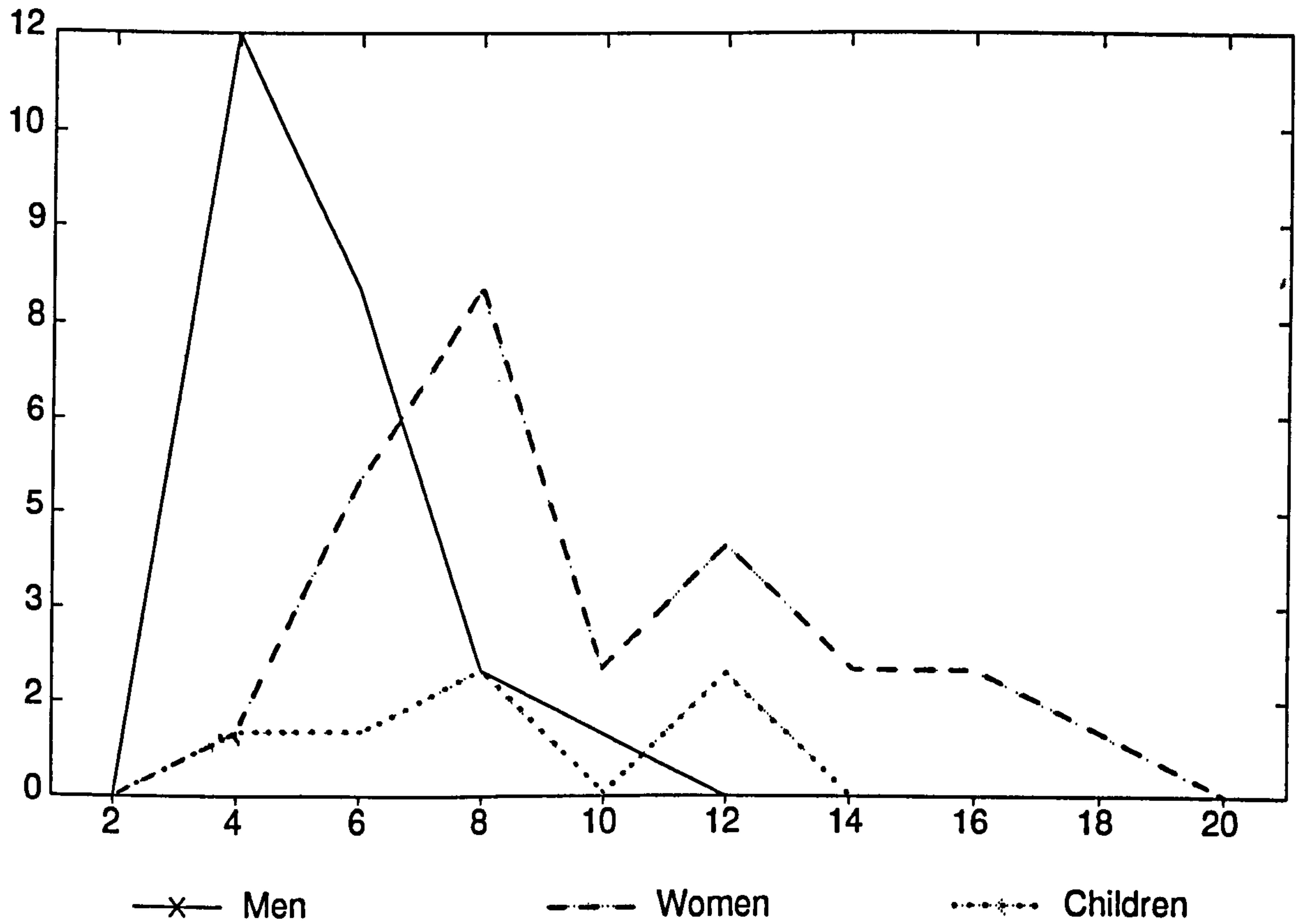
G.W.Taylor & P.Walton Rogers

Textile Research Associates

22 October 1991

Appendix B

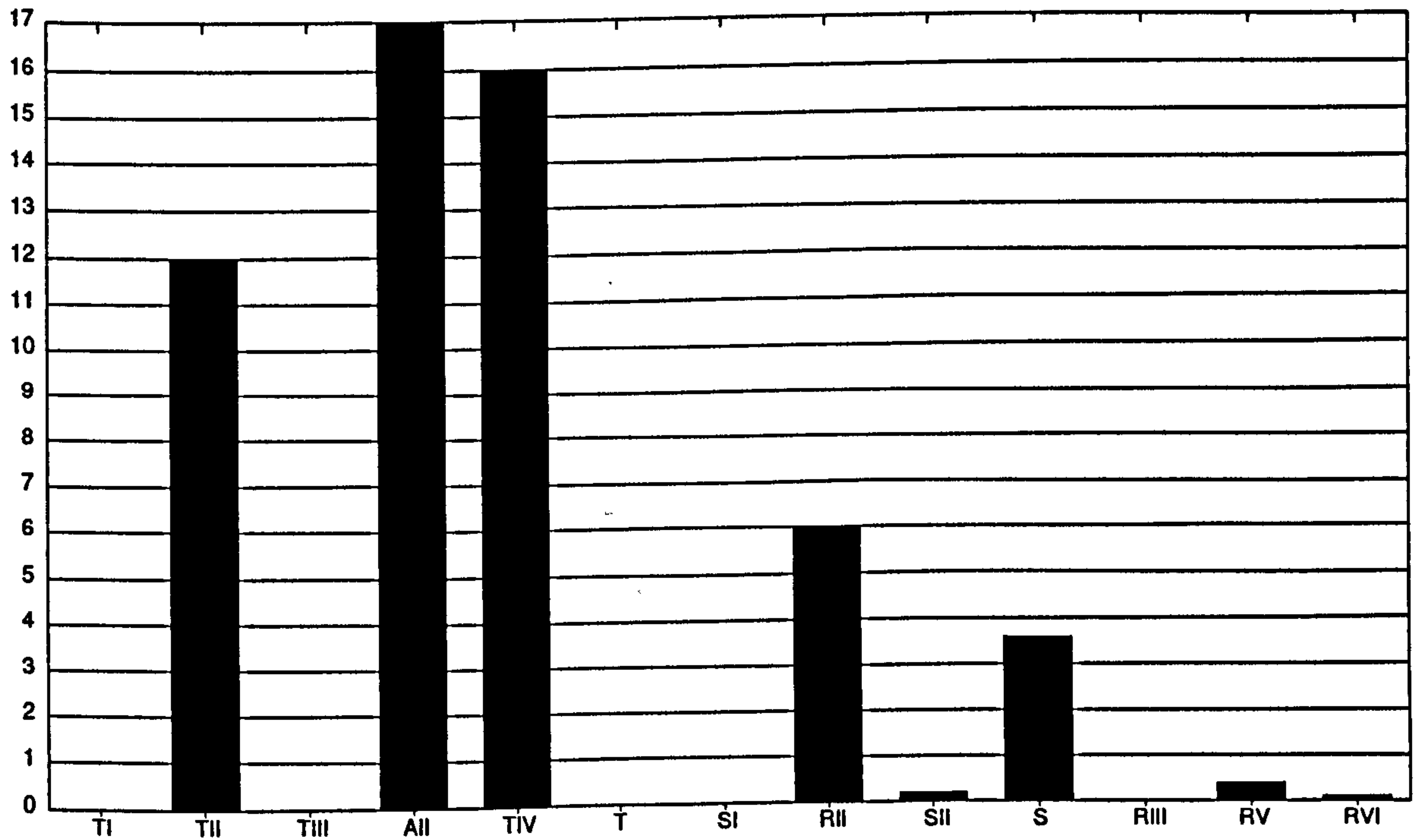
1. Comparative Hair Lengths of Predynastic Naga ed-Dêr Population



Horizontal Axis: Hair Length (cm)

Vertical Axis: Number of Individuals

2. Comparative Hair Lengths of New Kingdom Pharaohs



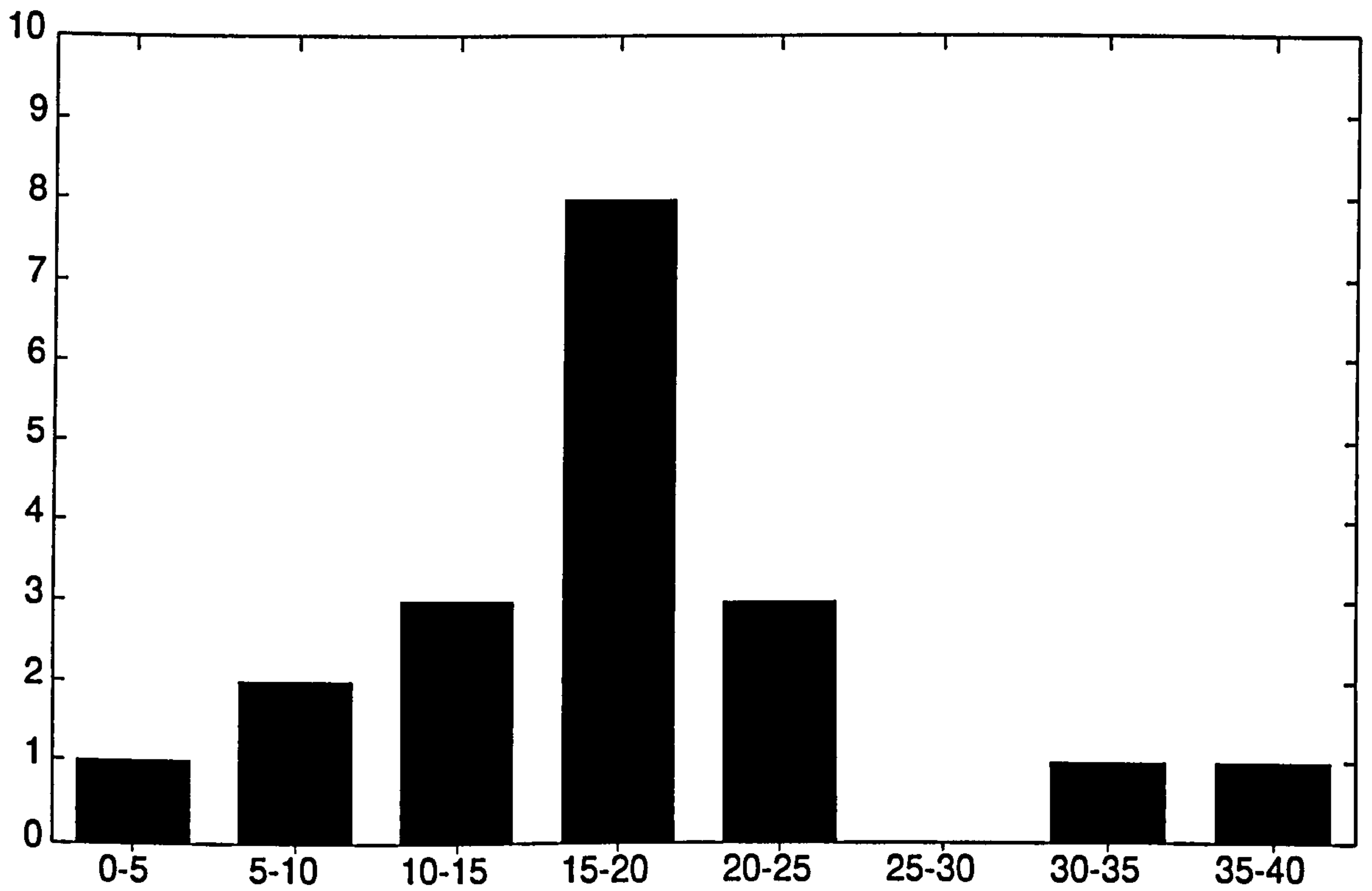
Vertical Axis: Hair Length (cm)

Horizontal Axis:

TI	Tuthmosis I
TII	Tuthmosis II
TIII	Tuthmosis III
AII	Amenhotep II
TIV	Tuthmosis IV
T	Tutankhamen

SI	Seti I
RII	Ramses II
SII	Seti II
S	Siptah
RIII	Ramses III
RV	Ramses V
RVI	Ramses VI

3. Comparative Hair Lengths of III IP Matmar Females



Horizontal Axis: Hair Length (cm)

Vertical Axis: Number of Individuals

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ABBREVIATIONS

AA: Acta Archaeologica, Copenhagen

AC: L'Antiquité Classique, Brussels

AE: Ancient Egypt, London

AEF: Acta Entomologica Fennica, Helsinki

AJA: American Journal of Archaeology, Boston

AJPA: American Journal of Physical Anthropology, New York

AO: Acta Orientalia, Copenhagen

ASAE: Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, Cairo

BASP: Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists, Alpharetta

BBM: Bulletin of the Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn

BdE: Bibliothèque d'Étude, Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Cairo

BICS: Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies, London

BIÉ: Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien, Cairo

BIFAO: Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Cairo

BMA: Brooklyn Museum Annual, Brooklyn.

BMFA: Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

BMMA: Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

BSR: Biological Sciences Review, Manchester

CdE: Chronique d'Égypte, Brussels

CIETA: Bulletin de la Centre International d'Étude des Textiles Anciens, Lyons

CJ: The Classical Journal, Athens (Georgia)

DA: Les Dossiers d'Archéologie, Paris

DHAT: Dyes on Historical and Archaeological Textiles, York

EAB: Egyptian Archaeology, Bulletin of the Egypt Exploration Society, London

GM: Göttinger Miszellen, Gottingen

IFAO: L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, Cairo

ISN: Investigative Studies in Nature, Shanghai

JEA: Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, London

JFS: Journal of Forensic Sciences, Philadelphia

JHE: Journal of Human Evolution, London

JME: Journal of Medical Entomology, Lanham

JNES: Journal of Near Eastern Studies, Chicago

JPK: Jahrbuch Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin

JRAI: Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, London

KMT: KMT: A Modern Journal of Egyptology, San Francisco

LA: Lexikon der Ägyptologie, Wiesbaden

MDAIK: Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Cairo, Berlin, Wiesbaden & Mainz.

MIO: Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung, Berlin

OA: Oriens Antiquus, Rome

PEQ: Palestine Exploration Quarterly, London

RdE: Revue d'Égyptologie, Cairo & Paris

RT: Recueil de Travaux Relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie Égyptiennes et Assyriennes, Paris

SAK: Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur, Hamburg

SARS: Sudan Archaeological Research Society Newsletter, London

SSAE: Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities Journal, Toronto

ZAS: Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde, Leipzig & Berlin

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